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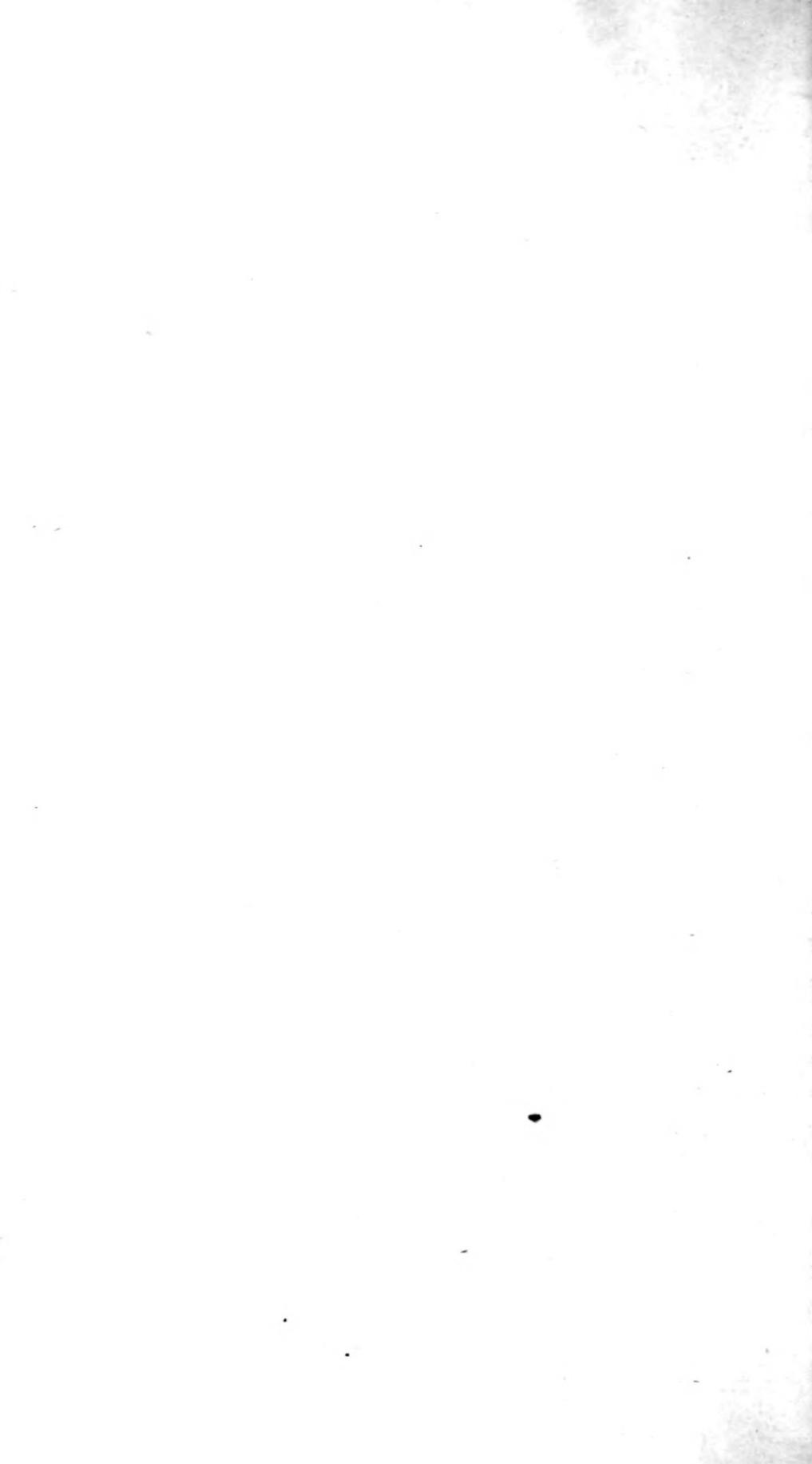
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FOR

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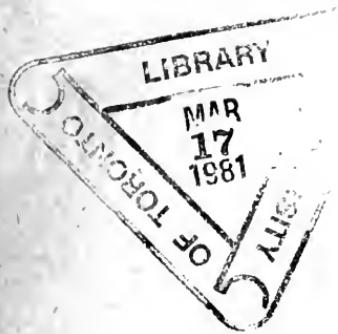
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CHAPTER I.

The Democratic-English Free-Trade Heresy.

The Democratic Party is the friend of labor and the laboring man.—Democratic National Platform, 1880.

We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished.—Democratic National Platform, 1884.

PART I.

The Free-Trade Heresy in 1797—Its Growth to 1861.

The leader of the opposition in the House to Washington's administration was Mr. Wm. B. Giles, of Virginia. In 1797, upon the retirement of Washington, Giles rejoiced in the fact, as he believed it would result in the public good. He had no admiration or respect for Washington's administration or its measures. Mr. Giles was a free-trader. John Taylor, of Caroline, a noted man of his time, and probably the ablest of the free-trade or States' rights school, was also a member of this opposition. In Congress and in his published works, such as "*Construction Constructed and the Constitutions Vindicated*" (1820), "*Tyranny Unmasked*" (1822), he denounces protection as unconstitutional and tyrannical, and even barbarous. He describes protective duties as bounties. He denounces manufactures as injurious to morals, and as producing pauperism—protective duties as a tax on the many for a bounty for few—as ruinous to agriculture and commerce and destructive of revenue.

John Taylor's free-trade arguments.

Some notion of his abilities and principles may be given by a few extracts from his works. In "*Construction Construed*" (pp. 232, 233) he argues:

"The policy of fostering combinations by federal laws has undoubtedly transferred, and continues to transfer, a considerable portion of the profits of labor from one portion of the Union to another; not to enrich the people generally of the receiving States, but to mass great capitals for a few individuals residing in them; toward which all the States contribute, and by which is artificially reared a monied interest at the expense of the whole community, which is gradually obtaining an influence over the federal government, of the same kind with that possessed by a similar sect over the British parliament. The operations of this sect, being already sorely felt, have already produced awful cal-

culations in reference to a dissolution of the Union. These arise from its new efforts to gratify an insatiable avarice, and its fears of the resentment it excites. It therefore craftily works upon the passion of the States it has been able to delude, by computations of their physical strength and their naval superiority; and by boasting of an ability to use the weakening circumstance of negro slavery to coerce the defrauded and discontented States into submission.

"The indignation excited by these threats has suggested, on the other hand, estimates of resources and means of defence. . . .

"If the maxim advanced by the advocates of the protecting duty system will justify Congress in assuming, or rather in empowering a few capitalists to assume the direction of manufacturing labor, it also invests that body with a power of legislating for the direction of every other species of labor and assigning all occupations whatsoever to the care of the intelligence of mercenary combinations. This is the very power which constitutes the nature of the Chinese and British governments, enables them to place labor under the intelligent direction of mercenary combinations, and causes the miseries of laborers in those countries." (*Ibid.*, p. 231.)

The fundamental axiom upon which his theories or reasoning are based is—

"The federal is not a national government; it is a league between nations. By this league, a limited power only over persons and property was given to the representatives of the united nations. This power cannot be further extended, under the pretext of national good, because the league does not create a national government." (*Ibid.*, p. 231.)

They make little headway at first but culminate in nullification.

Under Washington and the elder Adams, and even under Jefferson, these principles made but little headway even at the South. As late as 1816 we find Calhoun advocating protection, and warning the House of a "new and terrible danger"—"disunion." He advocated protection because his tendency was to bind the sections more closely together by harmonizing their industrial interests, and thus defeating disunion by removing the grand and primary ground upon which it was advocated. As yet these sentiments and this treasonable policy—free-trade and secession—were confined to a few

of the "educated classes," like John Taylor and William B. Giles, but by incessant iteration they gradually spread in the South. They, however, made no very formidable headway until the passage of the tariff act of 1824. Now, in the States of South Carolina and Georgia, great excitement prevailed, and it continued to increase under the action of the majority in Congress until, in 1832-33, it culminated in Nullification, in preparations for open revolt, in consequence of the passage of the tariff law of 1828.

Dr. Cooper's free-trade and disunion teachings in 1827—Giles' Toast.

On July 2, 1827, at a meeting in Columbus, S. C., of its "educated classes," of "the élite of its wealth and intelligence," its slave-owners, called in hostility to protecting duties, the celebrated Dr. Thomas Cooper, President of South Carolina College, a man of genius and learning, and of great influence in his section, boldly preached sedition and treason. He inveighed heavily against the rule of the majority. He exclaimed: "Manufacture is a Hydra." He urged:

"No wonder, if a drilled and managed majority occupies the hall of the House of Representatives, and wielding the power of the nation, determines at all hazards to support the claims of the northern manufacturers, and to offer up the planting interest on the altar of monopoly. . . .

"That equality of rights, equality of duties, equality of burthens, equality of protection, equality of laws, constituted the prevailing features of our happy institutions; but I am now, sir, to learn for the first time, that in the canting, cheating, cajoling slang of the monopolists, the *American system* is a system by which the earnings of the South are to be transferred to the North—by which the many are sacrificed to the few—under which powers are usurped that were never conceded—by which inequality of rights, inequality of burthens, inequality of protection, unequal laws, and unequal taxes are to be enacted and rendered permanent—that the planter and the farmer under this system are to be considered as inferior beings to the spinner, the bleacher, and the dyer—that we of the South hold our plantations under this system, as the serfs and operatives of the North, subject to the orders and laboring for the benefit of the master-minds of Massachusetts, the lords of the spinning-jenny and peers of the power-loom, who have a right to tax our earnings for their emolument, and to burthen our poverty and to swell their riches. This is the *American system* these gentlemen are pleased to hold up as the idol of the day, as the golden image, which they indeed may be well content to worship. To call this system of fraud, robbery, and usurpation the *American system* will sound to your ears, as it does to mine, a base libel on American character. . . .

"I have said that we shall ere long be compelled to calculate the value of our union; and to enquire of what use to us is this most unequal alliance, by which the South has always been the loser, and the North always the gainer? Is it worth our while to continue this union of States, where the North demands to be our masters and we are required to be their tributaries? Who with the most insulting mockery call the yoke they put upon our necks the 'American system'! The question, however, is fast approaching to the alternative of submission or separation. . . ." (*Niles' Register*, Vol. xxxii., pp. 28-32.)

On July 4, 1827, at a banquet at Richmond, Virginia, distinguished for its seditious utterances, and at which "the élite of

its educated classes," its slaveholding chivalry, were assembled, Mr. Giles proposed his famous toast:

"THE TARIFF SCHEMERS: The silly boy who rapped up his goose that laid the golden eggs—*The Southerners will not long pay tribute.*" (*Niles' Register*, Vol. xxxii., p. 371.)

The Walterborough (S. C.) antitariff meeting of June, 1828—Its address in support of free-trade and minority rule.

On June 12, 1828, at a meeting held at Walterborough Court-House, S. C., a gathering of the "educated classes" of the district, its slaveholding thanes, issued the treasonable Colleton Address so notorious in its day. A few brief extracts will expose its character and purpose:

"During the last summer we collected together in our district capacities, and from every section of the State declared to the Congress of the United States that a tariff framed with a view to encourage domestic manufactures was contrary to our free and chartered rights. Our legislature took the subject into consideration. They condescended to repeat what they had already said in 1824; and in an able and dispassionate memorial, solemnly laid their protest before the Congress of this Union against such partial and unconstitutional legislation. As a sovereign State, we have declared that such a tariff would be a violation of our sovereign rights. As freemen, we have proclaimed to the world that such a tariff would be an infringement of our privileges as men; and in terms as moderate as they were respectful, we have implored our brethren not to drive us to the stern alternative of submitting in shame, or resistance in sorrow. Your remonstrances and your implorations have been in vain; and a tariff bill has passed, not, indeed, such as you apprehended, but tenfold worse in all its oppressive features. . . .

"From the rapid step of usurpation, whether we now act or not, the day of open opposition to the pretended powers of the constitution cannot be far off, and it is that it may not go down in blood that we now call upon you to resist. We feel ourselves standing underneath its mighty protection, and declaring forth its free and recorded spirit, when we say we must resist. By all the great principles of liberty—by the glorious achievement of our fathers in defending them—by their noble blood poured forth like water in maintaining them—by their lives in suffering, and their death in honor and in glory;—our countrymen! we must resist. Not secretly, as timid thieves or skulking smugglers—not in companies and associations, like money chaffers or stock-jobbers—not separately and individually, as if this was ours and not our country's cause—out openly, fairly, fearlessly, and unitedly, as becomes a free, sovereign, and independent people. Does timidity ask 'when?' We answer now. . . .

"But if you are doubtful of yourselves—if you are not prepared to follow up your principles whenever they may lead, to their very last consequence—if you love life better than honor—prefer ease to perilous liberty and glory, awake not, stir not! Impotent resistance will add vengeance to your ruin. Live in smiling peace with your insatiable oppressors, and die with the noble consolation, that your submissive patience will survive triumphant your beggary and despair." (*Niles' Register*, Vol. xxxiv., pp. 288-290.)

Nullification ordinance of 1832—South Carolina.

"To calculate the value of our Union"—"Southerners will not long pay tribute!" These inflammable and seditious utterances of the educated leaders of the slave-owning gentry were soon adopted as maxims by the pro-slavery leaders and their retainers,

and the Southern heart was fired. Under their guide, South Carolina, on November 24, 1832, passed its Ordinance of Nullification. It declared that the tariff acts of May 10, 1828, and of July 14, 1832, were "unauthorized by the Constitution," and "null, void, and no law, nor binding" upon South Carolina, "its officers or citizens." It instructed its people to resist the national authority—to violently resist the execution of laws constitutionally enacted in Congress by a lawful majority with the approval of the President! It summoned them to arms in support of treason to the constitution—treason to liberty and free government.

President Jackson's firm action—Clay's compromise tariff of 1833.

But "the bloody old tyrant" President Jackson took the field, and these intrepid educated leaders speedily revised their unyielding resolves "to die in the last ditch." The result of this traitorous escapade was nevertheless disastrous to the whole people and nation. A principle of chivalry in Henry Clay's nature, a wish to rescue these educated pro-slavery gentry in arms against the majority from the halter designed for them by Jackson, with a sincere alarm for the safety of the protective principle, caused Clay to introduce and pass the compromise tariff of 1833, with its train of disastrous results. It was a great error. Clay's heart overruled his judgment. Jackson, supported by Webster, had determined to test the powers of the government in the summary punishment of these traitorous pro-slavery educated leaders; and when they were thus wrested from his vengeance, he predicted that the pretended acquiescence of South Carolina in the execution of the laws was not genuine—that its "educated classes," its pro-slavery thanes, had not surrendered their purposes of disunion, but that they would next attempt to accomplish it through the shivery issue. Jackson was right. From that moment, Free Trade, Slavery, and Secession marched arm in arm. They were inseparable. They wrought the industrial ruin of 1840. They inflicted upon the nation the losses and disasters under the tariff of 1846, during the period extending from 1849 to 1861, when these educated classes, in support of free trade and slavery, threw up the banner of rebellion—causing a loss to the nation of 500,000 lives and nearly 7,000,000,000 of treasure.

PART II.

Condition of the South under its Free Trade Masters.

The "educated" or leading classes of the South, its planting or slave-owning classes prior to the rebellion, were radically opposed

to what was called "free labor." They were consequently opposed to free laborers. In the language of Dr. Cooper "manufacture was a hydra." Hence they were opposed to all manufacturing establishments. All mechanical crafts or labor were regarded as degrading, and hence its "educated" or ruling classes were all free traders.

Sad condition of the Southern masses.

What was the situation of the South under this state of affairs? What the condition and character of its masses or the majority? We will let Southern men tell the pitiful story. Some of them were humane, public spirited, and possessed of an ambition to serve the masses. Governor Hammond, of South Carolina, afterward Senator of the United States, before the South Carolina Institute in 1850, described "the poor whites" as ignorant, degraded, and immoral, reduced to the frightful necessity of obtaining "a precarious subsistence by occasional jobs, by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields or folds, and too often by what is far worse, by trading with slaves and seducing them to plunder for their benefit."

Mr. Tarver's testimony as to "The poorer classes."

In a work of Mr. Tarver, of Missouri, printed in 1847, and titled "The Non-Slaveholders," even the better classes, those owning some little land, are described as possessing "generally but very small means."

Mr. Tarver says:

"The land which they possess is almost universally very poor, and so sterile that a scanty subsistence is all that can be derived from its cultivation; and the more fertile soil, being in possession of the slaveholder, must ever remain out of the power of those who have none. . . . The slaveholder—the aristocratic oppressor—possessed almost all the wealth of the country. This state of things is a great drawback, and bears heavily upon and depresses the moral energies of the poorer classes. . . . The acquisition of a respectable position in the scale of wealth appears so difficult that they decline the *hopeless pursuit*, and many of them settle down into habits of idleness, and become the almost passive subjects of its consequences. And I lament to say that I have observed of late years that an evident deterioration is taking place in this part of the population, the younger portion of it being *less educated, less industrious, and in every point of view less respectable than their ancestors.*"

Mr. J. H. Taylor's testimony—The poor whites "But one step in advance of the Indian."

A similar picture of the almost hopeless degradation of the white non slave-holder is also drawn by Mr. J. H. Taylor of Charleston, S. C., and others. Mr. Wm. Gregg, of Charleston, in 1850, in an address before the South Carolina Institute, urges:

"Any man who is an observer of things could hardly pass through our country without being struck with the fact that all the capital, enterprise, and intelligence is employed in directing slave labor; and the consequence is that a large portion of our poor white people are wholly neglected, and are *suffered to while away an existence in a state but one step* from the Indian."

in advance of the Indian of the forest. It is an evil of vast magnitude, and nothing but a change in public sentiment will effect its cure. These people must be brought into daily contact with the rich and intelligent. They *must be stimulated to mental action, and taught to appreciate education and the comforts of civilized life.*"

Mr. Gregg's manufacturing village—Many scantily supplied with bread, more scantily with meat.

Mr. Gregg and others established a manufacturing village at Granitsville, S. C. He thus describes the result:

"We have collected at that place about eight hundred people, and as likely looking a set of country girls as may be found—industrious and orderly people, but *deplorably ignorant*, three fourths of the adults not being able to *read or to write their names* With the aid of ministers of the gospel on the spot, to preach to them and lecture them on the subject, we have obtained but about sixty children for our school of about a hundred which are in the place. We are satisfied that nothing but time and patience will enable us to bring them all out. . . . It is very clear to me that the only means of *educating and Christianizing* our poor whites will be to bring them into such villages, where they will not only become intelligent, but a thrifty and useful class in our community."

Mr. Gregg, in another work, his "*Essays on Domestic Industry, &c.*," asks:

"Shall we pass unnoticed the thousands of poor, ignorant, degraded white people among us, who, in this land of plenty, live in comparative nakedness and starvation? Many a one is reared in *proud* South Carolina, from birth to manhood, who has never passed a month in which he has not some part of the time been stinted for meat. Many a mother is there who will tell you that her children are but scantily supplied with bread, and much more scantily with meat; and if they be clad with comfortable raiment it is at the expense of their scanty allowance of food."

"These are startling statements," urges Mr. Gregg, "but they are nevertheless true," and he appeals in support of their truth to members of the South Carolina legislature, "who have traversed the State in electioneering campaigns."

The planting classes blind to the miserable condition of the poor whites.

But the selfish pride, the insatiate avarice, of the "educated classes," the iron tyranny of caste, was not to be influenced by appeals to their humanity. Their natures were insensible to the degradation and misery daily before their eyes. Slavery and free-trade supplied cheaply all their own physical wants. Why should they trouble themselves about the poor whites? Besides, free labor, the introduction of mechanics or manufactures, would demoralize their communities. The establishment of manufacturers in the North and East, as in all countries where mechanical industries had thrived, had been a "Pandora box that had filled the land with all sorts of moral plagues"—had destroyed the morals and the religion of the people, had introduced "skepticism, atheism, and debauchery," and the introduction of manufactures, the natu-

ralization of mechanics, in the South, would be attended with like evils and untold horrors.

Testimony of Messrs. Roper, Tracey, Gregg, and Lumpkin on the benefits of manufactures to all.

In vain did the friends of manufactures oppose to this a different and more truthful picture. Mr. R. W. Roper of South Carolina, in an address in 1844 before the State Agricultural Society, urged:

"The effect of this diversity of labor has been to extend competence among the neighboring people, to improve their morals, intelligence, and education, and establish a more respectable order of society. These results have been demonstrated in Spartanburg and around many of our large manufacturing establishments."

Said Mr. Tracey:

"The manufacturing business grows up a healthy population, is favorable to early schooling and good education and early habits of industry; stimulates to enterprise, economy, and frugality in living and saving. The products of their labor, and at the same time the organizations of their establishments in villages, being necessary for success they are placed in a more favorable situation for the cultivation of moral and religious character, without which civilized man is still a savage, and a very limited degree of human happiness attained."

Mr. Wm. Gregg, in his "*Essays on Industry*," urged:

"It is only necessary to build a manufacturing village of shanties in a healthy location in any part of the State to have crowds of these poor people around you seeking employment at *half the compensation* given to operatives at the North. It is indeed painful to be brought in contact with such ignorance and degradation; but on the other hand it is pleasant to witness the change which soon takes place in the condition of those who obtain employment. The emaciated, pale-faced children soon assume the appearance of robust health, and their tattered garments are exchanged for those suited to a better condition; if you visit their dwellings you will find their tables supplied with wholesome food; and on the Sabbath, when the females turn out in their gay colored gowns, you will imagine yourself surrounded by groups of city belles."

And Hon. J. H. Lumpkin, of Georgia, in 1852, in a paper on the "*Industrial Regeneration of the South*," argued:

"It is objected that these manufacturing establishments will become the hotbeds of crime. But I am by no means ready to concede that our poor, degraded, half-fed, half-clothed, and ignorant population, without Sabbath-schools or any other kind of instruction, mental or moral, or without any just appreciation of character, will be injured by giving them employment which will bring them under the oversight of employers, who will inspire them with self-respect by taking an interest in their welfare."

The planting classes refuse to be convinced.

But these and other intelligent and humane spirits labored in vain. The "educated classes" refused to be convinced. In their opinion the non-slave-owning masses, the poor white freeman, like the negro, possessed naturally but few, very few, of the highest attributes of humanity—very few of its rights, and none where they conflicted with those of the "educated" or slave-own-

ing classes. Hence they would have no education of the masses—no introduction or naturalization of manufactures or free labor in the South. But this discussion and the advancing opinion of the age—the pressure of freedom and free institutions upon all sides of their oligarchy—warned the “educated” leaders of Southern thought and action that they must adopt some measure to alter the condition of the non-slave-owning freeman. What was it? They had established free-trade through the tariff of 1846. They had struck the industries of the North a crushing blow, had ruined its capitalists and reduced thousands of its industrial masses to idleness and want, and now they entered the debate with a counter proposition for the relief or reform of the non-slaveholding white freeman’s condition.

Their counter-proposition—To “elevate” the white masses by making them slaves.

They insultingly proposed to degrade him into a slave. They urged that “slavery would elevate him morally, socially, and physically,” and possibly it would in the South; for, under the combined malign influences of Slavery and Free-Trade, he was wretchedly debased. They even maintained that “slavery was the natural and normal condition of the laborer!” They had previously only attempted the justification of negro slavery upon the strength of Noah’s curse of Canaan. They now wholly changed the defence of the institution.

Fitzhugh’s defence of white slavery.

Mr. Fitzhugh, of Virginia, that “conservative” leader of the pro-slavery “educated classes,” that brilliant leader of Southern thought and action, boldly announced:

“We do not adopt the theory that Ham was the ancestor of the negro race. The Jewish slaves were not negroes, and to confine the justification of slavery to that race would be to weaken its scriptural authority and to lose the whole weight of profane au-

thority, for we read of no negro slavery in ancient times. . . . Slavery, black or white, is right and necessary.”

Fitzhugh declared: “Our negroes are not only better off as to physical comfort than free laborers, but their moral condition is better.” “Two hundred years of liberty have made white laborers a pauper banditti. Free society has failed, and that which is not free must be substituted.”

Keitt’s defence of it—“Liberty for the few; slavery in every form for the masses.”

Hon. L. M. Keitt, of South Carolina, in the House of Representatives, gravely stated:

“Slavery is a grand primordial fact, rooted in the origin of things.” “As a corollary to this, it may be safely deduced that the existence of [white] laborers and mechanics in organized societies was the result of the partial and progressive emancipation of slaves.” “History tells us also that when the [white] working classes stepped out of bondage they branched into four recurring subdivisions—the HIGHLIGHT, the HEGGAR, the THIEF, and the PROSTITUTE, which have no general existence in slave countries unless there have been a commencement of emancipation.”

And these, the Richmond *Enquirer* declared, in 1860, were the doctrines of the whole Southern Democratic press. Hence, in their opinion, the only possible reform was that of reducing the workingman to slavery. Accordingly Mr. Ruffin (in his “Political Economy of Slavery”), and Mr. Fitzhugh (in “Cannibals All, or Who shall be Masters?”) elaborated what to them appeared very practical plans for the accomplishment of this philanthropic object. Mr. Fitzhugh says that a negro slave is worth about \$800, but a white slave, by reason of his harder working nature, would be worth \$1,000. Give, therefore, the capitalist owning \$1,000 one white slave, the capitalist owning \$10,000 ten white slaves, and the millionaire a thousand. He exclaims:

LIBERTY for the FEW; SLAVERY in every form for the MASSES.

CHAPTER II.

The Tariff Question—Its History, Legislation, and Votes.

“Progressive Free Trade throughout the world.”—Democratic National Platform, 1856. [Reaffirmed, 1860.]

“A tariff for revenue.”—Democratic National Platform, 1868.

“We remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their Congressional districts.”—Democratic National Platform, 1872.

“Custom house taxation shall be only for revenue.”—Democratic National Platform, 1876.

“A tariff for revenue only.”—Democratic National Platform, 1880.

“Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes.”—Democratic National Platform, 1884.

“The imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made not ‘for revenue only,’ but . . . in raising the requisite revenues for the Government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the National prosperity.”—Republican National Platform, 1884.

PART I.

The Republican American “Protective” System—Advocated by Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Calhoun, Clay, Jackson, Madison, John Q. Adams, Lincoln, Webster, Garfield, Grant, Blaine, and Logan.

George Washington in his first message to Congress declared that :

“The safety and interest of the people require that they should promote such manufactures as tend to render them independent of others for essential, particularly for military, supplies.”

The very first act of the first Congress—excepting that which prescribes a form of oath for Federal officials and which necessarily preceded all else, going, as it did, to the organization of the Government itself—was a tariff act, which opened with the following preamble:

“Whereas it is necessary for the support of the Government, for the discharge of the debt of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufacturers, that duties be levied on goods, wares, and merchandise imported.”

In his second message to Congress, George Washington said:

“Congress has repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to insure a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible.”

Benjamin Franklin, in 1771, said:

“It seems the interest of all our farmers and owners of land to encourage our young manufactures in preference to foreign ones imported among us from distant countries.”

Alexander Hamilton, in 1779, wrote:

“To maintain between the recent establishments of one country and the long matured establishments of another country a competition on equal terms, both as to quality and price, is in most cases impracticable. The disparity in the one or in the other, or in both, must necessarily be so considerable as to forbid a successful rivalry without extraordinary aid and protection from the Government.”

Alexander Hamilton, in 1790, in his celebrated Report on Manufacturers, said:

“Not only the wealth but the independence and security of a country appear to be materially connected with the prosperity of manufactures. Every nation, with a view to these great objects, ought to endeavor to possess within itself all the essentials

of national supply. These comprise the means of subsistence, habitation, clothing, and defence. The possession of these is necessary to the perfection of the body-politic, to the safety as well as the welfare of society. The want of either is the want of an important organ of political life and motion; and in the various crises which await a State it must severely feel the effects of any such deficiency. The extreme embarrassments of the United States during the late [Revolutionary] war, from an incapacity of supplying themselves, are still matters of keen recollection. A future war might be expected again to exemplify the mischiefs and dangers of a situation to which that incapacity is still in too great a degree applicable, unless changed by timely and vigorous exertion. To effect this change as fast as shall be prudent merits all the attention and all the zeal of our public councils. It is the next great work to be accomplished.”

Jno. C. Calhoun, in 1816, said:

“It [the encouragement of manufactures] produced a system strictly American, as much so as agriculture, in which it had the decided advantage of commerce and navigation. The country will from this derive much advantage. Again, it is calculated to bind together more closely our widespread republic. It will greatly increase our mutual dependence and intercourse, and will as a necessary consequence excite an increased attention to internal improvements—a subject every way so intimately connected with the ultimate attainment of national strength and the perfection of our political institutions. He regarded the fact that it would make the parts adhere more closely; that it would form a new and most powerful cement, far outweighing any political objections that might be urged against the system. In his opinion the liberty and the union of the country were inseparably united; that as the destruction of the latter would most certainly involve the former, so its maintenance will with equal certainty preserve it.”

Henry Clay, in 1824, in the course of one of his great speeches, said:

“It is most desirable that there should be both a home and a foreign market. But with respect to their relative superiority I cannot entertain a doubt. The home market is first in order and paramount in importance. . . . But this home market, desirable as it is, can only be created and cherished by the protection of our own legislation against the inevitable prostration of our industry, which must ensue from the action of foreign policy and legislation. . . . If I am asked why unprotected industry should not succeed in a struggle with protected industry, I answer: The fact has ever been so, and that is sufficient; I reply, the uniform experience evinces that it cannot succeed in such a struggle, and that is sufficient. If we speculate on the causes of this universal truth, we may differ about them. Still the indisputable fact remains. . . . The cause is the cause of the country, and it must and will prevail. It is founded on the interests and affections of the people. It is as native as the granite deeply embosomed in our mountains.”

General Andrew Jackson, in 1824, wrote:

“It is time that we should become a little more Americanized, and, instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of England, feed our own.”

James Madison, in 1828, said:

"A further evidence in support of the constitutional power to protect and foster manufactures by regulations of trade—an evidence that ought in itself to settle the question—is the uniform and practical sanction given in that power, for nearly forty years, with a concurrence or acquiescence of every State government throughout the same period, and, it may be added, through all the vicissitudes of party which marked that period."

Mr. John Q. Adams, in 1832, in a report from the Committee on Manufactures, said:

"And thus the very first act of the organized Congress united with the law of self-preservation, by the support of the Government just instituted, the two objects combined in the first grant of power to Congress; the payment of the public debts and the provision for the common defence by the protection of manufactures. The next act was precisely of the same character—an act of protection to manufactures still more than of taxation for revenue."

Abraham Lincoln, in 1832, said:

"I am in favor of the internal improvement system and a high protective tariff."

Daniel Webster, in 1833, said:

"The protection of American labor against the injurious competition of foreign labor, so far, at least, as respects general handicraft productions, is known historically to have been one end designed to be obtained by establishing the Constitution; and this object, and the constitutional power to accomplish it, ought never to be surrendered or compromised in any degree."

General Garfield, in House of Representatives, June, 1878, declared:

"So important, in my view, is the ability of the Nation to manufacture all those articles necessary to arm, equip, and clothe our people that if it could not be secured in any other way I would vote to pay money out of the Federal Treasury to maintain Government iron and steel, woollen and cotton mills, at whatever cost. Were we to neglect these great interests, and depend upon other nations, in what a condition of helplessness would we find ourselves when we should be again involved in war with the very nations on whom we were depending to furnish us these supplies? The system adopted by our fathers is wiser, for it so encourages the great National industries as to make it possible at all times for our people to equip themselves for war, and at the same time increase their intelligence and skill, so as to make them better fitted for all the duties of citizenship, both in war and in peace. We provide for the common defence by a system which promotes the general welfare."

President Grant, in three compact sentences, in defining the wants of the country, said:

"A duty upon those articles which we could dispense with, known as luxuries, and those of which we use more than we produce."

"All duty removed from tea, coffee, and other articles of universal use not produced by ourselves."

"Encouragement to home products, employment to labor at living wages, and development of home resources."

Mr. James G. Blaine, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," 1884, writes:

"Protection, in the perfection of its designs, as described by Mr. Hamilton, does not invite competition from abroad, but is based on the controlling principle that competition at home will always prevent monopoly on the part of the capitalist, assure good wages to the laborer, and defend the consumer against the evils of extortion."

General Logan, in his letter of acceptance, 1884, writes:

"The true problem of a good and stable government is how to infuse prosperity among all classes of people—the manufacturer, the farmer, the mechanic, and the laborer alike. Such prosperity is a preventive of crime, a security of capital, and the very best guarantee of general peace and happiness. The obvious policy of our Government is to protect both capital and labor by a proper imposition of duties. This protection should extend to every article of American production which goes to build up the general prosperity of our people."

PART II.

Tariff Legislation from 1789 to 1793.

The primary and principal causes underlying the American Revolution of 1776 sprung from the conflict between our colonial ancestors, in support of native industry, and the British Trader, backed by all the authority and power of the Crown and Parliament, in his efforts to destroy all manufacturing industry in the colonies, and make the colonists dependent upon England for their supplies. Colonial manufactures, by act of Parliament, were even declared a nuisance. Our fathers revolted. They conquered their independence, and in 1783 entered the community of nations as a sovereign power.

Failure of the original confederation due to lack of "protection"—The present Government organized with full powers to "protect."

The Confederation failed in all the essential particulars of government. It utterly failed to secure to the "infant industries" of America, to the domestic manufactures of the new States, that encouragement and protection to secure which, in their recent unequal conflict with the formidable power of Britain, they had staked their "lives and fortunes and sacred honor." Hence it was soon pronounced an injurious abortion, and the people resolved to abolish it—to create and substitute for it a new and more vigorous government, with ample powers to secure those objects and to execute all its delegated trusts.

Thus, in 1789, the government of the old Confederation was supplanted by our present National Government through the adoption of our National Constitution. The union or organization of the States as one nation, under a government with ample powers to protect them in their industrial pursuits, had no more earnest, no more enthusiastic or active supporters, than the mechanics and laboring men. They celebrated its adoption amid the heartiest rejoicing.

The first Tariff resolution—The first Tariff act.

The First Congress under our National Constitution organized April 6, 1789. On

April 8, within seventy hours after its organization, James Madison, in the House, introduced a resolution declaring that "duties ought to be levied on goods, wares, and merchandise imported into the United States." The Congress agreed with Mr. Madison. This First Congress, in both Houses of which were many who had been members of the convention that framed the Constitution, adopted "An act laying a duty on goods, wares, and merchandise imported into the United States." It was our first tariff act. It was the first measure of our National Government, the second law enacted by Congress under our present Constitution, and was approved by George Washington as President, on July 4, 1789. The imposts which it levied were both specific and *ad valorem*, and its preamble distinctly declared that those imposts were "necessary" among other things "for the encouragement and protection of manufacturers."

Domestic enterprises, native interests, exercised all the solicitude and care of this Congress. At its second session it enacted the tariff of August 10, 1790, by which the duties of the previous act were on an average increased $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and at both sessions, following the example of England and other powers, established a system of navigation laws, through which heavy discriminating tonnage duties were exacted for the encouragement and protection of our native shipping and trade.

Protective Tariffs of 1789 and 1790 passed by Southern votes.

The following is an analysis of the vote in the House upon the tariff of 1790, which confirmed, and under the recommendations of Alexander Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, increased some of the rates of the act of 1789:

AYES—Messrs. Ashe, Baldwin, Bloodworth, Brown, Burke, Cadwalader, Carroll, Clymer, Coles, Conter, Fitzsimmons, Floyd, Gilmer, Hartley, Heister, Huntington, Jackson, Livermore, Lawrence, Madison, Matthews, Moore, Muhlenburg, Page, Parker, Rensselaer, Scott, Seney, Sevier, Sherman, Sylvester, Sinnickson, Steele, Sturgis, Sumter, Vining, White, Williamson, and Wynkoop—33.

NAYS—Messrs. Ames, Benson, Foster, Gale, Gerry, Goodhue, Grout, Sedgwick, Smith of Maryland, Smith of South Carolina, Thatcher, Trumbull, and Wadsworth—13.

In all 52 votes, 21 of which voting "aye" were from Southern or slave-holding States. The following is an analysis by States:

New England States: For—New Hampshire, 2; Massachusetts, 0; Connecticut, 2; total, 5. Against—New Hampshire, 1; Massachusetts, 6; Connecticut, 2; total, 9.

Middle States: For—New York, 4; New Jersey, 2; Pennsylvania, 7; total, 13. Against—New York, 1; New Jersey, 0; Pennsylvania, 0; total, 1.

Slave States: For—Delaware, 1; Maryland, 3; Virginia, 7; North Carolina, 5; South Carolina, 2; Georgia, 3; total, 21. Against—Delaware, 0; Maryland, 2; Virginia, 0; North Carolina, 0; South Carolina, 1; Georgia, 0; total, 3.

Recapitulation: For—New England States, 5; Middle States, 13; Southern States, 21; total, 39. Against—New England States, 9; Middle States, 1; Southern States, 3; total, 13.

PART III.

1793 to 1807—The Commercial Craze—Hamilton's Report on Manufactures—Effect of the Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts—The War of 1812.

From 1793 to 1807, the memorable period of our commercial craze, very little attention was bestowed by our people upon manufactures. But, with the disastrous collapse of our commercial ventures, manufacturing enterprises again occupied our capitalists. In 1809 the House ordered the reprinting of Hamilton's celebrated report on manufactures. It also directed Mr. Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, to collect information respecting the various manufactures of the United States, and report the same, "together with a plan best calculated to protect and promote them." The marshals and their assistants in taking the census of 1810 were also instructed to obtain full and reliable information respecting our manufacturing establishments and manufactures. The information or data thus obtained was meager and defective. An analysis or digest of the manufacturing returns and an estimate of the value of manufactures were made under the direction of the Treasury by Mr. Tench Coxe, a distinguished statistician of Philadelphia. It was ascertained that few woollen manufactories existed in the United States, but that the woollen and cotton manufactures consumed in the country were principally the products of looms in families, and their estimated value was about \$40,000,000. The value of the manufactures of iron was reported at \$14,384,526; of the products of the tannery at \$17,935,477; of those from grain at \$16,528,207; of those of wood at \$5,554,708; of the manufacture of refined sugar at \$1,415,724; of paper, etc., at \$1,939,285; of glass at \$1,047,004; of tobacco at \$1,260,378; of cables and cordage at \$4,242,168, etc. The aggregate value of manufactures of all kinds was returned at \$127,694,602. By a previous estimate of Mr. Gallatin the value was fixed at \$120,000,000.

That was not a very flattering exhibit. But the embargo and non-intercourse acts, the retaliatory measures adopted by our Government in 1807 and 1808 against the tyrannical restrictive decrees of England and France, followed as they were by our war of 1812-15 with Britain, practically excluded from the country all foreign imports, and by throwing our people upon their own resources to supply the domestic demand, particularly for manufactures of

wool, cotton, and hemp, greatly increased and encouraged the home manufacture of those materials. Nevertheless, the close of the war in 1815 found them in swaddling-clothes. The high price of labor in the United States, and the long experience and superior skill of the British establishments, rendered it impracticable for the domestic manufacturers to sustain themselves without protection against the foreign article. That the British trader well knew. He accordingly determined to crush out the manufactures of the United States in their infant state, even at a heavy sacrifice to himself in profit. Our markets, therefore, were soon glutted with foreign products of all kinds. Thus the value of our imports, which from January 1 to September 30, 1815, was only \$83,080,073, suddenly increased during the following year, from October, 1815, to October, 1816, to the vast sum of \$155,302,700. In the House of Commons, Mr. Brougham, with manifest satisfaction and in plain language, announced the policy and the purposes of the British trader. He urged:

"It is well worth while to incur a loss upon the first importation, in order by the glut to stifle in the cradle those rising manufactures in the United States which the war had forced into existence contrary to the natural course of things."

Our citizens throughout the country engaged in manufactures, including the sugar-planters of Louisiana, prayed Congress for protection against the ruin thus menaced, and for encouragement and support to the "growing manufactures" of the nation. Congress responded by promptly affording the protection prayed for.

PART IV.

Tariff Act of 1816—Calhoun on Protection—That Act, which Established Protection, Passed by Southern Votes.

On March 12, 1816, Hon. William Lowndes, a member of the House from South Carolina, distinguished alike for ability and patriotism, reported from the Committee on Ways and Means the tariff act of 1816—a bill "to regulate the duties on imports and tonnage." Hon. Thomas Newton, of Virginia, on February 13 and March 6, from the Committee on Manufactures, had reported in favor of encouraging and protecting the manufactures of wool and cotton, and in the debate upon Mr. Lowndes's bill, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, John C. Calhoun, and Lowndes, of South Carolina, Ingham, of Pennsylvania, and others, ably contended for a "decided protection to home manufactures by ample duties." The celebrated John Randolph, of Roanoke, opposed the bill. Mr. Randolph

was a strict constructionist. He believed and urged that a "tariff for protection," the levying of imposts for the encouragement and support of manufactures, was as unconstitutional as it was unjust—a "levying of taxes on one portion of the community to put money into the pockets of another."

In this Mr. Randolph was antagonized among others by Mr. Calhoun in an argument in which he in substance reiterates and supports the views of Alexander Hamilton's report of 1791 on Manufactures.

Mr. Calhoun, in that argument, favors the encouragement and protection of our home industries. He regards the subject as one of "vital importance," "touching as it does the security and permanent prosperity of our country." He was no manufacturer. He was not from that portion of our country supposed to be peculiarly interested. He "was from the South"—from South Carolina. "Consequently no motives could be attributed to him but such as were disinterested." "The security of a country mainly depends on its spirit and means." Hence "as every people are subject to the vicissitudes of peace and war, it must ever be considered as the plain dictate of wisdom in peace to prepare for war." He then reviews the resources of the country, discusses the relative importance of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures as a source of national wealth and power, demonstrates the superiority of manufactures, because agriculture and commerce, being dependent on foreign markets, only flourish in times of peace, but manufactures, relying on our home market, is unaffected by war and is always a source of wealth and power. He said:

"What, then, are the effects of a war with a maritime power—with England? Our commerce annihilated, spreading individual misery and producing national poverty; our agriculture cut off from its accustomed markets, the surplus product of the farmer perishes upon his hands, and he ceases to produce because he cannot sell. His resources are dried up, while his expenses are greatly increased, as all manufactured articles, the necessaries as well as the conveniences of life, rise to an extravagant price. . . . The failure of the wealth and resources of the nation necessarily involves the ruin of its finances and of its currency. It is admitted by the most strenuous advocates on the other side that no country ought to be dependent on another for its means of defence; that at least our musket and bayonet, our cannon and ball, ought to be of domestic manufacture. But what was more necessary to the defence of a country than its currency and finance? Circumstanced as our country is, can these stand the shock of war? Behold the effect of the late war upon them! When our manufactures are grown to a certain perfection, as they soon will under the fostering care of Government, we will no longer experience these evils. The farmer will find a ready market for his surplus produce, and, what is of almost equal consequence, a certain and cheap supply of all his wants. His prosperity will diffuse itself to every class in the community; and instead of that languor of industry and individual distress now incident to a state of war and suspended commerce, the wealth and vigor of the community will not be materially impaired. The arm of Government will be nerved, and taxes in the hour of danger, when essential to

the independence of the nation, may be greatly increased; loans, so uncertain and hazardous, may be less relied on. Thus situated, the storm may beat without, but within all will be quiet and safe. To give perfection to this state of things it will be necessary to add, as soon as possible, a system of internal improvements and at least such an extension of our navy as will prevent the cutting off of our coasting trade."

Mr. Calhoun next reviews at some length, and rebuts, one by one, the arguments urged against manufactures as a system; maintains with great force the policy of finding profitable investment of our capital and remunerative employment for our mechanics by multiplying and protecting manufactures as permanent establishments; and with some indignation refutes and repels the charges which, even in that day, were stale and flat, that manufacturing establishments "destroy the moral and physical power of the people," that they were "the fruitful cause of pauperism," and produced a slavish dependence of the operative upon the manufacturer. He exclaimed:

"It [the encouragement of manufactures] produced a system strictly American, as much so as agriculture, in which it had the decided advantage of commerce and navigation. The country will from this derive much advantage. Again, it is calculated to bind together more closely our widespread republic. It will greatly increase our mutual dependence and intercourse, and will as a necessary consequence excite an increased attention to internal improvements—a subject every way so intimately connected with the ultimate attainment of national strength and the perfection of our political institutions. He regarded the fact that it would make the parts adhere more closely; that it would form a new and most powerful cement far outweighing any political objections that might be urged against the system. In his opinion the liberty and the union of the country were inseparably united; that, as the destruction of the latter would most certainly involve the former, so its maintenance will with equal certainty preserve it."

Nor did he "speak lightly." Mr. Calhoun assures the House that "he had often and long revolved it in his mind;" that he "had critically examined into the causes that destroyed the liberties of other countries," and closes with a solemn warning to the nation of a "new and terrible danger" which threatened it—"disunion."

Tariff Act of April 27, 1816, passed by Southern votes.

This powerful and patriotic argument was delivered in the House on April 4, 1816. It had a commanding effect. A few days later, on the 8th, the tariff act of April, 1816, largely extending and increasing the specific duties on foreign goods and adopting the minimum principle of valuation in estimating imposts, for the encouragement and protection of manufactures, passed the House by a vote of yeas 88, nays 54. It was passed by Southern votes. Among those voting in the affirmative are such distinguished Southern names as Cuthbert and Lumpkins of Georgia, Desha and Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, Philip P. Barbour, Thomas Newton, and Henry St. George

Tucker of Virginia, Mayrant, Woodward, Lowndes, and Calhoun of South Carolina.

Vote on its passage.

YEAS—Messrs. Adgate, Alexander, *Archer*, Atherton, Baker, *Barbour*, *Bassett*, Bateman, Baylies, Bennett, Betts, Birdsall, Boss, Brooks, Brown, *Cady*, Caldwell, *Calhoun*, *Cannon*, Chipman, Clednenin, Comstock, Crawford, Creighton, Crichton, *Cuthbert*, Darlington, Davenport, *Desha*, Glasgow, Gold, Grosvenor, Hahn, *Hall*, Hammond, *Hawes*, *Henderson*, Hopkinson, Ingham, *Irvine* of Pennsylvania, Jewett, *Johnson* of Kentucky, Kent, Langdom, *Lowndes*, *Lumpkin*, Lyle, *Macay*, Marsh, Mason, *Mayrant*, *McCoy*, *McLean* of Kentucky, Milnor, *Newton*, Noyes, *Ormsby*, *Parris*, *Piper*, *Pitkin*, *Pleasants*, *Powell*, Ruggles, *Sergeant*, *Savage*, *Schenck*, *Sharpe*, *Smith* of Pennsylvania, *Smith* of Maryland, *Southard*, *Strong*, *Taggart*, *Taul*, *Throop*, *Townsend*, *Tucker*, *Wallace*, *Ward* of New York, *Ward* of New Jersey, *Wendover*, *Wheaton*, *Whiteside*, *Wilkin*, *Willoughby*, *Thomas Wilson*, *William Wilson*, *Woodward*, and *Yates*—88. **NAYS**, 54—total, 142.

Of the 88 yeas, 25 in italics are of men from the South. If those twenty-five had voted nay, the result would have been—yeas 63, nays 79—thus defeating protection. As it was, these Southern votes decided the House in favor of protection to manufactures.

Our protective system practically established by the act of 1816.

Here in the principles and provisions of this act of April, 1816, we have the practical foundation of the American policy of encouragement of home manufactures, the practical establishment of the great industrial system upon which rests our present national wealth and the power and the prosperity and happiness of our whole people! Here, in this act, supported by Henry Clay, by Henry St. George Tucker, and by Lowndes and John C. Calhoun! Here, in this tariff act passed by Southern votes, by the votes of men at the time national and patriotic in their purposes and views, by living spirits of the South against the vigorous protest and the votes of New England!

PART V.

The Tariffs of 1824 and 1828—The Compromise Tariff of 1833 and the Consequent Disasters—The Tariff of 1842.

The great tariff acts of 1824 and 1828 only increased and extended and strengthened the provisions of the act of 1816 while preserving its principle in support of its beneficent national purposes—the encouragement of a system of home industries under the protection of the nation.

The tariff act of March 2, 1833, commonly known as the compromise tariff, provided for a biennial reduction of duties on all foreign imports which shall exceed 20 per cent on the value thereof of one tenth of such excess up to 31st December, 1842, when

the residue of such excess should be deducted. This was the principal stipulation of the act. Among other provisions it contained that of a home valuation in assessing duties—a provision peculiarly obnoxious to Mr. Calhoun and his nullifying adherents.

The passage of the tariff act of 1828 was peculiarly odious to South Carolina and other States South, which kept up an unceasing agitation against it, threatening nullification and even civil war if it was not repealed. This threatening attitude of South Carolina unduly alarmed some of the friends of protection. It led to the passage of the tariff act of March 2, 1833. Henry Clay, the author of the act, believing the principle of protection in peril, introduced the compromise act as a means of preserving that principle. In the Senate, in the debate upon this bill, Mr. Clay urged: "The main object of the bill is not revenue, but protection." In reply to Senators who maintained that the bill abandoned the protective principle, Mr. Clay declared that "the language of the bill authorized no such construction, and that no one would be justified in inferring that there was to be an abandonment of the system of protection." Mr. John M. Clayton, of Delaware, a staunch protectionist and supporter of the bill, said:

"The Government cannot be kept together if the principle of protection were to be discarded in our policy, and declared that he would pause before he surrendered that principle even to save the Union."

And Mr. Clay added:

"The bill assumes, as a basis, adequate protection for nine years and less beyond that term. The friends of protection say to their opponents, we are willing to take a lease of nine years, with the long chapter of accidents beyond that period, including the chance of war, the restoration of concord, and along with it a conviction common to all of the utility of protection, and in consideration of it, if, in 1842, none of these contingencies shall have been realized, we are willing to submit as long as Congress may think proper, with the maximum of 20 per cent."

This was the origin of the avowed purpose of the supporters of the act—to preserve the protective principle, believed at the moment to be in danger.

The effects of the compromise tariff of 1833, combined with those of President Jackson's war upon the established financial system of the Government, were very disastrous. In 1840 all prices had ruinously fallen; production had greatly diminished, and in many departments of industry had practically ceased; thousands of workingmen were idle, with no hope of employment, and their families suffering from want. Our farmers were without markets. Their products rotted in their barns, and their lands, teeming with rich harvests, were sold by the sheriff for debts and taxes. The tariff which robbed our industries of protection failed to supply Government with its necessary revenues. The national treasury in consequence was bankrupt, and the credit of the nation had sunk very low.

Mr. Calvin Colton, in his "Life of Henry Clay," describes, from the newspapers of the times, the ruinous condition of all our industries in 1840, resulting from the combined influences of the compromise tariff and Jackson's and Van Buren's financial measures. Mr. Colton says:

"Mr. Clay states that the average depression in the value of property under that state of things which existed before the tariff of 1824 came to the rescue of the country, at *fifty per cent*. The revolution of 1837 produced a far greater havoc than was experienced in the period above mentioned. The ruin came quick and fearful. There were few that could save themselves. Property of every description was parted with at sacrifices that were astounding, and as for the currency, there was scarcely any at all. In some parts of the interior of Pennsylvania the people were obliged to divide banknotes into halves, quarters, eights, and so on, and agree from necessity to use them as money."

"In Ohio, with all her abundance, it was hard to get money to pay taxes."

"The Sheriff of Muskingum County, as stated by the *Guernsey Times*, in the summer of 1842, sold at auction one four-horse wagon, at \$5.50; ten hogs at 6 cents each; two horses (said to be worth from \$50 to \$75 each) at \$2 each; two cows at \$1 each; a barrel of sugar for \$1.50; and a 'store of goods' at that rate."

"In Pike County, Mo., as stated by the *Hannibal Journal*, the sheriff sold three horses at \$1.50 each; one large ox at 12½ cents; five cows, two steers, and one calf, the lot at \$3.25; twenty sheep at 18½ cents each; twenty-four hogs, the lot at 25 cents; one eight-day clock at \$2.50; lot of tobacco, seven or eight hogsheads, at \$5; three stacks of hay, each, at 25 cents; and one stack of fodder at 25 cents."—(Vol. I., pp. 65, 66.)

The United States *Almanac* estimated the losses, in four years from 1837, on five descriptions of capital alone, at \$782,000,000. In a series of letters to the people of the United States, by "Concivis," published in New York in 1840, it was estimated that the losses from the same causes on wool (\$20,000,000); cotton (\$120,000,000); and grain (\$150,000,000), were \$300,000,000! He shows that manufactures, lands, and every species of property and labor were affected to a like ruinous extent.

In the Presidential campaign of 1840 the Whigs, therefore, made the tariff the principal issue. One of their rallying cries was: "Two dollars a day and roast beef." The Democracy was badly beaten, and the Whigs, on August 30, 1842, passed a tariff which yielded protection to our nearly ruined industries, and rapidly worked a restoration of the prosperity of the nation through a revival of its industries and trade.

PART VI.

The Democratic Trick by which it became Possible to Repeal the Protective Tariff of 1842, and to Enact the Free-Trade Tariff of 1846.

In the Presidential campaign of 1844, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, the great champion of protection, was the Whig candidate

for President; James K. Polk, of Tennessee, was the Democratic candidate. The electoral vote of the great tariff State of Pennsylvania was necessary to Polk's success, but he was on record against protection. In the public mind he was believed to be a free-trader. The Whigs so charged, and with great force, as Polk was supported by the free-trade South, and by every free-trader in the country. The situation was a difficult one for any but Democratic reform. In Pennsylvania Mr. Polk, by the Democratic orators and press, was boldly urged as a better tariff man than Mr. Clay. He was a protectionist, and Clay was denounced as having betrayed protection by the compromise act of 1833. The following letter from Mr. Polk was circulated:

"COLUMBIA, TENN., June 19, 1844.

"DEAR SIR: I have recently received several letters in reference to my opinions on the subject of the tariff, and, among others, yours of the 30th ultimo. My opinions on this subject have been often given to the public. They are to be found in my public acts, and in the public discussions in which I have participated. I am in favor of a tariff for revenue—such a one as will yield a sufficient amount to the treasury to defray the expenses of the Government, economically administered. In adjusting the details of a revenue tariff, I have heretofore sanctioned such moderate discriminating duties as would produce the amount of revenue needed, and at the same time afford reasonable incidental protection to our home industry. I am opposed to a tariff for protection *MERELY*, and not for revenue. Acting upon these general principles, it is well known that I gave my support to the policy of General Jackson's administration on this subject. I voted against the tariff act of 1828. I voted for the act of 1832, which contained modifications of some of the objectionable provisions of the act of 1828.

"As a member of the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, I gave my assent to a bill reported by that committee in December, 1832, making further modifications of the act of 1828, and making also discriminations in the imposition of the duties which it proposed.

"That bill did not pass, but was superseded by a bill commonly called the compromise bill, for which I voted. In my judgment it is the duty of the Government to extend, as far as it may be practicable to do so, by its revenue laws and all other means within its power, fair and just protection to all the great interests of the whole Union, embracing agriculture, manufactures, the mechanic arts, commerce, and navigation. I heartily approve the resolutions upon this subject passed by the Democratic National Convention lately assembled at Baltimore.

"I am, with great respect, dear sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES K. POLK.

"J. K. KANE, Esq., Philadelphia."

And a little later Polk's letter was reinforced by the following from Judge McCandless, an important and influential Democratic leader of the State:

"PITTSBURGH, August 8, 1844.

"GENTLEMEN: Your cordial invitation of the 30th ultimo to be present with you at your mass-meeting on the 3d of September came to hand during my absence in the northwestern counties of Pennsylvania.

"I assure you that I never wrote an apology for my inability to attend any public assemblage in the whole course of my political career with more reluctance than I do this. Clarion has not only been firm and steadfast in her adherence to Democratic principles, but she has been inflexible in her love and support of the *tariff*—that public measure which (aside from the bank question, like the rod

of the Prophet, is destined to swallow up all other topics of political controversy. You have properly appreciated the importance of the *protective principle* to the success of the manufacturing and agricultural interests of Pennsylvania, and in the abandonment of that principle by Mr. Clay, in the compromise bill, you have the best *guaranty* that, if elected to the Presidency, he will carry out the principles of that bill, and afford you a horizontal duty, to enable you to contend with the pauper labor of Sweden and Russia. In doing so, he would give you and the *tariff* the same *support* that the *roe* does the *hanging man*—instant death, and without "benefit of clergy." Support him, if you can; for my own part, I shall go for Polk and Dallas, who have at heart the true interests of Pennsylvania.

"My engagements, gentlemen, in the supreme court, will prevent me from attending your mass-meeting. With the brightest prospect of Democratic success—20,000 majority, I have the honor to be, truly yours,

"WILSON McCANDLESS.

"MESSRS. ADAM MOONEY, SETH CLOVER, and others, Committee."

This fraud succeeded. James K. Polk was elected. Hon. Robert J. Walker, of Miss., a pronounced Free-Trader, was made Secretary of the Treasury, the tariff of 1842, under which the country had so rapidly advanced to prosperity was repealed, and the Free-Trade tariff of 1846 enacted.

PART VII.

Disastrous Effects of Tariff of 1846 upon all Industrial Interests.

And now let some of the ablest men of the period through which this Free-Trade tariff extended, Democrats and Whigs, in a few brief extracts, tell the story of disaster and suffering which it worked.

Testimony of Henry C. Carey.

Mr. Henry C. Carey, an able writer on Political Economy, in his "*The Prospect, Agricultural, Manufacturing, Commercial, and Financial, at the opening of the year 1851*," and printed in 1851, during the operation of this Free-Trade tariff, thus describes its disastrous effects upon every industrial interest:

"At close of this brief period of real "prosperity" [in 1846], how great was the change. Labor was everywhere in demand. Planters had large crops, and the domestic market was growing with a rapidity that promised better prices. The produce of the farm was in demand, and prices had risen. The consumption of coal, iron, wool, and cotton, and woolen cloth, was immense and rapidly increasing, while prices were falling because of the rapidly improving character of the machinery of production. Production of every kind was immense, and commerce, internal and external, was growing with unexampled rapidity. Shipping was in demand, and its quantity was being augmented at a rate never before known. Roads and canals were productive. Corporations had been resuscitated, and States had recommenced payment and the credit of the Union was so high that the same persons who had vilified the people and the Government of the Union in 1842, were now anxious to secure their custom on almost any terms—having become as fawning now as before they had been insolent."—P. 35.

And again in a letter to Hon. Robert F. Walker, Secretary of the Treasury, he says:

"The tariff of 1846 has caused the total ruin of thousands and tens of thousands of the most useful men in the country. It tends to the utter destruction of the coal and the iron, the cotton and the woollen interests; and unless its progress be stayed, at that goal we must soon arrive, as must be admitted even by yourself. For all this we should elsewhere find some compensation. If we produce less coal and iron, we should have more wheat to sell. If we make less cotton cloth, we should export more cotton. If we make less woollen cloth, we should raise more wool. If we build fewer factories, we should export more tobacco. If we build fewer furnaces, we should export more corn and pork; and all these things we must do or largely diminish our consumption of cloth and iron, because if we do not make we must buy them, which can be done only by producing commodities which their producers are willing to receive in exchange for them. If these things have happened there may be found therein some compensation for diminished production of cloth and iron; but if they have not happened then there is no compensation for the vast destruction we have witnessed and are daily witnessing."

"Have they happened? Have we more wheat to export. On the contrary, we have less from year to year. Have we more cotton, rice, tobacco, corn, and pork to sell? The answer is found in the fact that the quantity for export diminishes from year to year. The demand for ships diminishes and the demand for labor diminishes, and instead of this country becoming from year to year more and more an asylum for the down-trodden people of Europe, it becomes from year to year less so; and with the diminution of immigration there is a diminution of the number of persons with whom we maintain perfect freedom of trade, intramuram by the interference of custom-house officers. Under the tariff of 1842 immigration trebled, and with each immigrant we established perfect freedom of trade. Under the tariff of 1846 immigration has become stationary, with a tendency to decline, and the number of arrivals in the last fiscal year is little greater than it was three years before. Perfect free-trade has ceased to extend itself. We trade now with a million of Europeans, still resident in Europe, who, but for the enactment of the tariff of 1846, would now be Americans."—P. 5.

Testimony of Abram S. Hewitt for protection.

Mr. Abram S. Hewitt, of New York, is one of the ablest of the leading Democrats of the present House. He is now an advocate of free-trade. He was also a Democrat in 1848, but under the ruinous operation of the free-trade tariff of 1846, he was compelled to demand protection as the only means of a restoration of prosperity. At a public meeting in Trenton, N. J., in September, 1848, Mr. Hewitt said:

"Labor in Europe was worth twenty-five or thirty cents a day; in this country three or four times that much. The average wages in their mills is a little more than a dollar a day now (\$2). Why was there this difference between English wages and American wages? Because some eight hundred years ago Britain was invaded by a foreign conqueror who seized all the land and wealth of the island and devoted it to sustain a royal family and a landed aristocracy, and compelled the people, the serfs, whom they made worse than slaves, to toil for them for the merest pittance that would keep them alive. That system continues to this day, the people still toil on for the most niggardly wages, and the great part of their earnings goes to sustain the Queen in her pomp and the nobles in their spendthrift idleness. In this country it was not so. Our forefathers settled here as men, all of whom were equal to each other, and all of whom were en-

titled to the products of their labor. Whatever any man earned was his, all his, and no part of it was to be taken to sustain a monarch's splendor or an idle aristocracy. Under this system the colonies grew and flourished, until they attracted the attention of the government at home, and that government attempted by taxing them to take from them a portion of their earnings, just as they took from the workmen at home the chief part of theirs. That attempt our fathers resisted by arms, and successfully. But in these days the attempt is renewed, and by our own government; they are endeavoring to break down the difference of English wages and American wages, to reduce the American workman from his dollar a day to an equality with the English workman, who receives as the fruits of his labor only a paltry share, while the remainder is taken to support a king and nobility. . . .

"The value of any manufacture is made up entirely of the wages paid to produce it. Coal and iron in the mines cost nothing. They are the free gift of God. But they are excavated by the pick and shovel of the workman; by him they are wheeled, carted, boated to market; by the workman they are carried to the mill; by the workman the furnace is heated and charged; by him the iron is puddled, rolled, put up for market, carried thither and sold. It is labor, labor, labor that constitutes every addition to the value of the article, and it is the man who bestows that labor who should enjoy all the fruits of it.

"I have lately been in New England for the purpose of securing a contract for mills, in order to keep the mills running after our present contract runs out. I offered to make the rails at the very lowest price at which they could be made at the present rate of wages. An English agent came there and underbid me and got the contract. Thus, for want of a protective system, is the money sent to England to employ English workmen that ought to have come here to employ you."

Mr. Hewitt said he was not a Whig, but a Democrat. Still he went for protection now, as he did, and as his party did, in 1844, and he went for General Taylor because he would sign a bill to protect American labor. He did not ask for any unreasonable duty. He only asked for a duty equal to the difference between American labor and English labor, etc.

Hewitt's protection resolutions.

Mr. Hewitt closed by proposing a series of resolutions embodying the general principles he had advanced:

Resolved, That this meeting, composed of men who depend for their livelihood upon the labor of their own hands, hold the following facts and principles to be undeniably true, viz.:

"That natural wealth is the fruit of individual labor.

"That, therefore, is the best government, and the best policy which secures to the hand that earns it the largest possible return for its labor.

"That the superiority of free institutions and economical government is proved by the fact that in the United States the average wages of labor are from three to four times as large as under the monarchical governments of Europe.

"That while foreign labor is paid at this price, it would be worse than insanity to adopt any policy by which the wages of our own labor should be reduced to the same level, because it would be throwing away all the advantages secured to us by a free and economical government.

"That if the whole productive industry of the country were employed in producing the articles which we sell abroad, which are mainly breadstuffs and provisions, cotton, rice, and tobacco, we should produce a much larger quantity than we could sell; foreign markets would soon be filled with these articles; the price of them would fall, the laborer that produced them would, as a matter of course, receive less remuneration than it now does; the only stopping point in the decline of wages would be the starving point, and the inevitable result would be that we should be forced to give equal labor for equal labor, instead of one day's labor for four, as we have been doing for many years.

"That, therefore, if we would keep up the price of labor, we cannot employ the whole productive labor of the country in raising such articles as we export; and the farmers, of all men in the community, are most interested in employing in some other way that amount of labor, which, if devoted to agriculture, would produce a glut, and a consequent fall of prices in the foreign markets; and that the only way in which such surplus labor can be employed is in producing certain manufactured articles, which can be bought cheaper in foreign countries, not because it takes less labor there to produce them, but because that labor is paid for at a less price."

"That hence arises the necessity for a tariff, which, properly devised, is merely a system whereby the price of labor, which naturally results under a free and economical government, is prevented from being reduced to the pauper level of labor which just as naturally results under governments where the first fruits of labor, instead of being secured to the hand that earns them, are flitched away in order to maintain the costly splendor of thrones and the idle extravagance of an enervated aristocracy."

A little later, in December, 1849, Mr. Hewitt repeats the story of ruin:

"And first, what is the real condition of the domestic iron trade? Is it actually depressed and threatened with ruin, or does all the outcry proceed from men who, having realized 'princely fortunes' annually, are now clamorous because their profits are reduced to reasonable limits, or from another class who, having erected works in improper locations, desire not so much to make iron cheaply as to build up villages and speculate in real estate? Undoubtedly to some extent there are such cases, . . . but as to the great fact that the great majority of establishments judiciously located and managed with proper skill and economy have been compelled to suspend work throughout the land for want of remunerating work there cannot be a shadow of a doubt."

"Again, of fifteen rail mills only two are in operation, doing partial work, and that only because their inland position secured them against foreign competition, for the limited orders of neighboring railroads, and when these are executed not a single rail mill will be at work in the land."

Hon. Joseph Casey of Pennsylvania relates the ruin of the iron-trade.

In the House of Representatives, on the 12th of August, 1850, Hon. Joseph Casey, of Pennsylvania, declared:

"The whole history of the manufacture of iron in Pennsylvania shows that in a period of seventy-five years there have been erected 500 furnaces, and out of them 177 failures or where they have been closed out by the sheriff. Out of this 177 failures 134 of them have occurred since the passage of the tariff of 1846. And out of 300 blast-furnaces in full operation when the tariff of 1846 was enacted into a law, or fully one half, had stopped several months ago, and fully 50 more are preparing to go out of blast."

PART VIII.

President Fillmore's Message Asking a Restoration of Protection as a Means to Revive Prosperity.

President Fillmore, in his Annual Message, dated December 2, 1851, says:

"The values of our domestic exports for the last fiscal year, as compared with those of the previous year, exhibit an increase of \$43,646,322. At first view this condition of our trade with foreign nations would seem to present the most flattering hope of its future prosperity. An examination of the details

of our exports, however, will show that the increased value of our exports for the last fiscal year is to be found in the high price of cotton which prevailed during the last half of that year, which price has since declined about one half. The value of our exports of breadstuffs and provisions, which it was supposed the incentive of a low tariff and large imports from abroad would have greatly augmented, has fallen from \$68,701,921 in 1847 to \$26,051,373 in 1850, and to \$21,848,633 in 1851, with a strong probability, amounting almost to a certainty, of a still further reduction in the current year. The aggregate values of rice exported during the last fiscal year as compared with the previous year also exhibit a decrease amounting to \$160,917, which, with a decline in the values of the exports of tobacco for the same period, makes an aggregate decrease in these two articles of \$1,156,751."

"The policy which dictated a low rate of duties on foreign merchandise, it was thought by those who promoted and established it, would tend to benefit the farming population of this country, by increasing the demand and raising the price of agricultural products in foreign markets."

"The foregoing facts, however, seem to show incontestably that no such result has followed the adoption of this policy."

In a subsequent message President Fillmore urges:

"In my first annual message to Congress I called your attention to what seemed to me some defects in the present tariff, and recommended such modifications as in my judgment were best adapted to remedy its evils and promote the prosperity of the country. Nothing has since occurred to change my views on this important question."

"Without repeating the arguments contained in my former message in favor of discriminating protective duties, I deem it my duty to call your attention to one or two other considerations affecting this subject. The first is the effect of large importations of foreign goods upon our currency. Most of the gold of California, as fast as it is coined, finds its way directly to Europe in payment for goods purchased. In the second place, as our manufacturing establishments are broken down by competition with foreigners, the capital invested in them is lost, thousands of honest and industrious citizens are thrown out of employment, and the farmer, to that extent, is deprived of a home market for the sale of his surplus produce. In the third place, the destruction of our manufactures leaves the foreigner without competition in our market, and he consequently raises the price of the article sent here for sale, as is now seen in the increased cost of iron imported from England. The prosperity and wealth of every nation must depend upon its productive industry. The farmer is stimulated to exertion by finding a ready market for his surplus products, and benefited by being able to exchange them, without loss of time or expense of transportation, for the manufactures which his comfort or convenience requires. This is always done to the best advantage where a portion of the community in which he lives is engaged in other pursuits. But most manufactures require an amount of capital and a practical skill which cannot be commanded unless they be protected for a time from ruinous competition from abroad."

PART IX.

President Buchanan's Message—The Nation Bankrupt and Without Credit.

President Buchanan, at the close of this disastrous period, in his annual message, also appealed for protection as a means of rebuilding our dilapidated industries and trade. In his annual message, dated December 8, 1857, he urges:

"Since the adjournment of the last Congress our constituents have enjoyed an unusual degree of health. The earth has yielded her fruits abundantly and has bountifully rewarded the toil of the husbandman. Our great staples have commanded high prices, and, up till within a brief period, our manufacturing, mineral, and mechanical occupations have largely partaken of the general prosperity. We have possessed all the elements of material wealth in rich abundance, and yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, our country, in its monetary interests, is at the present moment in a deplorable condition. In the midst of unsurpassed plenty in all the productions and in all the elements of national wealth we find our manufactures suspended, our public works retarded, our private enterprises of different kinds abandoned, and thousands of useful laborers thrown out of employment and reduced to want. The revenue of the Government, which is chiefly derived from duties on imports from abroad, has been greatly reduced, while the appropriations made by Congress at its last session for the current fiscal year are very large in amount.

"Under these circumstances a loan may be required before the close of your present session; but this, although deeply to be regretted, would prove to be only a slight misfortune when compared with the suffering and distress prevailing among the people. With this the Government cannot fall deeply to sympathize, though it may be without the power to extend relief."

The National treasury bankrupt—The National credit fallen to its lowest ebb.

As in 1840, under the destructive operation of the compromise tariff of 1833, so in 1860, under the free-trade tariff of 1846, the act which struck down our industries necessarily destroyed our trade, and failed to supply the Government with its necessary revenues. In 1860 the National treasury was bankrupt, and the credit of the nation had fallen to its lowest ebb in our financial history. A treasury statement thus gives the figures at which in 1860 our treasury notes were sold:

At 6 per cent	\$70,200
At 7 per cent	5,000
At 8 per cent	24,500
At 8½ per cent	83,000
At 8¾ per cent	10,000
At 9 per cent	65,000
At 9¼ per cent	10,000
At 9½ per cent	100,000
At 9¾ per cent	75,000
At 10 per cent	1,027,600
At 10½ per cent	205,000
At 10¾ per cent	623,000
At 11 per cent	1,307,000
At 11 per cent	1,432,700
Total	\$10,010,900

And this is the inevitable result of free-trade. The destruction of our industries, reducing our laboring classes, manufacturing and agricultural, to want and misery, the ruin of commerce and trade, and that of the people and the nation.

PART X.

The Morrill Protective Tariff of 1860—Subsequent Republican Legislation all Protective.

In 1860 the Republican Party came into power and passed the Morrill Tariff Act,

which was firmly based upon the principle of protection. Since then many changes in the law have been made, under which the tariff duties have been lowered or increased as seemed best for the prosperity of the industrial interests of the United States, while large annual reductions of the total revenue derived from tariff duties have periodically been made, but never has that party in making such changes lost sight of the great American principle of protection—of protection to the manufacturer, of protection to the artisan and mechanic, of protection to the farmer, of protection to the laborer. It has even been its habit when making such changes to act with caution and consideration, and to give patient hearing, before taking action, to the representatives of the manufacturing and laboring interests. Information thus gained from the body of the people by the various Republican committees on ways and means has enabled them to prepare and urge to passage protective tariff measures grounded in wisdom as the absolute requirements of American industry. Hence Republican legislation on the subject has always been satisfactory to the American people and whatever changes were at times demanded by an increasing surplus in the Treasury were slight and of such character as not to disturb the industries or occupations of the American workman. But when the Democratic Party got full possession of the House of Representatives, their restless movements to change the essential principle of tariff legislation from protection to free-trade at once affected American industrial interests, and most disastrously, as we shall presently see.

PART XI.

The Morrison Free-Trade Tariff of 1876—The Democratic English Free-Trade Death-Blow aimed at American Industries.

The first attempt since the Rebellion made by the Democrats to tinker the tariff was in 1876, under the lead of Mr. Morrison of Illinois, then, as now, Chairman of the Democratic House Committee on Ways and Means. He introduced to the Democratic House a tariff bill—known as the Morrison Tariff Bill—which had been drawn for him by the Free-Traders and others interested in breaking down protection, ruining Home manufacture, and depriving our American home labor of a chance to earn an honest living, which excited great alarm at the time, and had its share in leading up to the succeeding panic and hard times. By Republican efforts, however, this Morrison tariff bill was so effectually exposed that it dared not afterward show its head. From Mr. Hubbell's speech a

Durham, Eden, Eickhoff, Ellis, Felton, E. B. Finley, Forney, Garth, Gause, Gibson, Giddings, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, Hardin, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hart, Hartridge, Hartwell, Henkle, Henry, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Herbert, Hooker, House, Hunton, F. Jones, J. T. Jones, Kenna, Kimmell, Knott, G. M. Landers, Ligon, Lockwood, Luttrell, Lynde, Manning, Martin, Mayham, McMahon, Mills, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Morse, Muldrow, Muller, Phelps, C. N. Potter, Quinn, Rae, Reagan, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, Robertson, Sayler, Scales, Sheltley, Singleton, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Springer, Steele, Stephens, Swan, Throckmorton, R. W. Toushend, Tucker, Turner, R. B. Vance, Veefer, Waddell, Warner, Whitthorne, Wigginton, A. S. Williams, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. A. Willis, F. Wood, and Young.

The panic it occasioned—Gallant fight by the Republicans for the laboring man.

The Republicans, however, continued to fight the monstrous iniquities proposed by this bill, and finally, after a long and doubtful contest—during which many of our most important industries languished, hundreds of business houses were forced to suspend operations, hundreds of others were forced into bankruptcy, and thousands upon thousands of our laboring people were deprived of the chance to earn their daily bread—succeeded in killing this baleful Democratic measure. On the 5th of June, 1878, the enacting clause of the bill—to the intense chagrin of Mr. Wood and his Democratic colleagues—was stricken out, and the bill defeated by a vote of 134 yeas to 120 nays. Of the 134 yeas, 115 were Republicans and only 19 Democrats. Of the 120 nays, 113 were Democrats and only 7 Republicans. The Democratic vote in favor of the bill was therefore in the proportion of about six for it to every one against it! The Republican vote against the bill was in the proportion of about sixteen against to every one for it! The names of the Democrats who voted against killing the bill were as follows:

NAYS—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Atkins, Banning, Beebe, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bland, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bragg, Bright, Blackburn, Bland, Bliss, Blount, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Carlisle, Chalmers, J. B. Clark, Jr., Cobb, Cook, Covert, S. S. Cox, Cravens, Crittenden, Culberson, Davidson, Dean, Dibrell, Dickey, Eden, Eickhoff, Elam, Ellis, Ewing, Felton, E. B. Finley, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Garth, Gause, Gibson, Giddings, Goode, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hart, Hartridge, Hartwell, Hatcher, Henkle, Henry, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Herbert, Hooker, House, F. Jones, J. T. Jones, Kenna, Kimmell, Knott, Ligon, Luttrell, Martin, Mayham, McKenzie, McMahon, Mills, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Muldrow, Muller, T. M. Patterson, Phelps, C. N. Potter, Prudmore, Rae, Reagan, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Sayler, Shelly, Singleton, W. E. Smith, Southard, Springer, Steele, Stephens, Swan, Throckmorton, R. W. Toushend, Tucker, R. B. Vance, Waddell, G. C. Walker, Warner, Whitthorne, Wigginton, A. S. Williams, J. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. A. Willis, F. Wood, Yeates, Young.

Infamous intentions of the Democratic English tariff policy—Proposed reduction of duties by the bill 15 per cent—Further reduction of 35 per cent contemplated.

In order to see that the object of Fernando Wood's Tariff Bill and of the Democratic

Party is ultimately so to reduce the present rates of customs duties as to completely destroy the principle of protection, it is only necessary to glance at his speech delivered in the House April 9, 1878, in support of that monstrous measure. Speaking of the present rates of duties, this Democratic leader airily said:

"I recognize an implied moral right to a *little* longer continuation of the favor which they afford to the manufacturing interests. The bill reported affects them, so far as the rates of duties are concerned, *but little*. Its reductions are trifling as compared to what they should be, and, in my opinion, they could well afford to bear. If I had the power to commence *de novo*, I should reduce the duties 50 per cent instead of less than 15 per cent upon an average, as now proposed."

Here is an admission that his Tariff Act—for which, as we have seen, the Democrats voted so strongly—contemplates an average reduction of about 15 per cent, with a further future reduction of more than twice that amount, when, if ever, the administration, as well as both branches of Congress, pass under Democratic control. The "little longer continuation" of the "favor" of the 15 per cent reduction plainly refers to that period, should it ever, unfortunately for our manufacturing industries and the people who get their daily bread by them, arrive. The only hope then for our home industrial interests, to avoid the wide-spread ruin, not alone contemplated, but thus directly avowed by the Democratic Party as a part of their policy, is to renounce their Presidential and Congressional candidates to private life.

Another vote showing the English free-trade views of Democracy.

Another very instructive vote was that which was cast in the House December 1, 1877, than which nothing could more forcibly prove the real antagonism of the Democratic leaders to the artisan, the mechanic, and the laborer, and their dislike of that system of protection which the Republican Party has always afforded to the American workingman, by protecting the manufacturing interests which employ him, against the foreign manufacturer. At that date, upon a resolution offered by Mr. Mills, a Democrat, instructing the Committee on Ways and Means "to so revise the tariff as to make it purely and solely a tariff for revenue" and not for protection, the vote stood: yeas, 67; nays, 76. Of the 67 yeas, 60 were Democratic and only 7 Republican. Of the 76 nays, 54 were Republican and only 12 Democratic.

Following are the names of the Democrats who voted for this anti-protective resolution:

Messrs. H. P. Bell, Bicknell, Blackburn, Bland, Boone, Bragg, Buckner, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, J. B. Clark, Jr., Cobb, Cravens, Culberson, Dibrell, Dickey, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Elam, Felton, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Garth, Gause, Giddings, Glover, Goode, A. H. Hamilton, Hartzell, Hatcher, House, J. T. Jones, Kenna, Knott,

Ligon, Luttrell, Martin, McKenzie, Mills, Morrison, Pridemore, Reagan, Riddle, Robertson, Sayler, Scales, Singleton, Stemons, W. E. Smith, Springer, Steele, Throckmorton, R. W. Townshend, Turner, R. B. Vance, Waddell, Whitthorne, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis.

PART XIII.

Hurd's Resolutions (1880) to Restore the Ruinous Free-Trade Tariff of 1846.

December 6, 1880, in the House of Representatives, Mr. Hurd, of Ohio, from the Committee on Ways and Means, introduced the following joint resolution :

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That any tariff levied by the Congress should be regulated by the following principles :

"First. A tariff is a tax upon imported goods, which is ultimately paid by the consumer, as the importer always adds to the selling price the amount of duty paid; being a tax paid by the citizen, it ought, therefore, not to be imposed except to provide revenue for the Government, and only that tariff ought to be levied which will with the least burden to the people provide the necessary revenue.

"Second. A tariff for protection, so called, does not in most cases protect the interest it pretends to foster; while at first it may bring large profits to those engaged in the manufacturing which is assumed to be protected, it soon, by these very profits, invites many persons into the business, from which result over-production, overstocking of the market, low prices, reduction of the hours of labor, shutting down, at least temporarily, of the workshops, embarrassment to the proprietor, and, in many instances, final bankruptcy, in which the large profits made at first are swallowed up, and the large wages at first paid workingmen, if saved up at all, are consumed in waiting for a business revival, which, if it does come, will inevitably be attended by the same consequences.

"Third. A protective tariff does not increase the wages of workingmen, as demonstrated by the following facts: First, in England since the policy of free-trade has been adopted the wages of laborers have been higher than when the system of protection prevailed; second, in Germany, where there is a protective tariff, the wages are lower than in countries without tariff, or with a tariff for revenue only; and, third, the average wages of the American laborer since the adoption of the present tariff have for the ten years last past been less (allowing for the difference in the currency) than under a revenue tariff for the ten years preceding eighteen hundred and sixty.

"Fourth. A protective tariff builds up one citizen at the expense of another, for every dollar of additional price the protection enables the manufacturer to charge must be paid by another citizen. Such a discrimination against one and in favor of another a government ought not to make. A protective tariff which protects unequally works injustice. A protective tariff which protects all equally is superfluous, for if all are equally protected they are in precisely the same situation as though they had received no protection at all.

"Fifth. A protective tariff disturbs the operation of the primal law of trade which governs all exchanges by the supply and demand of the articles to be exchanged, and openly and shamelessly violates the principle that every man has a right, subject only to governmental necessities, to buy where he can buy the cheapest and sell where he can get the best price.

"Sixth. The present protective tariff has driven the American carrying trade from the high seas, by enhancing the price of the materials which enter into the construction of vessels so that American

ship-builders cannot compete with foreigners engaged in the same business.

"Seventh. A protective tariff increases the possibilities of the crime of smuggling, which, with our extensive water frontier and weak Navy, it is impossible to prevent, and by the commission of which dishonest men are made rich by violating the law, and honest men are made poor by obeying it.

"Eighth. A protective tariff shuts out the American manufacturer from the markets of the world. Mexico and South America are supplied with their manufactured goods by England. Our best interests demand that the protective barrier our legislation has erected shall be broken down, that American skill and enterprise may have an opportunity to compete with foreign manufacturers everywhere. Our manufactures need more an increase of market, by which foreign capital can be brought into this country, than protective legislation, which takes money from one American pocket to put it into another.

"Ninth. To the end that the present tariff shall become one for revenue only, the following changes should be made: First, on all dutiable articles producing little or no revenue to the government, the duty should be returned to a revenue basis, or they should be placed upon the free list; second, the duty upon tea and coffee should be restored, and to the extent that this duty produces revenue to the Government the duty should be removed from salt and clothing, and other articles indispensably necessary in domestic life."

This resolution, in its language and propositions, was manifestly intended as a stum speech in favor of the ruinous free-trade tariff of 1846. But Mr. Hurd misstates the facts. His fundamental proposition is grossly false. The duty upon the imported article is not a tax upon the consumer. As a rule the duty is not added to the cost of manufacture, but by practically excluding the foreign article, and stimulating home competition, which is one of the effects of protection, the cost to the consumer of the domestic article has been greatly reduced. Again and again has that fact been demonstrated in the House, in Mr. Hurd's presence.

Indeed, Mr. Hurd's series of propositions is simply a revamping of the old and exploded pro-slavery free-trade theories of the notorious Colleton Address. They consequently embrace nothing new. They simply restate a few of the many wretched fallacies in which the pro-slavery free-traders, those old seditious and traitorous enemies of labor and the nation, delighted in discussing the tariff—like the one invented by the famous Hayne, that "a tariff on imports was a tax on exports," etc. They have no foundation upon which they can be maintained, but are opposed by our own experience and that of all nations—by the stern logic of facts which proclaim that their adoption everywhere has been uniformly attended by ruin alike of people and nation.

We will give a few illustrations from the speech of Mr. Duell, of New York, in the House, of April 13, 1872. Mr. Duell says :

"Before the manufacture of window-glass was protected it cost the consumer \$12 a box. A heavy duty was laid upon it by the tariff of 1842 (which, according to the free-trade theory, ought largely to have increased its price), when, behold, the price fell to \$8. Whose theory did this establish? According to the theory of free-trade here was a result per-

fectly mysterious and unaccountable. On the principles of protection the thing was perfectly plain. As soon as the duty imposed a market to the American manufacturers of glass, they went to work with all their force, each seeking his own profit, and all free to make and sell it as they could, when the astonishing power of competition soon effected the great reduction in price.

"In 1844 the duty on English common bar-iron was \$25 per ton or 68 per cent, and its price was then \$61.83 per ton. The price less the duty would leave \$36.63 as the cost of producing a ton of iron. In 1846 the duty was lowered to 30 per cent and in 1857 to 24 per cent. According to the free-trade theory the result of this reduction of the tariff should have been to reduce the price of iron just to the extent of the decrease in duty. But the fact is quite different, as the following comparison will prove: in 1844, as we have seen, the duty on English bar-iron was \$25 a ton and the prime cost was \$36.63. In 1846 the duty was reduced to 30 per cent, or more than one half, which was equal to a duty of \$10.42 per ton instead of \$25. The price of iron ought therefore to have gone down to \$26.41, or to \$36.83 less the \$10.42 duty, if the free-traders are right in their theories. But instead of this the cost of production actually increased to \$44.80 per ton, an advance of \$17.97 per ton."

And so on in many other illustrations of these facts. (See *Mr. Duell's speech in Cong. Record, etc.*)

Like the Wood free-trade tariff bill of 1878, this Hurd joint resolution was introduced to strike down the industries of the nation, and to impoverish all ranks and classes of our loyal people—all to open a market to the British trader. The resolutions however came to naught.

PART XIV.

Republican Tariff-Commission Act of 1882—Votes in both Houses—Democratic Attempt to Substitute the Free-Trade Tariff of 1846.

The following Act, known as the Tariff Commission Act of 1882, was passed in that year by the Republican House and approved by the President:

"An Act to provide for the appointment of a commission to investigate the question of the tariff.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a commission is hereby created to be called the 'Tariff Commission,' to consist of nine members.

"Sec. 2. That the President of the United States shall, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint nine commissioners from civil life, one of whom, the first named, shall be the president of the commission. The commissioners shall receive as compensation for their services each at the rate of ten dollars per day when engaged in active duty, and actual travelling and other necessary expenses. The commission shall have power to employ a stenographer and a messenger; and the foregoing compensation and expenses to be audited and paid by the Secretary of the Treasury out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

"Sec. 3. That it shall be the duty of said commission to take into consideration and to thoroughly investigate all the various questions relating to the agricultural, commercial, mercantile, manufacturing, mining, and industrial interests of the United States, so far as the same may be necessary to the

establishment of a judicious tariff, or a revision of the existing tariff, upon a scale of justice to all interests; and for the purpose of fully examining the matters which may come before it, said commission, in the prosecution of its inquiries, is empowered to visit such different portions and sections of the country as it may deem advisable.

"Sec. 4. That the commission shall make to Congress final report of the results of its investigation, and the testimony taken in the course of the same, not later than the first Monday of December, eighteen hundred and eighty-two; and it shall cause the testimony taken to be printed from time to time and distributed to members of Congress by the Public Printer, and shall also cause to be printed for the use of Congress two thousand copies of its final report, together with the testimony."

The passage of this bill was resisted at every step by the Democracy, by multiplying amendments, by debate in which they denounced the principle and practice of protection, and by their votes at every stage of its progress.

The House passes the bill May 6, 1882—yeas 151, nays 83.

YEAS—Messrs. Aldrich, Anderson, Atherton, Barber, Barr, Bayne, Bingham, Bliss, Bowman, Brewer, Briggs, Browne, Brunn, Buck, J. C. Burrows, Jos. H. Burrows, Butterworth, Calkins, Camp, Campbell, Candler, Cannon, Carpenter, Chace, Chapman, Clardy, Crapo, Cullen, Curtin, Darrall, Dawes, Deering, DeMotte, Dezendorf, Dingley, Dwight, Ellis, Ermont, Errett, C. H. Farwell, Ford, George, Gibson, Godshalk, Grout, Guenther, Hall, Harmer, H. S. Harris, Haseltine, Haskell, Hawk, Hazleton, Heitman, Henderson, Hepburn, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Hiscock, Hobbs, Hoge, Horr, Hubbell, Hubbs, Humphrey, Jacobs, P. Jones, Jorgensen, Joyce, Kasson, Kelly, Keene, Ketcham, Klots, Lacey, Lewis, Lord, Lynch, Marsh, McClure, McKinley, McLane, S. K. Miller, Moore, Morse, Morey, Mosgrove, Murch, Mutchler, Neal, Norcross, O'Neill, Pacheco, Page, Payson, Peele, Pierce, Pound, Prescott, Randall, Ranney, Ray, Reed, T. M. Rice, W. W. Rice, Rich, Ritchie, G. D. Robinson, S. Robinson, Ross, Ryan, Russell, Scoville, Scranton, Shallenberger, Shelly, Sherwin, Shultz, Skinner, A. Herr Smith, J. H. Smith, Speer, Spooner, Steele, E. F. Stone, Strait, Tullott, Taylor, Thomas, W. G. Thompson, A. Townsend, Tyler, J. T. Updegraff, Upson, Valentine, Van Horn, Van Vorhis, Wadsworth, Wait, Walker, Ward, Watson, Webber, J. D. White, C. G. Williams, Willits, Wilson, G. D. Wise, M. R. Wise, W. Wood, T. L. Young—151.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Atkin, Armsfield, Beach, Belford, Belmont, Beltschoover, Berry, Bland, Blount, Bragg, Buchanan, Buckner, Caldwell, Carlisle, Clark, J. C. Clements, Cobb, Colerick, Cook, S. S. Cox, W. E. Cox, Cravens, Culberson, Cutts, Davidson, L. H. Davis, Deuster, Dibble, Dowd, Dunn, Dunnell, Elvins, S. S. Farwell, Finley, Forney, Garrison, Gunter, N. J. Hammond, Hardenbergh, Hatch, Herbert, Herndon, Abram, S. Hewitt, House, J. K. Jones, King, Knott, Latham, Leedom, LeFever, Manning, Matson, McColl, McKenzie, McMillin, Mills, Money, Morrison, Moulton, Muldrow, Oates, Orth, Phister, Reagan, Seales, Shackford, Singleton, R. Otho, Springer, Stockslager, P. B. Thompson, Jr., Tillman, R. W. Townsend, Tucker, Oscar Turner, T. Updegraff, Vance, R. Warner, Washburn, Wellborn, Whitthorne, T. Williams, Willis—83.

The Senate passes the bill May 9, 1882—yeas 35, nays 10.

YEAS—Messrs. Aldrich, Allison, Anthony, Blair, Cameron of Wisconsin, Conger, Davis of West Virginia, Dawes, Frye, Gorman, Groome, Hale, Hampton, Hawley, Hill of Colorado, Hoar, Johnston, Jones of Nevada, Kellogg, Lapham, McDill, McMillan, McPherson, Mahone, Miller of California, Miller of New York, Mitchell, Morrill, Platt, Rollins, Sawyer, Sewell, Sherman, Windom—35.

NAYS—Messrs. *Call, Cockrell, Coke, Davis* of Illinois, *Farley, George, Grover, Harris, Ingalls, Jackson, Jonas, Marey, Morgan, Pugh, Slater, Vance, Van Wyck, Vest, Walker*—19.

The attempt to substitute the Free-Trade Tariff of 1846 for the Commission Bill.

On May 6, 1882, prior to the passage of the Tariff Commission Bill aforesaid, Mr. Mills, Democrat, from Texas, moved to recommit the bill to the Committee on Ways and Means, with instructions to report within thirty days a bill framed upon the following instructions, which embraced practically the provisions of the Free-Trade Tariff of 1846:

"1. That no more money should be collected than is necessary for the wants of the Government economically administered.

"2. That no duty be imposed on any article above the lowest rate that will yield the largest amount of revenue.

"3. That below such rate discrimination may be made descending in the scale of duties, or for imperative reasons the article may be placed on the list of those free from all duty.

"4. That the maximum revenue duty should be imposed on luxuries.

"5. That all specific duties should be abolished and ad valorem duties substituted in their place, care being taken to guard against fraudulent invoices and undervaluation, and to assess the duty upon the actual market value.

"6. That the duty should be so imposed as to operate as equally as possible throughout the Union, discriminating neither for nor against any class or section."

The Democrats vote for free trade and ruin.

The motion was defeated by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. *Aiken, Armfield, Atkins, Beach, Belmont, Berry, Blaauw, Blount, Bragg, Buchanan, Buckner, Caldwell, Carlisle, Chapman, J. B. Clark, J. C. Clements, Cobb, Colerick, Cook, S. S. Cox, W. R. Cox, Covington, Cravens, Culberson, Davidson, L. H. Davis, Deuster, Dibble, Dowd, Dunn, Evans, Finley, Forney, Garrison, Gunter, N. J. Hammond, Hatch, Herber, Herndon, Hoblitzell, House, J. K. Jones, Knott, Latham, Leedom, LeFevre, Manning, Matson, McKenzie, McKane, McMillin, Mills, Money, Morrison, Moulton, Muldry, Murch, Oates, Phister, Reagan, Scales, Shackleford, O. R. Singleton, Stockslager, Talbott, Tillman, R. W. Townsend, Tucker, O. Turner, Vance, R. Warner, Wellborn, Whithorne, T. Williams, Willis*—75.

NAYS—Messrs. *W. Aldrich, Barbour, Barr, Bayne, Belford, Bingham, Bliss, Bowman, J. H. Brewer, Briggs, Browne, Brum, Buck, J. H. Burrows, J. C. Burrows, Butterworth, Calkins, Camp, Campbell, Candler, Cannon, Carpenter, Clardy, Crapo, Cullen, Curtin, Cutts, Darrall, Dawes, Dering, DeMott, Dezenzorff, Dingley, Dunnell, Dwight, Ellis, Ermentrout, Errett, C. B. Farwell, S. S. Farwell, Ford, George, Gibson, Godshalk, Grout, Guenther, Hall, Hartenberg, Harmer, H. S. Harris, J. S. Haslett, Haskell, Hawk, G. C. Hazelton, Heilman, Henderson, Hepburn, J. Hill, Hiscock, Hoge, Horr, Hubbell, Hubb, Humphrey, Jacobs, P. Jones, Jorgenson, Joyce, Kasson, Kelley, Kenna, Ketcham, Klotz, Lacey, Lewis, Lindsey, Lord, Lynch, Marsh, McClure, McCoid, McKinley, S. H. Miller, Moore, Morey, Morse, Moscove, Mutchler, Neal, Norcross, O'Neill, Orth, Pacheo, Page, Payson, Peele, Pierce, Pound, Prescott, Randell, Ranney, Ray, Reed, T. M. Rice, W. W. Rice, Rich, Ritchie, G. D. Robinson, J. S. Robinson, Ross, W. A. Russell, T. Ryan, Scoville, Scranton, Shallenberger, Shelley, Sherwin, Shultz, Skinner, A. H. Smith, J. H. Smith, Speer, Spooner, G. W. Steele, E. F. Stone, Strait, Taylor, Thomas, W. G. Thompson, A. Townsend, J. T. Updegraff, T. Updegraff, Upson, Urner, Valentine, Van Aernan, Van Horn, Van Voorhis, Wadsworth, Wait, Walker,*

Ward, Washburn, Watson, Webber, C. G. Williams, Willits, Wilson, G. D. Wise, M. R. Wise, W. A. Wood, T. L. Young—152.

PART XV.

Knit Goods—Duty on Woollen Goods—Bill of 1882 “to Correct an Error” Opposed by the Democrats in both Houses.

On June 5, 1882, Mr. Kelley, of Pennsylvania, moved to suspend the rules and pass the following bill:

"A bill to correct an error in section 2504 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That the paragraph beginning with the words 'clothing, ready made, and wearing apparel,' under Schedule M of Section 25 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, be, and the same is hereby, amended by the insertion of the word 'wool' before the word 'silk' in two places where it was omitted in the revision of the said statutes; so that the same shall read as follows:

"Clothing, ready made, and wearing apparel of every description, of whatever material composed, except wool, silk, and linen, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer, not otherwise provided for, caps, gloves, leggins, mitts, socks, stockings, wove shirts and drawers, and all similar articles made on frames, of whatever material composed, except wool, silk, and linen, worn by men, women, or children, and not otherwise provided for, articles worn by men, women, or children, of whatever material composed, except wool, silk, and linen, made up, or made wholly or in part by hand, not otherwise provided for, 35 per cent ad valorem."

The Committee of Ways and Means, through its chairman, Mr. Kelley, in reporting this bill to the House, used the following language:

"The purpose of the first section of this bill is to correct an error made in revising the statutes, which error is found in a paragraph near the bottom of page 474 of the Revised Statutes, edition of 1873. This paragraph is found in Schedule M, called sundries, of the tariff law. Schedule L provides for all duties on wool and woollen goods, and is a re-enactment and embodiment of the statute of March 2, 1867, which repealed all former duties on wools and woollen goods, and imposed pound duties on wools, and corresponding pound duties on woollen goods; the object being to set off one pound duty against the other, and, in addition, 35 per cent on the manufactured article. The revision on page 471 is the act of March 2, 1867, word for word, with imposed duties in lieu of all former duties on wools and woollen goods. This statute provides as follows:

"Flannels, blankets, hats of wool, knit goods, balmorals, woollen and worsted yarns, and all manufactures of every description composed wholly or in part of worsted, the hair of the alpaca, goat, or other like animals, except such as are composed in part of wool, not otherwise provided for, valued at not exceeding 40 cents per pound, 20 cents per pound; valued at above 40 cents per pound, and not exceeding 60 cents per pound, 30 cents per pound; valued at above 60 cents per pound, and not exceeding 80 cents per pound, 40 cents per pound; valued at above 80 cents per pound, 50 cents per pound; and, in addition thereto, upon all the above-named articles, 35 per cent ad valorem."

"The duties above described were made to correspond with the value of the goods, and the higher-priced woollen goods were made to pay a duty of 50 cents per pound. These rates were collected prior to and since the revision of the statutes down to the

decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Victor and others against C. A. Arthur, collector of the port of New York*, rendered about fifteen months ago.

"The paragraph in which the error occurs is found in Schedule L of the tariff laws, and reads as follows:

"Clothing, ready made, and wearing apparel of every description, of whatever material composed, except wool, silk, and linen, made up or manufactured wholly or in part by the tailor, seamstress, or manufacturer, not otherwise provided for, caps, gloves, leggins, mitts, socks, stockings, wove shirts and drawers, and all similar articles made on frames, of whatever material composed, except silk and linen, worn by men, women, or children, and not otherwise provided for, articles worn by men, women, or children, of whatever material composed, except silk and linen, made up or made wholly or in part by hand, not otherwise provided for, 35 per cent ad valorem."

"It will be noticed that the word 'wool' is found in the first exception of the above paragraph, but is omitted from the other two exceptions included in the same paragraph, and it is plain that the three exceptions were intended to exclude all articles of wearing apparel made of wool, silk, or linen from the rate of duty levied by the paragraph. The clause which causes the hardship on American manufacturers of knit goods is found in the paragraph of Schedule M, above quoted, and reads as follows:

"Caps, gloves, leggins, mitts, socks, stockings, wove shirts and drawers, and all similar articles made on frames, of whatever material composed, etc."

"There was no exception of wool, silk, or linen in the original paragraph, because the law had not yet been passed that excepted them; but by the act of June 30, 1861, a special provision was made for these articles on pages 208, 209, 210, volume 13, Statutes at Large. By the act of June 30, 1861, wool, silk, and linen goods were excepted, and this paragraph applied to cotton goods alone, and should have been placed in the revision in the cotton Schedule A. The revisers recognized the fact as to silk and linen, and began right with wool in the first exception, but neglected it in the second and third exceptions. The act of March 2, 1867, page 561, volume 14, Statute at Large, provides for all manufacturers of woollen goods."

Democratic Resistance—The Votes.

The motion failed by 135 yeas to 70 nays—two thirds being required in the affirmative. Only 11 of the 135 yeas were Democratic votes. Every one of the 70 nays was Democratic.

On July 3, 1882, in a thinner House the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill was successful in spite of the long-protracted resistance of the Democrats, by 181 yeas to 48 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Aldrich, Anderson, Atherton, Barr, Bayne, Belford, Bingham, Blahee, Bliss, Bowman, J. H. Brewer, Briggs, Browne, Brunn, Buck, Burrows, Julius C.; Butterworth, Campbell, Candler, Cannon, Carpenter, Caswell, Chace, Converse, Crapo, Curtin, Dawes, Deering, DeMoite, Dezenedorf, Dingley, Dwight, Ermendorf, Errett, Farwell, Sewell S.; Fisher, Ford, Frost, Fulkerson, Geddes, George, Gibson, Hall, Hammond J.; Harmer, Harris, Benjamin W., Harris, Henry S.; Haskell, Hazleton, Henderson, Hepburn, Hill, Hiscock, Hoblitzell, Horr, Hubbard, Hubbs, Humphrey, Jacobs, Jorgensen, Kasson, Kelley, Ketcham, Klotz, Lacey, Ladd, Lewis, Lord, Lynch, Mason, McCook, McKinley, McLane, Miles, Moore, Morey, Mosgrove, Mutchler, Neal, O'Neill, Orth, Page, Parker, Paul, Peelle, Peirce, Pettibone, Phelps, Prescott, Ranney, Ray, Rice, John B.; Ritchie, Robeson, Robinson, George D.; Robinson, James S.; Robinson, Wm. E.; Ross, Russell, Ryan, Scranton, Shallenberger, Shultz, Smith, A., Herr; Smith, D. C.; Smith, J. H.; Spaulding, Spooner, Steele, Stone, Tulbott,

Taylor, Thompson, Tillman, Townsend, Amos; Tyler, Updegraff, J. T.; Updegraff, T., Urner, Valentine, Van Horn, Wadsworth, Walt, Walker, West, White, Williams, Willis, Wilson, Wise, M. R.; Young—134.

NAYS—Messrs. Atkins, Berry, Blackburn, Blount, Buchanan, Buchner, Carlisle, Cassidy, Clements, Cobb, Colerick, Cook, Cox, Samuel S.; Cravens, Culberson, Davidson, Davis, Louder, H.; Dibrell, Dunnel, Forney, Gunter, Hewitt, G. W.; Holman, House, Jones, George W.; Jones, James K.; Knott, Lefevre, Manning, Martin, Matson, McMinn, Mills, Morrison, Oates, Phister, Reagan, Rosecrans, Springer, Stocklager, Strat, Thompson, P. B., Jr.; Townsend, R. W.; Tucker, Turner, Henry G.; Turner, Oscar; Warner, Wellborn, Willis—48.

In the Senate also the bill had to run the gauntlet of Democratic opposition by attempted Democratic amendments and votes. But on the 5th of August it also passed that body by 36 yeas to 15 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Aldrich, Allison, Anthony, Bayard, Blair, Broen, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Chilcott, Conger, Davis of Illinois, Davis of West Virginia, Bawes, Ferry, Gorman, Hale, Harrison, Hawley, Hoar, Ingalls, Jonas, Jones of Nevada, Logan, Mcbill, McMillan, Manone Miller of California, Morrill, Pendleton, Platt, Rollins, Saunders, Sawyer, Sewell, Sherman, Windom—36.

NAYS—Messrs. Butler, Call, Cockrell, Coke, Farley, George, Hampton, Harris, Maxey, Morgan, Pugh, Saulsbury, Vest, Walker, Williams—15.

PART XVI.

The Tariff Act of 1883—Votes Exhibiting Continued Democratic Hostility to Protection.

In 1883 the Republican House, and the barely Republican Senate, passed a tariff act founded mainly upon the recommendations of the Tariff Commission, but modified by the needs of industry as developed since the report of said commission. It is too lengthy to print herewith, but can be found in the statutes.

The Democrats fought the bill in every possible way, because it embodied the Republican American protective feature. It aimed at a reduction of some \$40,000,000 in the annual revenue derived from the customs duties and internal revenue taxes. This Tariff bill was made up in the Senate, in the shape of amendments to a House Internal Revenue bill, and upon reaching the House, the House disagreed to all the Senate amendments in bulk, leaving it for a committee of conference between the disagreeing votes of the two houses to settle the disagreement, and report an agreement to both houses.

The conference committee on the part of the House comprised Messrs. Kelley of Pennsylvania, McKinley of Ohio, Haskell of Kansas, Carlisle of Kentucky, and Speer of Georgia—in place of Randall of Pennsylvania, who had declined. The conference committee on the part of the Senate com-

prised Messrs. Morrill of Vermont, Sherman of Ohio, Aldrich of Rhode Island, McDill of Iowa, and Mahone of Virginia, others having declined.

The report of the Committee on Conference, being the passage of the bill as it now stands in the Statutes, was finally concurred in by the Senate March 3, 1883, by the following vote:^{*}

YEAS—Messrs. Aldrich, Allison, Anthony, Blair, Cameron of Wisconsin, Conger, Davis of Illinois, Dawes, Edmonds, Frye, Harrison, Hawley, Hill, Hoar, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, Kellogg, Lapham, Logan, McDill, McMillan, McPherson, Mahone, Miller of New York, Morrill, Platt, Plumb, Rollins, Sawyer, Sewell, Sherman, Windom—42.

NAYS—Messrs. Barrow, Bayard, Brown, Butter, Call, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cockerell, Coke, Fair, Garland, George, Gorman, Groome, Harris, Jackson, Jonas, Jones of Florida, Lamar, Marey, Morgan, Pendleton, Pugh, Ransom, Saulsbury, Slater, Vance, Van Wyck, Vest, Voorhees, Walker, Williams—31.

PAIRS—Messrs. Ferry, Hale, Mitchell, Saunders, and Tabor in the affirmative, with Messrs. Grover, Beck, Johnston, Hampton, and Camden in the negative. Messrs. Davis of West Virginia, Farley, and Miller of California, unpaired, did not vote.

The report of the Committee on Conference, as above, was concurred in by the House March 3, 1883, by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Aldrich, Anderson, Barr, Belford, Beltzhoover, Bingham, Bisbee, Bliss, Bowman, J. H. Brewer, Briggs, T. M. Browne, Buck, J. C. Burrows, J. H. Burrows, Butterworth, Calkins, Camp, J. W. Candler, Cannon, Carpenter, Caswell, Chace, Crapo, Crowley, Cullen, G. R. Davis, Deering, De Motte, Dezendorf, Dingley, Doxey, Dunnell, Dwight, Ermentrout, C. B. Farwell, S. S. Farwell, Fisher, Fulker, George, Godshalk, Grout, Guenther, Hall, J. Hammon, Hardenbergh, Hardy, Harmer, B. W. Harris, H. S. Harris, Haskell, G. C. Hazelton, Heitman, T. J. Henderson, Heppburn, J. Hill, Hiscok, Hitt, Horr, Houk, Hubbs, Humphrey, Jacobs, Jadin, P. Jones, Jorgensen, Joyce, Kas, Kelley, Ketcham, Klotz, Lacey, Ladd, J. H. Lewis, Lindsey, Lord, Lynch, Mackey, Marsh, Mason, McCoid, McCook, J. H. McLean, Miles, Moore, Morey, Morse, Mutchler, Neal, Norcross, C. O'Neill, Pacheco, H. F. Page, Parker, Payson, S. J. Peele, R. B. F. Peirce, Pettibone, Pound, Randall, Ranney, O. Ray, Reed, Rich, D. P. Richardson, Ritchie, Robeson, G. D. Robinson, Ross, Ryan, Scoville, Scranton, Sessinghauser, Shallenberger, Shelley, Sherwin, Shultz, C. R. Skinner, Small, A. H. Smith, D. C. Smith, J. H. Smith, Spaulding, Speer, Spooner, Steele, Stone, Strait, Thomas A. Townsend, Tyler, Updegraff, Valentine, Van Aernam, Van Horn, Van Voorhis, Wadsworth, Wait, Walker, W. Ward, Washburn, Watson, Webber, West, J. D. White, C. G. Williams, Willitts, B. Wilson, G. D. Wise, M. R. Wise, W. A. Wood, T. L. Young—152.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Armfield, Atherton, Atkens, Barbour, Bayne, Beach, Belmont, Berry, Blackburn, Blanchard, Bland, Blount, Bragg, Brumm, Buchanan, Buckner, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, J. M. Campbell, Carlisle, Cassidy, Chapman, Clark, Clements, Cobb, Colerick, Converse, J. C. Cook, P. Cook, Covington, S. S. Cox, W. R. Cox, D. B. Culberson, Davidson, L. H. Davis, Dawes, Deuster, Dibrell, Dowd, Dugro, Dunn, Ellis, Errett, J. H. Evans, Flower, Ford, Forney, Garrison, Geddes, R. C. Gibson, Gunter, N. J. Hammond, I. S. Haseltine, W. H. Hatch, Herbert, A. S. Hewitt, Hoblitzell, Hoge, Holman, House, Hubbell, Hutchins, G. W. Jones, J. K. Jones, Kenna, King, Knott, Latham, Leedon, Le Ferre, Manning, Martin, Matson, McKinley, R. M. McLane, McMillin, S. H. Miller, Mills, Money, Morrison, Moulton, Murch, Reese, J. B. Rice, T. M. Rice, J. S. Richardson, E. W. Robertson, J. S. Robinson, W. E. Robinson, Rosecrans, Scales, Simonton, O. R. Sin-

gleton, Sparks, Springer, Stockslager, Talbott, E. B. Taylor, J. D. Taylor, P. B. Thompson, R. W. Townshend, Tucker, H. G. Turner, O. Turner, Upson, Urner, Vance, R. Warner, Wellborn, Wheeler, Whitthorne, T. Williams, A. S. Williams—116.

PAIRS—Messrs. McClure, Rice of Massachusetts, and Thompson of Iowa, in the affirmative, were paired with Messrs. Hewitt, of Alabama, Reagan, and Clardy—6—in the negative.

Messrs. Black, Cornell, Curtin, Cravens, Chester B. Darrall, Thomas H. Herndon, Charles E. Hooker, Mosgrove, Nolan, Oates, Paul, J. Phelps, Phister, Prescott, Russell, J. W. Singleton, and Benj. Wood—17—unpaired, did not vote.

PART XVII.

Democratic Defeat of the Bill to Restore the Tariff on Wool—How it came to need Restoration—Democratic Responsibility—Votes—Statistics.

By way of preliminary explanation it may be well to state that on February 20, 1883, Mr. Sherman in the Senate, during the consideration of the Tariff bill of 1883, had moved to amend the following paragraphs on wool by changing the rates from "10" to "12" in the first, from "12" to "14" in the second, from "10" to "12" in the third, and from "12" to "14" in the fourth—making them read thus:

Mr. Sherman's amendment.

"Wools of the first class, the value whereof at the last port or place whence exported to the United States, excluding charges in such port, shall be 30 cents or less per pound, 12 cents per pound.

"Wools of the same class, the value whereof at the last port or place whence exported to the United States, excluding charges in such port, shall exceed 39 cents per pound, 14 cents per pound.

"Wools of the second class, and all hair of the alpaca, goat and other like animals, the value whereof, at the last port or place whence exported to the United States, excluding charges in such port, shall be 30 cents or less per pound, 12 cents per pound.

"Wools of the same class, the value whereof, at the last port or place whence exported to the United States, excluding charges in such port, shall exceed 30 cents per pound, 14 cents per pound."

The hostile Senate vote.

Mr. Sherman's amendment was, however, rejected by the very decisive Senate vote of 20 yeas to 40 nays. Only 3 of the 20 yeas were Democratic votes, while 26 of the 40 nays were Democratic votes. In other words, of the Republicans voting 17 voted yea to 14 voting nay, while of the Democrats voting only 3 voted yea and 26 nay. A majority of the Republicans voting voted yea; an overwhelming majority of the Democrats voting voted nay. Following is the detailed vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Brown, Camden, Cameron of Wisconsin, Conger, Davis of Illinois, Harrison, Hill, Jones of Nevada, Logan, McMillan, Miller of California, Miller of New York, Mitchell, Pendleton, Plumb, Sawyer, Sewell, Sherman, Tabor, Windom—20.

NAYS—Messrs. Aldrich, Allison, Anthony, Barrow, Bayard, Beck, Blair, Call, Cockrell, Coke, Dawes, Frye, George, Gorman, Groome, Grover, Hale, Hampton, Harris, Hawley, Hoar, Ignalls, Jackson, Johnson, Jonas, Jones of Florida, McPherson, Marey, Morrill, Platt, Pugh, Ransom, Rollins, Saulsbury, Slater, Vance, Van Wyck, Vest, Voorhees, Williams—40.

* This and the vote in the House on concurrence are from McPherson's Handbook for 1884.

The wool clause of the Tariff Act of 1883 never came up for separate action in the House, and therefore there is no distinctive House record on the wool item. But we shall hear directly from a member of that committee of conference how it was that in view of that adverse Democratic vote in the Senate, the committee of conference dared not risk the defeat of the entire bill on the last day of the Congress by correcting the wrong done to the wool interest by that Democratic vote.

Text of the bill of 1884 to restore the duty on wool.

On April 7, 1884, a motion was made in the House by Mr. Converse, of Ohio, to suspend the rules and pass the House bill (H. R. 1218) to restore the duty on wool, which is in these words:

"A bill (H. R. 1218) to restore the rates of duty on imported wool.

"Be it enacted, That the rates of duty to be levied, collected and paid upon the three several classes of wool and hair from the alpaca, goat, and other like animals, as now classified by law, which may be imported from foreign countries, shall be restored and fixed at what they were on each of the three classes, respectively, of said articles at the time of the passage of the act of March third, eighteen hundred and eighty-three, entitled 'An act to reduce internal revenue taxation, and for other purposes,' any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

There was a brief debate (half an hour only) allowed on this motion, in which Mr. McKinley (Republican, who has been a member of the committee of conference aforesaid) took part. He said:

What the Tariff Bill of 1883 did as to wool.

"The general revision of the tariff made by the last Congress reduced the duties on wool to 10 cents and 12 cents per pound on first and second class wools. That is, it abolished the 10 and 11 per cent ad valorem which under the act of 1867 were assessed on these two classes of wool in addition to the specific duty of 10 and 12 cents per pound.

The proposed restoration—Why the wrong was not corrected in the bill of 1883.

"The bill now before us proposes to restore the ad valorem rates, so that hereafter the duties to be levied and collected upon these two grades of wool shall be 10 cents per pound and 11 per cent ad valorem upon one class, and 12 cents per pound and 10 per cent ad valorem upon the other. In a word, it restores the duties upon wool as fixed by the act of 1867. It is only proper that I should state that the last House never had an opportunity to vote upon the wool duty as a separate proposition, but was compelled to vote upon the Senate bill as agreed to in the conference committee as a whole. The alternative was then presented to the House of passing the bill as an entirety, which involved reductions in custom rates and large reductions of internal-revenue taxes amounting to \$40,000,000 annually, or defeat it, and thus lose everything of good which the bill contained. Had the question of disturbing the wool duty been presented distinct and separate, the reduction would never have taken place. This was shown when the Ways and Means Committee authorized one of its members to offer as a committee amendment the wool duties of 1867, which would have been presented and passed had the consideration of this schedule ever been reached in the House. Nor would the conference committee have failed to correct the wrong if it had not been made manifest by repeated votes in the Senate that the increase proposed upon wool would certainly have defeated the bill in the Senate.

The injustice recognized by both parties.

"The reduction was made under the circumstances I have named, and the injustice of it has come to be recognized by the Republican Party and by many Democrats in Ohio and other States. We now have an opportunity to do justice to this important article of American production, and the proposition of my colleague, plain and simple, is to correct the injustice, and place the wool industry of the country where the legislation of last winter found it.

"The act of 1867, which this bill proposes to restore, was in every sense a just one, equitable in its provisions, and time has demonstrated its practical benefit in the growth and development of wool production. In 1850 there were 21,427,220 sheep in the United States, producing 52,516,359 pounds of wool; in 1860 there were 22,471,225 sheep, producing 60,261,913 pounds; in 1870 there were 28,471,361 sheep, producing 100,102,387 pounds; in 1880 there were 43,576,839 sheep, producing 235,645,834 pounds; in 1883, 50,500,000 sheep producing 320,000,000 pounds of wool.

"From 1860 to 1870, during the decade when the protective-tariff act of 1867 went into operation, the number of sheep increased 25 per cent, while in the decade between 1870 and 1880 it was less than 4 per cent, while the price of wool has decreased to the consumer, amply demonstrating that adequate protection does not increase the cost of the protected article.

More than a million of our people directly interested. Every State appealing for the restoration.

"There are more than a million of our fellow citizens directly interested in this form of production. They constitute the farmers of the country, great and small. They feel that a great wrong has been done them; that the value of their product has been most seriously diminished, and that unless Congress give them the needed relief their business will be further seriously crippled and eventually destroyed; that sheep-husbandry in the older States will be a thing of the past, and the production of the finer grades of wool which enter so largely into domestic manufacture will be exclusively the product of Australia and other foreign countries, which can result only to the injury of our own people; for when Australia once gets control of this market she will increase the price to the manufacturer and consumer. In every aspect, therefore, and for every interest in the United States this bill ought to pass.

"The farmers, busy with their own employments, do not often come to this legislative body asking for legislative relief, and when they do come their requests should receive the highest consideration, and when just and reasonable, as in this case, they should command prompt and favorable action.

"Petitions from all of the wool-growing States, extending from Vermont to California, have poured in upon this House almost daily from the opening of the session, urging the prompt restoration of the wool duty of 1867. It is not Ohio alone, but every State in the Union is concerned in your favorable action upon this bill. Their appeals should not go unheeded. I do not doubt that every member on this side, as a simple act of justice, will vote this measure. It is in harmony with the principle of protection which we advocate as a party and the policy which we have always pursued. There should be no halting in response to their request. I earnestly appeal to you to vote for this bill, and with the aid of gentlemen on the other side we may to day, so far as this branch of the legislative will can do it, right this wrong.

Appeal to the Democrats in Congress to stand by their express promises.

"This motion requires a two-thirds vote; so with the entire vote of this side of the House we must have a large vote from the other side to succeed. May I appeal to the Democrats of this House to aid generously by their votes in this much-needed legislation! I venture to do it the more boldly because your brethren last fall in Ohio, by platform, public speech, and campaign literature, assured the people in the most authoritative manner that the wool duty of 1867 should be restored at the beginning of this Congress. It was not the campaign

clatter of irresponsible politicians, it was the voice and the utterances of the leaders of the party in the State supported by the leaders of the party in other States.

“MR. DUNN. Who are they?

“MR. MCKINLEY. Why, the whole Democratic Party. I hold in my hand a pamphlet issued by the authority of the Ohio State Central Democratic Committee, in which they said if Mr. Hoadly was elected Governor of Ohio that this Congress, which fortunately was Democratic (as they declared), on the very first days of its session should wipe out the iniquity inflicted on the wool-growers by the Republicans of the last Congress. The people heard and believed these party assurances, and thousands of wool-growers who had always theretofore voted otherwise voted the Democratic ticket, transferred the entire political power of the State from the control of the Republican to that of the Democratic Party, captured the executive and both branches of the Legislature, and elected a United States Senator. And now that you have gathered the fruit of their faith and your promises, the farmers and wool-growers of the State demand and have a right to demand that you make good your pledges and keep faith with those who acted upon your assurances. You have secured the prize of victory—party success—now step up and keep your promises. [Applause on the Republican side of the House.] Do I make this too strong? Let me read you what your party said last September, and you will say that if they were dealing fair and honorably with the people then, they have a right to expect the prompt passage of the bill:

The Democratic pledge to restore the duties.

“I read from a pamphlet issued by the Democratic executive committee of Ohio and sent broadcast over the State in the campaign of last fall:

“The Democrats propose to work industriously for power, with full confidence in the intelligence of the people, and when they obtain power to at once repeal the iniquitous measure (the wool tariff).

“Is it possible to obtain a restoration of the duty entire?

“This is the question which every sheep-owner in Ohio is asking himself. We say to every farmer, and with all possible emphasis, that the question must be answered now.

“Next year will not do. The reason is clear; the issue has been raised in the present Ohio campaign, and the wool interest elsewhere, as well as the enemies of the wool interest, are unanimous in recognizing that the result of the Ohio campaign will decide whether the duty shall be restored immediately or whether its restoration shall be left to the chances of the future.

“The election of Hoadly, on the other hand, means the triumph of the Democrats and the success of their objects, of which the unconditional restoration of the duty on wool entire is one of the most important. This triumph will create a most irresistible sentiment throughout the nation in favor of the wool-growers, and when Congress meets next winter (it is, fortunately, Democratic in the House) the strength of public opinion will be so great that the President will not dare resist it, and he will readily sign any measure brought forward for relief. The consequence will be that farmers will be able to retain their flocks and go on with the profitable production of wool. The election of a Democratic Legislature insures the election of a Democratic United States Senator from Ohio and largely increases the chances of having a Democratic majority in the United States Senate, and in that event the Democratic Party will be in a situation to redeem its promise made to the wool-growers of Ohio in its State platform. Farmers of Ohio, can you trust the party that has in our national Legislature outraged and robbed you at the bidding of the capitalists of New England? Is there any hope for you from such a party, who have thus deliberately sacrificed your dearest and best interest? The party that created this great wrong cannot be trusted to give you relief. The Democrats in Congress were your friends. They sought by every means in their power to prevent this wrong from being inflicted on you. Trust the Democratic Party in this matter; it has promised to and will give you relief.

“Will you ignore these promises, so authoritatively made, and deny the great farming class this much-needed legislation?

“I am earnestly and heartily for this bill, and sincerely hope the House will give it the requisite number of votes to insure its adoption, and thus demonstrate its purpose to carefully guard and protect the American wool raised by the American farmer against the foreign competitor whose product is prepared for the market by a cheap labor—so cheap and illy paid that no farmer in the United States can or will enter with it in the field of competition. Our farmers who have contributed so largely to the wealth and progress of this nation are justly entitled to the relief they ask.”

How the Democrats in Congress contemptuously broke those pledges to the wool-growers—The vote.

At the conclusion of the brief discussion, the motion to take up and pass this righteous measure of protection and relief was lost by 119 yeas to 126 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Anderson, Atkinson, Bayne, Bel-ford, Bisbee, Boyle, Brainerd, Breitung, F. B. Brewer, J. H. Brewer, T. M. Browne, W. W. Brown, Calkins, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, Chace, Connolly, Converse, W. W. Culbertson, Cullen, Cutcheon, Dibrell, Duncan, Eldredge, Ellwood, Ementrout, Everhart, Fiedler, Findlay, Funston, George, E. Gibson, Glascock, Goff, Guenther, Han-bank, Harmer, Hart, H. H. Hatch, Haynes, T. J. Henderson, Henley, Hepburn, G. W. Hewitt, W. D. Hill, Hitt, Holmes, Holton, Hooper, Hopkins, Horr, Honk, Howey, C. Hunt, Jeffords, Jordan, Kasson, Keifer, Kelley, Ketcham, Lacey, Laird, Lawrence, Le Ferre, McComas, McCormick, McKinley, Millard, Morey, Morrill, Murray, Mutchler, Nichols, Nutting, C. O’Neill, D. R. Paige, Parker, Patton, Payne, Paisley, S. J. Peele, Perkins, Peters, W. W. Phelps, Poland, Price, Randall, G. W. Ray, J. S. Robinson, Rosecrans, Rowell, Russell, Ryan, Shelley, C. R. Skinner, Smalls, Snyder, Springs, Stephenson, Stevens, J. W. Stewart, Storm, D. H. Sum-ner, E. B. Taylor, J. D. Taylor, Tillman, Tully, Valentine, Wakefield, A. J. Warner, Weaver, Weller, Wemple, J. D. White, Wilkins, J. Wilson, W. L. Wilson, J. Winans. YORK—119.

NAYS—Messrs. G. E. Adams, Aiken, Alexander, Bagley, Ballantine, Barbour, Barksdale, Beach, Bennet, Bland, Blount, Breckinridge, Buchanan, Buckner, Burnes, Cahell, A. J. Caldwell, F. Campbell, Carleton, Cassidy, Clardy, Clay, Cobb, Cosgrove, Covington, S. S. Cox, W. R. Cox, Crisp, D. B. Culberson, Dargan, L. H. Davis, R. T. Davis, Deuster, Dibble, Dockery, Dorshimer, Dowd, Dunn, Eaton, J. H. Ervin, Forney, Fyan, Graves, Greenleaf, Halsell, N. J. Hammond, Hancock, W. H. Hatch, Hemphill, D. B. Henderson, Herbert, Hob-litzell, Holman, Houseman, Hurd, Hutchins, James, B. W. Jones, J. H. Jones, J. K. Jones, J. T. Jones, King, Kleiner, Lanham, E. T. Lewis, Long, Lore, Lovering, Loury, LYMAN, McMillin, Matson, Maybury, J. F. Miller, Mills, Mitchell, Morgan, Morrison, Morse, Moulton, Muldrow, Murphy, Neece, Nelson, R. A. Pierce, S. W. Peel, Pryor, Pusey, Rankin, Reagan, Recse, Riggs, T. A. Robertson, Rockwell, J. H. Rogers, W. F. Rogers, Scales, Seymour, Shaw, O. R. Singleton, T. G. Skinner, Springer, C. Stewart, Stockslager, Strait, Struble, Talbot, J. M. Taylor, P. B. Thompson, Throckmorton, H. G. Turner, O. Turner, Vance, T. J. Ward, R. Warner, Wellborn, M. White, Whiting, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, E. B. Winans, Wolford, T. J. Wood, Woodward, Yapple, C. Young—126.

Analysis of the above vote shows that while 79 Republicans voted to restore the duties to 10 Republicans who voted against it, only 39 Democrats voted to restore the duties to 109 Democrats who disregarded all their pledges and voted against such restoration. Let the wool-growing interest in Ohio and elsewhere in the United States take notice from this as to which party is friendly and which party is hostile to it.

PART XVIII.

Statistics of the American Wool-growing Interest.

[Compiled, 1884, by Statistician J. R. Dodge, Department of Agriculture.]

Number of Sheep Flocks in the States and Territories.*

Alabama.....	23,875	Indiana.....	54,002	Montana.....	137	South Carolina.....	10,049
Arizona.....	39	Iowa.....	17,220	Nebraska.....	2,119	Tennessee.....	62,924
Arkansas.....	20,595	Kansas.....	3,804	Nevada.....	97	Texas.....	8,350
California.....	4,326	Kentucky.....	60,548	New Hampshire.....	11,206	Utah.....	2,001
Colorado.....	406	Louisiana.....	5,449	New Jersey.....	5,822	Vermont.....	16,573
Connecticut.....	3,191	Maine.....	34,132	New Mexico.....	814	Virginia.....	32,494
Dakota.....	1,810	Maryland.....	10,498	New York.....	75,323	Washington.....	1,067
Delaware.....	1,090	Massachusetts.....	3,488	North Carolina.....	52,541	West Virginia.....	30,909
Florida.....	1,001	Michigan.....	62,119	Ohio.....	93,981	Wisconsin.....	58,487
Georgia.....	23,514	Minnesota.....	24,208	Oregon.....	4,605	Wyoming.....	44
Idaho.....	128	Mississippi.....	15,466	Pennsylvania.....	72,425		
Illinois.....	89,803	Missouri.....	63,900	Rhode Island.....	700	Total, U. S.	1,040,723

Number of Sheep and Quantity of Wool.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Sheep.	Sheep on Farms, a	Ranch and Range Sheep, b	Wool, c
Alabama.....	317,538	317,538	702,207	
Arizona.....	466,524	70,524	313,698	
Arkansas.....	246,757	246,757	557,968	
California.....	5,727,349	4,152,349	1,575,000	16,708,093
Colorado.....	1,001,443	746,443	345,000	8,197,391
Connecticut.....	59,431	59,431	250,133	
Dakota.....	85,244	80,244	55,000	167,025
Delaware.....	21,967	21,967	9,746	
Florida.....	105,681	50,681	49,000	162,910
Georgia.....	527,589	527,589	1,289,560	
Idaho.....	117,326	27,326	90,000	127,149
Illinois.....	1,037,073	1,037,073	6,003,056	
Indiana.....	1,100,511	1,100,511	6,167,498	
Iowa.....	455,359	455,359	2,167,973	
Kansas.....	629,671	499,671	130,000	2,855,833
Kentucky.....	1,000,269	1,000,269	4,582,576	
Louisiana.....	135,631	135,631	406,678	
Maine.....	565,918	565,918	2,770,407	
Maryland.....	171,184	171,184	850,084	
Massachusetts.....	67,979	67,979	266,060	
Michigan.....	2,180,380	2,180,380	11,558,497	
Minnesota.....	267,508	267,508	1,392,134	
Mississippi.....	287,604	287,604	734,643	
Missouri.....	1,411,298	1,411,298	7,518,234	
Montana.....	270,277	184,277	95,000	
Nebraska.....	247,453	199,453	48,000	1,282,656
Nevada.....	230,695	133,695	97,000	655,012
New Hampshire.....	211,825	211,825	1,060,389	
New Jersey.....	117,030	117,030	441,110	
New Mexico.....	3,938,831	2,088,831	1,850,000	4,019,188
New York.....	1,715,180	1,715,180	8,827,195	
North Carolina.....	461,638	461,638	917,750	
Ohio.....	4,902,486	4,902,486	25,003,756	
Oregon.....	1,368,162	1,081,162	285,000	5,718,304
Pennsylvania.....	1,770,508	1,770,508	8,470,373	
Rhode Island.....	17,211	17,211	65,680	
South Carolina.....	118,889	118,889	272,768	
Tennessee.....	672,789	672,789	1,918,395	
Texas.....	8,631,633	2,411,633	1,240,000	6,998,019
Utah.....	253,121	253,121	250,000	973,946
Vermont.....	439,870	439,870	2,551,113	
Virginia.....	497,289	497,289	1,886,673	
Washington.....	388,883	282,883	1,389,123	
West Virginia.....	674,763	674,763	2,681,444	
Wisconsin.....	1,396,807	1,396,807	7,016,491	
Wyoming.....	450,225	140,225	310,000	691,650
Indian Territory.....	55,000	55,000	55,000	
Total.....	42,192,074	35,192,074	7,000,000	135,681,751

* Exclusive of those on public-land ranches.

a Exclusive of spring lambs. b Estimated.

Items, the result of special investigation: Texas and California fall clip of sheep reported on farms, 13,000,000 pounds; wool of other (ranch) sheep, 34,000,000 pounds; pulled wool and fleece of slaughtered sheep, 38,000,000 pounds; making an aggregate of 240,681,751 pounds.

c Spring clip of 1880. d Not including the following

PART XIX.

Text of the Morrison Tariff Bill of 1884.

The notorious horizontal reduction "Morrison Bill" of 1884, which was reported by Mr. Morrison, Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, to the Democratic House of Representatives, March 11, 1884, was in these words:

"A bill to reduce import duties and war-tariff taxes.

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That on and after the first day of July, eighteen hundred and eighty-four, in lieu of the duties and rates of duty imposed by law on the importation of the goods, wares, and merchandise mentioned in the several schedules of 'An act to reduce internal-revenue taxation, and for other purposes,' approved March third, eighteen hundred and eighty-three, and hereinafter enumerated, there shall be levied, collected, and paid, the following rates of duty upon said articles severally, that is to say:

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule I, cotton and cotton goods, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally, and none of the above cotton goods shall pay a higher rate of duty than forty per centum ad valorem.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule J, hemp, jute, and flax goods, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule K, wool and woollens, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally; and none of the above wool and woollens shall pay a higher rate of duty than sixty per centum ad valorem.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule C, metals, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally, and none of the articles mentioned in said Schedule C, metals, shall pay a higher rate of duty than fifty per centum ad valorem.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule M, books, papers, etc., eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule E, sugar, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule F, tobacco, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule D, wood and wooden ware, except as hereinafter provided, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally.

"On cast, polished plate-glass, unsilvered, exceeding twenty-four by sixty inches square; on green and colored glass bottles, vials, demijohns, and carboys (covered or uncovered), pickle or preserve jars, and other plain, molded, or pressed green and colored bottle-glass, not cut, engraved, or painted, and not specially enumerated or provided for in this act; and on all the articles subject to ad valorem duty in Schedule B, earthenware and glassware, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule G, provisions, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule N, sundries, other than precious stones, salt, coal, and linseed or flaxseed, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally.

"On all the articles mentioned in Schedule A, chemical products, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said

articles severally: *Provided*, That nothing in this act shall operate to reduce the duty above imposed on any article below the rate at which said article was dutiable under 'An act to provide for the payment of outstanding Treasury notes, to authorize a loan, to regulate and fix the duties on imports, and for other purposes,' approved March second, eighteen hundred and sixty-one, commonly called the 'Morrill tariff.' And when under existing law any of said articles are grouped together and made dutiable at one rate, then nothing in this act shall operate to reduce the duty below the highest rate at which any article in such group was dutiable under said act of March second, eighteen hundred and sixty-one.

"*Sec. 2.* That on and after the first day of July, eighteen hundred and eighty-four, in lieu of the duties heretofore imposed on the importation of the goods, wares, and merchandise hereinafter in this section specified, there shall be levied, collected, and paid the following rates of duty upon said articles severally, that is to say: On all unpolished cylinder, crown, and common window-glass; on iron or steel sheets or plates, or taggers iron, coated with tin or lead, or with a mixture of which these metals is a component part, by the dipping or any other process, and commercially known as tin plates, terne plates, and taggers tin, and on linseed or flaxseed, eighty per centum of the several duties and rates of duty now imposed on said articles severally.

"*Sec. 3.* That on and after the first day of July, eighteen hundred and eighty-four, in addition to the articles now exempt from duty, the articles enumerated and described in this section, when imported, shall be exempt from duty, that is to say:

"Salt, in bags, sacks, barrels, or other packages, or in bulk.

"Coal, slack or culm.

"Coal, bituminous or shale.

"*Provided*, That this shall not apply to coal imported from the Dominion of Canada until that Government shall have exempted from the payment from duty all coal imported into that country from the United States.

"Timber, hewn and sawed, and timber used for spars and in building wharves.

"Timber, squared or sided, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act.

"Sawed boards, plank, deals, and other lumber of hemlock, whitewood, sycamore, and basswood, and all other articles of sawed lumber.

"Hubs for wheels, posts, last-blocks, wagon-blocks, ore-blocks, gun-blocks, heading-blocks and all like blocks or sticks, rough-hewn or sawed only.

"Staves of wood of all kinds.

"Pickets and palings.

"Laths.

"Shingles.

"Pine clapboards.

"Spruce clapboards.

"Wood, unmanufactured, not specially enumerated or provided for in this act."

Vote on the motion to proceed to its consideration—Only 39 Democrats vote "No," while 136 Democrats vote "Aye."

On the 15th of April, 1884, the House being in Committee of the Whole, the Morrison bill being reached, and objection made to its consideration, upon the objection being reported to the House the House directed the committee to proceed with the consideration of said bill, by a vote of 140 yeas to 138 nays (44 Representatives not voting), as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. J. J. Adams, Aiken, Alexander, Anderson, Bagley, Ballentine, Barksdale, Beach, Belmont, Bennett, Blackburn, Blanchard, Bland, Blount, Breckinridge, Buchanan, Buckner, Cabell, A. J. Caldwell, A. D. Candler, Carleton, Cassidy, Clardy, Clay, Cobb, Collins, Cosgrove, S. S. Cox, W. R. Cox, Crisp, D. B. Culberson, Davidson, L. H. Davis, Deuster, Dibble, Dibrell, Dockery, Dors-

heimer, Dowd, Dunn, Eldredge, Ellis, J. H. Evans, Forney, Garrison, Geddes, Graves, Green, Greenleaf, Halsell, N. J. Hammond, Hancock, Hardeman, W. H. Hatch, Hemphill, Herbert, A. S. Hewitt, Hoblitzell, Holman, Houseman, Hurd, James, B. W. Jones, J. H. Jones, J. K. Jones, J. T. Jones, Jordan, King, Kleiner, Lanham, Le Fevre, Lore, Lovering, McMillin, Matson, Maybury, J. F. Miller, Mills, Mitchell, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Morse, Muldrow, Murphy, Murray, Neece, Nelson, Oates, J. J. O'Neil, R. A. Pierce, S. W. Peel, Potter, Pryor, Pusey, Reese, Riggs, T. A. Robertson, J. H. Rogers, Rosecrans, Scales, Seney, Seymour, Shaw, O. E. Singleton, T. G. Skinner, Slocum, Snyder, Springer, C. Stewart, Stockslager, Strait, D. H. Sumner, Talbott, J. M. Taylor, P. B. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tillman, R. W. Townsend, Tucker, H. C. Turner, O. Turner, Vance, Van Eaton, Wakefield, T. H. Ward, R. Warner, Wellborn, Weller, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, W. L. Wilson, E. B. Winans, J. Winans, Wofford, T. J. Wood, Woodward, Worthington, Yape, Young—140.

NAYS—Messrs. G. E. Adams, Arnot, Atkinson, Barron, Barr, Belford, Bingham, Bisbee, Bontelle, Boyle, Brahnard, Breitung, J. H. Brewer, W. W. Brown, Budd, Burleigh, Cannon, Chace, Converse, Curtin, Cutcheon, R. T. Davis, Dingley, Duncan, Dunham, Eaton, Elliott, Ellwood, Ermentrout, I. N. Evans, Everhart, Ferrell, Fiedler, Findlay, Finerty, Foran, Funston, Geddes, George, Glasecock, Goff, Guenther, Hanback, Harmer, Hart, H. H. Hatch, Haynes, D. B. Henderson, T. J. Henderson, Hepburn, Hooper, Hopkins, Horr, Houk, Howey, C. Hunt, Hutchins, James, Jeffords, Johnson, Jordan, Kasson, Kean, Keifer, Kelley, Kellogg, Ketcham, Lacey, Laird, Lawrence, Le Fevre, Libbey, Long, LYMAN, McAdoo, McCold, McComas, McKinley, Morey, Morrill, Muller, Murray, Mutchler, Nutting, O'Hara, C. O'Neill, D. R. Paige, Parker, Patton, Payne, Payson, S. J. Peele, Perkins, Peters, Pettibone, W. W. Phelps, Poland, Post, Price, Randall, Ranney, G. W. Ray, O. Ray, Reed, W. W. Rice, J. S. Robinson, Rockwell, Rowell, Russell, Ryan, S. C. R. Skinner, Small, A. H. Smith, Snyder, Spooner, Spriggs, Steele, Stephenson, J. W. Stewart, Stone, Storm, Struble, C. A. Summer, E. B. Taylor, J. D. Taylor, Thomas, Tully, Van Alstyne, Wadsworth, Walt, A. J. Warner, Washburn, Weaver, Wemple, Whiting, Wilkins, J. Wilson, G. D. Wise, J. S. Wise, Yonk—159.

NAYS—Messrs. J. J. Adams, Aiken, Alexander, Bagley, Ballentine, Barbour, Barksdale, Beach, Belmont, Blackburn, Blanchard, Blaund, Blount, Breckinridge, Broadhead, Buchanan, Buckner, Burnes, Calley, A. J. Caldwell, F. Campbell, A. D. Caudler, Carlton, Cassidy, Clardy, Cloy, Clements, Cobb, Collins, J. C. Cook, Congrove, Covington, S. S. Cox, W. R. Cox, Crisp, D. B. Culverson, Dargan, Davidson, L. H. Davis, Deuster, Dibble, Dibrell, Dickey, Dorsheimer, Dued, Dunn, Eldredge, Ellis, J. H. Evans, Follett, Forney, Fyan, Garrison, E. Gibson, Graves, Green, Greenleaf, Halsell, N. J. Hammond, Hancock, Hardeman, Hardy, W. H. Hatch, Hemphill, Henley, Herbert, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, W. D. Hill, Hoblitzell, Holman, Houseman, Hurd, B. W. Jones, J. H. Jones, J. K. Jones, J. T. Jones, King, Kleiner, Lemb, Lanham, E. T. Lewis, Lore, Lovering, Lovry, McMillin, Matson, Maybury, J. F. Miller, Mills, Mitchell, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Morse, Moudton, Murphy, Neece, Nelson, Oates, O'Farrall, J. J. O'Neill, R. A. Pierce, S. W. Peel, Potter, Pryor, Pusey, Rankin, Reagan, Reese, T. A. Robertson, J. H. Rogers, W. F. Rogers, Rosecrans, Scales, Seymour, Shaw, Shelley, O. E. Singleton, T. G. Skinner, Slocum, Springer, Stevens, C. Stewart, Stockslager, Strait, D. H. Sumner, Talbott, J. M. Taylor, P. B. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tillman, R. W. Townsend, Tucker, H. C. Turner, O. Turner, Vance, Van Eaton, Wakefield, T. H. Ward, R. Warner, Wellborn, Weller, M. White, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, W. L. Wilson, E. B. Winans, J. Winans, Wofford, T. J. Wood, Woodward, Worthington, Yape, Young, Carlisle (Speaker)—153.

Not Voting—Messrs. Barr, Bennett, Muldrow, Nichols, OCHILTREE, Riggs, W. E. Robinson, Valentine, J. D. White, T. B. Wood—10.

Vote on striking out enacting clause—Only 41 Democrats vote "aye," while 151 Democrats vote "no"—The Republicans kill the bill.

On the 6th of May, general debate being closed, and the first paragraph of the bill read in committee of the whole, a motion to strike out the enacting clause of the bill was made and agreed to, on a count by tellers of 156 yeas to 151 nays, whereupon the committee rose and reported the same to the House, when on the question of concurring in the said action of the committee of the whole in striking out the enacting clause of the bill, the vote was 159 yeas to 155 nays—10 Representatives not voting, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. G. E. Adams, Anderson, Arnot, Atkinson, Bayne, Belford, Bingham, Bisbee, Bontelle, Bowen, Boyle, Brahnard, Breitung, F. B. Brewer, J. H. Brewer, T. M. Browne, W. W. Brown, BREMM, Budd, Burleigh, Calkins, J. M. Campbell, Cannon,

Chace, Connolly, Converse, W. W. Culbertson, Cullen, Curtin, Cutcheon, G. R. Davis, R. T. Davis, Dingley, Duncan, Dunham, Eaton, Elliott, Ellwood, Ermentrout, I. N. Evans, Everhart, Ferrell, Fiedler, Findlay, Finerty, Foran, Funston, Geddes, George, Glasecock, Goff, Guenther, Hanback, Harmer, Hart, H. H. Hatch, Haynes, D. B. Henderson, T. J. Henderson, Hepburn, Hooper, Hopkins, Horr, Houk, Howey, C. Hunt, Hutchins, James, Jeffords, Johnson, Jordan, Kasson, Kean, Keifer, Kelley, Kellogg, Ketcham, Lacey, Laird, Lawrence, Le Fevre, Libbey, Long, LYMAN, McAdoo, McCold, McComas, McCormick, McKinley, Millard, S. H. Miller, Milliken, Morey, Morrill, Muller, Murray, Mutchler, Nutting, O'Hara, C. O'Neill, D. R. Paige, Parker, Patton, Payne, Payson, S. J. Peele, Perkins, Peters, Pettibone, W. W. Phelps, Poland, Post, Price, Randall, Ranney, G. W. Ray, O. Ray, Reed, W. W. Rice, J. S. Robinson, Rockwell, Rowell, Russell, Ryan, S. C. R. Skinner, Small, A. H. Smith, Snyder, Spooner, Spriggs, Steele, Stephenson, J. W. Stewart, Stone, Storm, Struble, C. A. Summer, E. B. Taylor, J. D. Taylor, Thomas, Tully, Van Alstyne, Wadsworth, Walt, A. J. Warner, Washburn, Weaver, Wemple, Whiting, Wilkins, J. Wilson, G. D. Wise, J. S. Wise, Yonk—159.

NAYS—Messrs. J. J. Adams, Aiken, Alexander, Bagley, Ballentine, Barbour, Barksdale, Beach, Belmont, Blackburn, Blanchard, Blaund, Blount, Breckinridge, Broadhead, Buchanan, Buckner, Burnes, Calley, A. J. Caldwell, F. Campbell, A. D. Caudler, Carlton, Cassidy, Clardy, Cloy, Clements, Cobb, Collins, J. C. Cook, Congrove, Covington, S. S. Cox, W. R. Cox, Crisp, D. B. Culverson, Dargan, Davidson, L. H. Davis, Deuster, Dibble, Dibrell, Dickey, Dorsheimer, Dued, Dunn, Eldredge, Ellis, J. H. Evans, Follett, Forney, Fyan, Garrison, E. Gibson, Graves, Green, Greenleaf, Halsell, N. J. Hammond, Hancock, Hardeman, Hardy, W. H. Hatch, Hemphill, Henley, Herbert, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, W. D. Hill, Hoblitzell, Holman, Houseman, Hurd, B. W. Jones, J. H. Jones, J. K. Jones, J. T. Jones, King, Kleiner, Lemb, Lanham, E. T. Lewis, Lore, Lovering, Lovry, McMillin, Matson, Maybury, J. F. Miller, Mills, Mitchell, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Morse, Moudton, Murphy, Neece, Nelson, Oates, O'Farrall, J. J. O'Neill, R. A. Pierce, S. W. Peel, Potter, Pryor, Pusey, Rankin, Reagan, Reese, T. A. Robertson, J. H. Rogers, W. F. Rogers, Rosecrans, Scales, Seymour, Shaw, Shelley, O. E. Singleton, T. G. Skinner, Slocum, Springer, Stevens, C. Stewart, Stockslager, Strait, D. H. Sumner, Talbott, J. M. Taylor, P. B. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tillman, R. W. Townsend, Tucker, H. C. Turner, O. Turner, Vance, Van Eaton, Wakefield, T. H. Ward, R. Warner, Wellborn, Weller, M. White, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, W. L. Wilson, E. B. Winans, J. Winans, Wofford, T. J. Wood, Woodward, Worthington, Yape, Young, Carlisle (Speaker)—153.

A motion to reconsider the vote by which the enacting clause was thus stricken out was laid on the table, and the bill was "dead as a door-nail."

It will be observed that while 41 Democrats voted to kill the bill, 151 Democrats were friendly to it. On the other hand while 4 Republicans voted against striking out the enacting clause, 115 Republicans voted to kill the obnoxious Free-Trade bill.

CHAPTER III.

Treasury Surplus Reduction.

PART I.

Proposed Reduction of Tariff Duties.

One of the most interesting problems of the day for the consideration of the American statesman is to effect a proper reduction of the surplus annual revenue. There is one effectual way of reducing and even wiping it out altogether. That is by placing the administration in the hands of the Democracy. They would soon create a deficit, such as they were in the habit of doing when they controlled the administration of the country. [See chapter on "Democratic Financial Mal-Administration."] But as the people are quite likely to "keep the rascals out," the problem will remain for the Republican Party to wisely solve at the proper time by a carefully considered system of reduction either of internal revenue taxes or otherwise. The Secretary of the Treasury, in his report of December 3, 1883, in reviewing this question, furnishes valuable data* involved in the consideration of this question, as follows:

3 per cent bonds now payable—The 3½ and 4 per cents and refunding certificates.

"The only United States bonds which are now payable at the pleasure of the Government are the three per cents, being \$305,529,000; those which next become redeemable are the \$250,000,000 of four-and-a-half per cents, on September 1, 1891. The \$737,620,700 of four per cents and the \$323,850 of refunding certificates are redeemable July 1, 1907."

The estimated surplus for 1884—Such a surplus continuing would pay the whole interest-bearing debt in 15 years.

"The estimates for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1884, show a surplus revenue of \$85,000,000 per annum. This is enough to pay all the three per cents in about three and one half years, and before the close of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1887. This surplus kept up for the four succeeding years, to September 1, 1891, would be more than \$350,000,000, or \$100,000,000 more than enough to pay all the bonds then falling due. The same annual surplus until July 1, 1907, would amount, with the \$100,000,000 left after paying the four-and-a-half per cents, to about \$1,160,000,000, while the whole amount of the debt then redeemable is less than \$740,000,000. The estimated surplus of \$85,000,000 a year would pay the whole amount of the interest-bearing debt in about fifteen years."

The authority of the Treasury to use the surplus—Difficulties in exercising it—The surplus likely to swell.

"The only authority possessed by the Treasury whereby it can restore to business the surplus

moneys thus accumulated, is that given to the Secretary by the act of March 3, 1881, by which he may at any time apply the surplus money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to the purchase or redemption of United States bonds. This can now be done to other than the three per cents only by the payment of a large and increasing premium thereupon. And when it is considered that nearly one half of the interest-bearing debt of the United States is held by national banks, State banks, savings banks, and trust companies, and much other of it by private trustees and other persons acting in fiduciary capacity, who have no wish to surrender these securities, the difficulty of acting under the provision cited is manifest. Moreover, it cannot be assumed that the estimated surplus for the current and next years under existing laws will remain at the same rate in succeeding years. The increasing population and swelling business of the country will add to, rather than take from, the amount of the surplus as now estimated, while the decrease of interest on the public debt, and probably of the amount disbursed by the pension bureau, as arrears of pensions are paid off, should diminish expenditures."

How to avoid a "heaped-up surplus."

"As a general principle, the good of the people requires that a public debt should be paid as soon as it may be without greatly onerous taxation, or disturbance of business interests which have been fostered, perhaps stimulated, by provisions of law once expedient. Though of the public debt resting upon us, it is to be considered that the object for which it was in the main incurred, was the good of coming generations, as well as of that which incurred it, and that it is not unjust to them that, reaping a measure of the benefits it purchased, they should bear their share of the burden of payment. But as our interest-bearing public debt is over one billion and a quarter of dollars (\$1,312,446,050 in exact figures), and about \$250,000,000 and about \$740,000,000 of it beyond our reach for payment, for about eight years and twenty-four years, respectively, and may not be brought in by purchase, save at heavy rates of premium, even if it can be paid by those rates, there is forced upon our attention the question, how shall a heaped-up surplus of public money be avoided? The discussion of this question in former reports of this department admits of but one consistent answer from it now; the views therein expressed have not been given up. There ought to be a reduction of taxation."

The sinking-fund—The sacred obligation of the Government.

"By the statutes re-enacted in sections 3694 and 3696 of United States Revised Statutes, it is provided that the coin paid for duties on imported goods shall be set apart as special fund to be applied, first, to payment in coin of the interest on the bonds and notes of the United States; second, to the purchase or payment of one per cent of the entire debt of the United States, to be made within each fiscal year, and, in addition thereto, an application to the payment of the public debt of an amount equal to the interest on all bonds belonging to the sinking-fund, as the Secretary of the Treasury shall from time to time direct. This obligation to regard the coin received for duties on imported goods as a pledge for the gradual extinction of the national debt has been observed by this Department. . . .

"It is assumed that this obligation entered into by

* For further data touching receipts, expenditures and surplus, see Chapter of "Statistical Tables."

the Government with its creditors, at a time when its bonds were regarded as of far less value in the market of the world than at the present time, will be held sacred until the debt is extinguished. It is true that the debt has been paid much more rapidly than it would have been, had only the amount of the sinking-fund been applied to its payment, but the obligation still remains, to set apart annually the amount required by law, to be applied to the extinguishment of the public debt. The payments from time to time of the amount thus required have varied somewhat, as the amount of the debt has unequally varied by a more or less rapid payment of it.

The estimate of the sinking-fund for the current fiscal year is fixed at \$45,816,741.47, and the amount required will increase from year to year at the rate of about \$1,000,000 until 1891. It is estimated that an average of about \$50,000,000 each year until then, will be required for the sinking-fund. This will vary according to the amount actually applied in payment beyond the need of the sinking-fund."

Future reduction of the revenues—The necessary legislation.

"I consider, therefore, that in legislating for the future, the revenues should not be so far reduced as to prevent the application each year of about \$50,000,000 to the sinking-fund. Upon the estimate of \$55,000,000 as the surplus for the current year, we find a surplus for that period of nearly \$40,000,000, not wanted for the regular expenditures of the Government, or for the payment of the national debt through the sinking-fund.

"So the question still presses, what legislation is necessary to relieve the people of unnecessary taxes? . . .

"In the recommendations of the President and those of this Department, and the action of Congress, and in the expression of public opinion, there has been substantial concord as to how the needed reduction of the revenue should be brought about. It has been generally conceded that the internal-revenue taxes, except those upon spirits, fermented liquors, and upon the circulation of banks, might well be abolished. There has been difference whether the tax upon tobacco should be abolished or modified. There were but few advocates of the immediate total abolition of taxes upon spirits or fermented liquors. My last report said that taxes upon spirits and tobacco, being upon things not needful, should be retained rather than those upon the common necessities of life; which, as a proposition, is not to be controverted. But it was conceded by all that a substantial reduction should be made upon nearly all imported articles subjected to duties."

The Tariff Commission created with a view to such reduction—Its conclusions.

"To make a start in the proposed reduction of revenue from imports, the Tariff Commission had been created. In good faith it undertook the work. In its report to Congress it said: 'Early in its deliberations the Commission became convinced that a substantial reduction of tariff duties is demanded, not by a mere indiscriminate popular clamor, but by the best conservative opinion of the country, including that which has in former times been most strenuous for the preservation of our national industrial defences. Such a reduction of the existing tariff the Commission regards not only as a due recognition of public sentiment and a measure of justice to consumers, but one conducive to the general industrial prosperity, and which, though it may be temporarily inconvenient, will be ultimately beneficial to the special interests affected by such reduction.' Again:

"Entertaining these views, the commission has sought to present a scheme of tariff duties in which substantial reduction should be the distinguishing feature. The average reduction in rates, including that from the enlargement of the free list and the abolition of the duties on charges and commissions, at which the commission has aimed, is not less on the average than 20 per cent, and it is the opinion of the commission that the reduction will reach 25 per cent." And again: "It has been the effort of the Commission to make the reduction apply to commodities of necessary general consumption, and to

diminish or withhold the reduction upon commodities of high cost, requiring more labor, and which, being consumed principally by the more wealthy classes, could bear higher duties, at the same time supplying revenue and encouraging the higher arts without being oppressive in their operation."

The estimated revenue reduction of \$45,000,000 under the Tariff Act of 1883 not verified.

"The Chairman of the Senate Committee on Finance, in explanation of the bill before the Senate last year, which after various amendments became a law, estimated at \$45,000,000 the reduction of the revenue which would follow the changes in the tariff proposed thereby.

"These intentions and calculations have not been verified.

"The estimated receipts for the current year from customs are \$195,000,000, a reduction of less than \$20,000,000. Considering that there has been some depression of business during the past year and current year, it is probable, should business revive, that the revenues from customs under the present laws will in succeeding years increase rather than diminish.

"It was estimated by the Senate Committee that the repeal of internal-revenue taxes proposed by their bill would effect a reduction of \$34,790,894. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue estimates that the aggregate amount of reduction made by the act will not be less than \$48,000,000 per annum, including the six millions of taxes on deposits of national banks; but he further estimates that the increase of receipts from distilled spirits will so augment the revenues from that source as to make the aggregate receipts from internal revenue for this year \$120,000,000, or about \$24,500,000 less than those for the preceding year. The reduction, therefore, from all sources of internal revenue for the current year appears to be about \$10,000,000 less than the reduction expected by the Senate Committee. We have, then, a reduction of \$30,000,000 less than was sought for and expected."

The principles that should govern reduction of revenue.

"The question recurs: Shall we now seek again for that reduction which was not attained, and is it now advisable to attempt a reduction of the revenues for future years to arise from duties on imports? There was general agreement that a substantial reduction of the tariff should be made. The estimates of the Tariff Commission and of the Senate committee show what was the contemplated reduction. The actual results so far obtained indicate that the reduction labored for has not been effected by the new tariff act. It is to be considered, too, that the failure is not to be charged to the increase of imports, keeping up the amount of customs revenue. The statistics of our foreign commerce show that there has not been an increase chargeable therewith. As to the principles of reduction, if a revision be practicable, there seems to be little disagreement. The reduction should be made on articles entering into general consumption as necessities—as sugar, molasses, and the like—rather than upon luxuries; upon raw materials, rather than manufactured, with due regard to the fostering of domestic industries and occupations, especially those not fully established. In the report of this Department last year, the reduction as applied to the principal classes of dutiable articles was considered somewhat in detail, and, adhering to the views there expressed, a repetition of them is unnecessary."

The inexpediency of immediate tariff reduction.

"It may not be deemed expedient so soon to make again a revision of the tariff to effect a reduction.

"And there are considerations which are apt upon this head. The new tariff act went into operation, in all its parts, on the 1st day of July, 1883. There has gone by since then but little over one third of a fiscal year. It is a short time in which to learn with accuracy how so important and wide-reaching a law as that, touching all the business and industrial in-

terests of the country, will permanently affect the revenues. It is known that in some respects the first effects of it may not be relied upon as stable. Wherein the provisions of it lessened the duties upon foreign articles, it stimulated importations thereof, immediately before the 1st day of July. The goods were put in bonded warehouse, to be withdrawn at once after that day, on payment of duties at the new rates. Wherein it increased the duties (as it did in some instances, by new provisions to meet the adjudication of courts or the rulings of this Department), it stimulated importations prior to the 1st day of July, 1883, with the purpose of taking the benefit of the lower rate prevalent up to that date. These accelerated importations were, as a natural result, followed by decreased importations of the same articles after the law took effect; so that the lasting effects of the application of it to the business of the country may not be known with reliable certainty, either in the general result upon the volume of revenue to be yielded by duties upon imports, or in its particular results upon especial classes of goods and especial branches of domestic industry.

"Again, it may be deemed needful to so legislate as to certain industries and businesses as to effect reduction or suspension of the revenue from the taxation upon them. Those making or trading in distilled spirits, or who have made loans or advances of money thereon, will be earnest in endeavor for an extension of the bonded period. It is not unlikely that Congress will listen to their appeal. An extension of the bonded period will effect a reduction of revenue for the length of time thereof. In another part of this report are data on which may be calculated how much that will be. On the whole, then, this Department does not recommend an immediate revision of the tariff act."

PART II.

Reduction of Internal-Revenue Taxes.

In the same report above quoted from, of Dec. 3, 1883, the Secretary of the Treasury says:

"Moderate modification" and "total repeal."

"In my report of last year it was suggested that should it be deemed expedient to reduce the rate of taxes on spirits, tobacco, or fermented liquors to lessen the inducement to frauds, or to make them more equal, the objection is not so strong against moderate modification as against a total repeal of all taxes thereon. As has been seen, a reduction of the tax upon tobacco and its manufactured products has resulted in a decrease of revenue therefrom, fully as large as was expected by the committee which submitted the bill, and there is left but about \$21,400,000 of revenue from that source. The estimated receipts from spirits, however, as has been seen, for the current year exceed the receipts for former years. The reason of the opposition to the reduction of the tax on distilled spirits is that they are not necessities of life. That principle may still be upheld, and yet the tax, in whole or in part, be taken from alcohol or spirits used in the manufactures and the arts.

"Propositions are made to repeal the whole system of internal-revenue. As to this, I repeat my remark of last year: 'I see no public sentiment or political action indicating a desire on the part of tax-paying citizens to strike out this class of taxes.'

The taxes on fermented liquors and on bank circulation.

"All other internal-revenue taxes have been repealed, except that on fermented liquors,

amounting, as estimated, to \$17,900,000, and on the circulation of national banks. The repeal of the tax on bank circulation in whole or in part I have recommended.*

Data bearing upon proposed abolition of all internal-revenue taxes.

"As the abolition of all internal-revenue taxes is a proposition which may be made and pressed, some data are here given. The spirits in bonded warehouse on June 30, 1883, are estimated at more than 80,000,000 gallons. The quantity of distilled spirits in the United States, besides that in customs bonded warehouses, on October 1, 1883, is estimated by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue as follows:

	Gallons.
In distillery and special bonded warehouses	73,847,103
In hands of wholesale liquor-dealers	13,921,482
In hands of retail liquor-dealers	28,180,650
Total	115,949,235

The quantity in bond upon which the tax is payable between November 14, 1883, and June 30, 1884, is 21,997,770 gallons, the tax on which is \$19,797,993.

The quantity upon which the tax is payable during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1885, is 37,228,317 gallons, the tax on which is \$33,505,475.

The quantity upon which the tax is payable during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1886, is 15,356,030 gallons, the tax on which is \$13,820,427.

It may be assumed that neither the distiller, nor the owner of spirits in bond, nor the dealer owning it, wishes complete abolition of the tax upon it.† The community, in its present temper, will not submissively receive a law encouraging the manufacture of whiskey unrestricted in quantity.

"A reduction of the tax on whiskey in bond to 50 cents a gallon would reduce the revenue about \$7,600,000 for the current year, were the reduction to take effect from November 14, 1883, and about \$13,500,000 in the year ending June 30, 1885.

"In connection with this subject, it is deemed proper to call attention to the fact that the total number of gallons of distilled spirits produced in the year ended June 30, 1883, is estimated at 74,013,308, about 5,500,000 less than all in bonded warehouse June 30, 1883.

"Owners of spirits in bond declare themselves unable to meet the payment of taxes thereon as they fall due. They have to some extent exported them rather than to pay tax. It is likely that they will again ask an extension of the time of payment of such taxes.‡ They may ask for a repeal or modification of them.

"The statistics given above are fit for attention, as well upon the question of the probable surplus in the Treasury as upon the need and propriety of legislative relief to the owners of spirits.

* Such a bill was passed by the Senate, Feb. 20, 1881, by a non-partisan vote of 43 yeas to 12 nays, but was not considered in the House.—[COMPILER.]

† April 7, 1884, a resolution was adopted under a suspension of the rules in the House of Reps., by 179 yeas to 33 nays, declaring "That it is unwise and inexpedient for the present Congress to abolish or reduce the tax upon spirits distilled from grain.—[COMPILER.]

‡ March 19, 1884, a bill (H. R. 5265) providing that "the time within which distilled spirits heretofore entered for deposit and now remaining in distillery warehouses, upon which the tax has or shall become due after Dec. 1, 1883, are required to be withdrawn therefrom" shall be "extended for a period not exceeding two years" from the date such tax would have fallen due under existing laws, came up in the House for consideration, and after several days' debate, on March 27, the enacting clause was stricken out and the bill killed by a vote of 186 yeas to 83 nays. Of the 83 nays there were but 11 Republicans.—[COMPILER.]

CHAPTER IV.

The Protected American Farmer.

"Custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue."—Democratic National Platform, 1876.

"A tariff for revenue only."—Democratic National Platform, 1880.

"Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes."—Democratic National Platform, 1884.

"It is the first duty of a good Government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. . . . We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States . . . and we therefore respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duty upon foreign wool in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection."—Republican National Platform, 1884.

PART I.

The Benefits of the Republican American Protective System to the American Farmer—The Proofs by Henry C. Carey, Hon. J. T. Updegraff, and a Canadian Farmer.

Henry C. Carey's proofs.

Henry C. Carey, the political economist, in his *"Harmony of Interests, Agricultural, Manufacturing, and Commercial"* (1872), says:

"Who, now, were the losers by the greatly increased difficulty of obtaining this great instrument [iron] of civilization? To answer this question, we must first inquire who are the great consumers of iron? The farmers and planters constitute three-fourths of the population of the nation, and if the loss were equally distributed, that portion of the loss would fall upon them; but we shall find, upon inquiry, that it is upon them, the producers of all we consume, that the whole of it must fall."

"The farmer needs iron for his spades and plows, his shovels and his dung-forks, his trace-chains and his horse-shoes, and his wagon-wheels; for his house, his barn, and his stable. He needs them, too, for his timber. If iron be abundant, saws are readily obtained, and the saw-mill takes his place by his side, and he has his timber converted into plank at the cost of less labor than was before required to haul the logs to the distant saw-mill. He obtains the use of mill-saws cheap. If iron be abundant the grist-mill comes to his neighborhood, and now he has his grain converted into flour, giving for the work less grain than was before consumed by the horses and men employed in carrying it to the distant mill. If iron be abundant, spades and picks are readily obtained, and the roads are mended and he passes more readily to the distant market. If iron increase in abundance, the railroad enables him to pass with increased facility, himself, his turnips and potatoes, to markets from which before he was entirely shut out by cost of transportation, except as regards arti-

cles of small bulk and much value—wheat and cotton. If iron be abundant, the woollen-mill comes, and his wool is converted on the spot by men who eat on the ground his cabbage and his veal, and drink his milk, and perform the work of conversion in return for services and things that would have been lost had they not been thus consumed. At each step he gets the use of iron cheaper—that is, at less cost of labor. If iron be abundant the cotton-mill now comes, and the iron road now brings the cotton, and his sons and his daughters obtain the use of iron spindles and iron looms by which they are enabled to clothe themselves at one twentieth of the cost of labor that had been necessary but twenty years before. Instead of a yard of cotton received in return for two bushels of corn, one bushel of corn pays for six yards of cloth—and now it is that the farmer grows rich."

"A careful examination of society will satisfy the enquirer that all the people engaged in the work of transportation, conversion, and exchange, are but the agents of the producers, and live out of the commodities they produce, and that the producers grow rich or remain poor precisely as they are required to employ less or more persons in the making of their exchanges. The farmer who is compelled to resort to the distant mill employs many persons, horses and wagons, in the work of converting his grain into flour, and his land is of small value. Bring the mill close to him, and a single horse and cart, occasionally employed, will do the work."

"The farmer who employs the people of England to produce his iron, is obliged to have the services of numerous persons, of ships and wagons, and horses, to aid in the work. Bring the furnace to his side, and let his neighbor get out his iron, and he and his sons do much of the work themselves, furnishing timber, ore, and the use of horses, wagons, etc., when not needed on the farm."

"The man of Tennessee sends to market 300 bushels of corn, for which he receives in return one ton of iron, the money-cost of which is \$60, but the labor-cost of which is the cultivation of ten acres of land. If he could follow his corn, he would find that the men who get out his iron receive but 30 or 40 bushels, and that the remaining 260 or 270 are swallowed up by the numerous transporters and exchanges that stand between himself and the men whom he thus employs. If, now, he could bring those men to his side, giving them double wages, say sixty bushels of corn, he would be a gainer to the extent of 240 bushels. While he has to give 300 bushels his iron is dear, and he can use little. When

he obtains it for 60 bushels it is cheap, and he uses much. His production increases, and his ability to use iron increases with it, and the demand for workers in iron increases, and all obtain food more readily, the consequence of which is that they have more to spare for clothing, and for other comforts or the luxuries of life." [pp. 80-81.]

Proofs by a practical farmer—Representative Updegraff.

The Hon. J. T. Updegraff of Ohio, in his speech of April 12 and 13, 1882, in the House of Representatives, said:

"Mr. Chairman, I have been a farmer all my life and every year for thirty years have sold the products of the farm. When manufacturers were fully protected and flourishing I have never seen the time that judicious agriculture was not prosperous; and when manufacturing under 'revenue' tariff was crippled or broken down I never saw agriculture flourishing. Is there any gentleman in this House who has? Sometimes a certain product may be in demand temporarily, but the uniform rule is as I have stated it. If any member has seen it otherwise, let him declare it. [Applause.] No; the real and permanent industries of a people are always in harmony and interdependence with each other. Each member of a community profits by an increase in the productive power of the whole body. That advantage is increased and multiplied by every increase in the *diversity of employments*. The farming interest above every other is benefited by this diversity, which saves the necessity of carrying bulky products to a distant market; for every intelligent farmer knows that the man who is compelled to go to market must, in some way, pay the cost of going, and that the very first of all the charges paid, by labor or by hand, is that for transportation.

"But Mr. Mountgredien says, in his Cobden Club pamphlet, '*the farmer neither receives nor seeks legislative protection.*' False again. He does both. The farmer has carefully and intelligently studied this question, not merely by theories of bookmen, but in the school of practical affairs. He asks, and has received fair protection for his industries. It is just that he should, for many agricultural products are produced in other countries by pauper labor, against which it would be a monstrous outrage that the American farmer should be forced to compete. Surely this English teacher could not be ignorant of the fact that protective duties are imposed on all the leading agricultural products where protection is practicable. American farmers know that these duties were laid to protect these articles in the home market, which consumes nearly 92 per cent of all the products of the farm.

"It is not necessary to give a full catalogue of all these products and the duty on each, but I mention enough, taken from our tariff list, to show how carefully the interests of the farmer have been considered. The duty on Indian corn is 10 cents a bushel; on wheat, 20 cents a bushel; oats, 10 cents a bushel; barley, 15 cents a bushel; rye, 15 cents a bushel; peas and beans, 10 to 20 per cent; potatoes, 15 cents a bushel; butter, 4 cents a pound; cheese, 4 cents a pound; poultry, 10 per cent; sugar, 2 to 5 cents per pound; leaf-tobacco, 35 cents a pound; manufactured tobacco, 50 cents a pound; beef and pork, 1 cent a pound; mutton, 10 cents a pound; hay, 20 per cent; on all domestic animals except for breeding purposes, 20 per cent, but those for breeding purposes admitted free in the interest of farming and stock-raising; wool, from 10 to 12 cents a pound, with from 10 to 12 per cent added.

"Not only is his interest thus protected but the farmer knows well that the protection to the manufacturer benefits him still more. He knows that when the great manufacturing industries of various kinds are active and flourishing that there is always a demand for all the variety of his products in the home market. He understands that the products or price of the great staples of wheat and corn a part of which may be exported, are no measure of the benefit to him of a home market which consumes already prices the still more abundant and profitable products of the farm which cannot reach a distant

or foreign market without great loss and many of them not at all. The vicinity of a manufacturing town or of a manufacturing establishment, whether it be a rolling-mill, furnace, or factory, not only at once raises the price of every foot of his land, but gives him a daily market for the perishable and small products of the farm, such as fruit, dairy products, vegetables, eggs, poultry, veal, mutton, hay, straw, fodder, berries, cord-wood, and a multitude of minor articles, thousands and millions of dollars' worth of which no absolute record can ever find its place in a national balance-sheet, and these are the most profitable of the products of the farm."

Proofs furnished by a suffering Canadian farmer.

In a Canadian paper, 1882, appeared the following graphic contrast by a Canadian farmer between the condition of the protected "Yankee" farmer and his own unprotected condition:

"The Yankee farmer rises in the morning tolerably refreshed. True, he has been sleeping on a bed, the sheets, blankets, and mattress of which would have been taxed 60 to 180 per cent had they been imported from a foreign country. But they are home-made and his dreams have not been disturbed by the free-trade bugbear that 'protection raises the price of the home manufactured article up to at least the price of the imported article *plus* the imported duty.' Mr. David A. Wells and other agents of the Leeds and Manchester Manufacturers once tried to frighten him with this bogey; but experience has taught him that it is only a make-believe. There is an import duty of eight cents a yard on cotton-sheeting, but he buys it from the cotton factory in his market town at seven cents a yard, and sees enormous quantities of it going to England in competition with free-trade cotton, to Canada, to South America, and even to Australia. Moreover, he knows that it is to that import duty he owes the establishment of the neighboring cotton factory, whose operatives consume his produce, and give him a profitable home market for rotation crops. The same is true of his blankets and mattress; indeed he is well satisfied with his bed. It is home-made; it cost him if anything less than an imported article; and its manufacture has given employment to artisans who buy the products of his farm almost direct from his wagon. He proceeds to put on his clothes, nothing alarmed because there is a heavy import duty on foreign tweed cloths, felt hats, boots, and cotton shirts. His suit from head to foot is of American make; the profits of its manufacture have gone to enrich the American people, and he thinks this is better for him than if his tweed coat had come from the West of England, his hat from Nottingham, his shirt from Manchester, and his boots from Stockport. The clock tells him it is breakfast time. He has no hard feelings against the clock merely because foreign clocks are taxed 35 per cent; on the contrary it reminds him of the clock factories of Connecticut and the thousands of hands to whom they give employment and who in their turn give a market and an increased value to every adjacent farm. Breakfast over—by the way, American importers bring his tea direct from China, not via Montreal or London—he takes to his farm implements. Foreign implements, such as spades, shovels, hoes, forks, rakes, etc., are taxed 35 per cent; wooden pails, tubs, churns, etc., 35 per cent, and plows, harrows, seed-sowers, cultivators, mowers, reapers, threshing machines, etc., 35 per cent; and in 1860, when the battle of the Morrill tariff was being fought in Congress, the agents of the great Bedford and Leicester firms predicted that an import duty on their goods would ruin farming in the United States. He has discovered, however, that this is not true. Home factories have sprung up everywhere, and the keen competition has not only kept down prices, but incited the inventive genius of the American mechanic, so that Yankee farm implements have become the cheapest and best in the world. The heavy and cumbersome English machines are being driven from the foreign markets and even

from the English market itself, which McCormick, of Chicago, has invaded with great success. In fact when our farmer contemplates the amazing growth and proportions of this industry it occurs to him that the English agents, who lobbied and even bribed politicians and newspapers to oppose the high tariff, were not actuated so much by regard for the condition of the Yankee farmer as by the consciousness that protection would deprive them of the American market, and by the fear that it would in the long run make the Yankee manufacturer a formidable rival in other markets. This is what the farmer thinks as he works in his field and about his barn-yard during the forenoon. He is startled out of his reverie by the toot of the dinner-horn, and sits down at the table nothing put out by the reflection that tin horns of foreign make are taxed about two cents each. Neither does he lose his appetite when he remembers that furniture, such as the chair he is sitting on, the table at which he is eating, and the dresser where the dishes are stored, is taxed 35 per cent when of foreign make. This duty has helped to establish hundreds of furniture factories and to give employment to tens of thousands of mechanics throughout the Union, and in this way has benefited him; for the home manufacturer is everywhere the farmer's best friend. After dinner he sets out for the market town, and as he journeys thither he pities the Canadian farmer, who, as a rule, has to dispose of his produce to the middlemen, that stand like a row of tax gatherers, each levying his tithe, between the Kanuck farmer and the foreign consumer. He wonders, too, does this old Yankee farmer, how the Canadian farms induce wheat and barley year after year, and rejoices that protection has given him a home market to which he can supply almost every variety of crop. He is following this train of thought when he enters the market town at one o'clock; and his sympathy for the Canadian farmer is deepened as he sees troops of Canadian operatives returning to the factories from their dinner. 'I wonder,' he communes, 'if the Kanuck farmer ever sees a crowd of Yankee operatives going to work in a Canadian factory? Guess not! Then what do free-traders mean by arguing that protection, such as we Yankees are cursed with, ruins industry, while free-trade, with which the Kanucks have long been blessed, builds it up and makes a Nation great? If that were so would not these active little French-Canadians be at work in Montreal, and would not our Yankee mechanics be pouring over there also? How is it, ye free-trade theorists, that the census of 1870 showed that Canada, with 4,000,000 of people, had sent us nearly 500,000, or one eighth of her children? And how is it that the Canadian census of 1870 showed that we, with ten times 4,000,000, had sent Canada only 70,000 Yankees? By this time he has reached the store, and soon disposes of his wheat, tomatoes, carrots, potatoes, etc. With the money received in payment he makes his little purchases, and finds no small consolation in knowing that almost every dollar he pays out goes to home industries. Outsiders get nothing except for raw articles the United States can not produce, such as tea and coffee. 'Even if I have to pay a little more for some of my purchases,' he says to himself, 'it is satisfactory to know that the money will be kept in the country, and paid out again for the produce I grow, and the beef, mutton, and pork I raise.' He thinks this over as he travels homeward, and talks protection vs. free-trade with his sons in the evening. One of them works in the town—Canada has had no attractions for them, 'You boys are all here,' says the old man, 'and I guess that is pretty good evidence that this is a habitable country, protection and all. If you had gone to Canada or England and were settled there, and were writing over for your friends and acquaintances to join you, as the half million Canadians and the hundreds of thousands of Englishmen and Irishmen in the States do, I should be inclined to suspect something was wrong. But here we are, drawing thousands of emigrants every year from free-trade countries, while retaining our own folks at home; paying off our war debt rapidly, and getting our bonds into our own hands; exporting \$300,000,000 a year more than we import; developing our home industries, pushing our foreign trade, and going ahead like thunder, in spite of panics and bad politics—boys, I guess we've every reason to thank God.'

PART II.

Increase in Farms, Farm Acreage, Farm Values, Production and Prices of Farm Products, and Decrease in Prices of all the Farmer wants to Buy—Decline of Agriculture in Free-Trade England.

In the House of Representatives, April 29, 1884, Hon. Frank Hiscock of New York made a speech in which he proved the enormous increase in American farm production and the advancement in price of farm products under the Republican American protective system. Said he:

"The enlargement of production since 1860, from the increase of agricultural machinery, from the stimulus to home consumption by extension of manufacture and greater ability to consume largely through high wages of labor, is a wonder to Americans as well as to the world at large, and from some of the statements made on this floor it would seem to be unknown to several participants in this discussion.

Increase in farms, farm-areas and production, 1860 to 1880.

"The increase in farms and farm-areas from 1860 to 1880, is as follows:

	1860.	1880.
Number.....	2,044,077	4,008,907
Acres improved.....	163,110,720	284,771,042
Total acres.....	407,212,538	586,051,885

"Production has increased in far greater ratio than farms or acreage. Corn advanced from a product of 838,732,742 to 1,754,591,676, or 109 per cent; wheat, from 173,104,924 to 459,483,137 bushels, or 165 per cent; all cereals taken together, from 1,229,000,430 to 2,607,580,229 bushels, or 118 per cent. Cotton, in 1860, had reached an unprecedented production with a rapidity that had been phenomenal. The crop of 1859 amounted to 4,669,770 bales. Though its cultivation almost ceased for four years, it had risen to 5,761,252 bales in 1873, and to 6,949,756 in 1882.

"Fifty years ago 60 per cent of our agricultural exports was cotton. Now, while it is nine times as much in value, it constitutes only a third of the values of agricultural exports. In the same time the increase in value of meat and breadstuffs has been thirty-fold. The exports of cotton were very heavy in 1850-60, amounting to \$191,800,555 in value, but in 1883 the value was \$217,326,721, though the consumption of cotton in American manufactures was enlarged in still greater proportion, from 422,704,973 to 730,43,981 pounds, with very rapid increase since 1880. In the same period the increase of exports of agricultural products was from \$250,500,772 to \$619,200,449.

"The product of wool is four times as much as in 1860 (it was 241,000,000 pounds in 1880) of improved quality, making the strongest and most durable cloth of any manufacturing country in the world, and needing no admixture of foreign wools. In 1860 we imported half the woolen goods consumed in cloth and wool. Now we produce about four fifths of the consumption, and the small proportion imported is largely carpet wools of too low a grade for civilized agriculture to produce. It is true that there is a small quantity of superfine wool introduced, ours being principally of medium fineness.

"The production of meat has been enlarged beyond the increase of numbers of cattle, or the increment of population to be fed. Recent investigations in the Department of Agriculture has made the in-

crease of value of cattle, by improvements in breeding upon the original stock, the sum of \$287,000,000. The cattle exported from New York in 1881 averaged \$93.65 and those from Boston \$99.68, being mostly high-grade shorthorns, while the unimproved Spanish cattle exported from Florida averaged but \$14.09 and those from Texas but \$16.84. The cattle exported in 1880 averaged only \$38.26 per head, while the exportation of 1882 averaged \$77.93 per head.

"The price also indicates the great improvement in quality, as well as the stimulus of increased home consumption supplemented by the enlarged foreign demand. The Chicago prices of beefeves in 1860 ranged from \$1.90 to \$2.75 per hundred; in 1882 extra beefeves reached \$6.85 per hundred."

Increased values and prices.

"The exports of animals in their products was in 1860 but \$20,402,812. In 1881 it was \$175,584,760. And now, sir, I propose to make a comparison of values and prices. In comparing the values of products of 1860 with those of 1880 the influence of railway extension and industrial prosperity are shown in their effect on prices. It is seen that prices of many products were high in 1860 on the seaboard and low in the interior. In December of 1860 oats in New York were 37 cents per bushel; in Chicago 17 cents. Corn was 68 cents in New York; in Chicago 27 cents. Wheat was \$1.35 in New York; in Chicago 75 cents.

"In 1880 the aggregate value of the products of agriculture was more than double the aggregate for 1860. The comparative values of some of the principal products are as follows:

PRODUCTS.	1860.	1880.	1882.
Cereals ...	\$558,345,836	\$1,329,930,517	\$1,468,633,393
Cotton....	211,510,635	271,636,121	309,696,500
Hay.....	152,671,168	410,146,545	369,958,158
Potatoes.	44,459,547	\$1,848,474	95,304,844
Tobacco ..	21,710,473	38,758,215	43,189,951
Total....	\$988,703,649	\$2,132,319,572	\$2,236,842,846

Farm prices, 1860 to 1882.

"And now, sir, I want to call attention to farm prices in 1860, 1880, and 1882. I think, sir, I have heard it said we could not obtain them; and now bear in mind it is not the seaboard price which is to control—it includes transportation from the farm—but the price at the market point to the producer must be taken. I have worked this out at the cost of considerable labor, and I challenge its examination. If any one will take the prices current, at the nearest market in the various producing sections, of the various products, he will reach the same results; and while my average is lower than at some favored points he will find the prices for the different years will at the same points bear usually the same comparative relations to each other, and this must be remembered in the comparison of prices which I shall make:

Average farm values of products in 1860, 1880, and 1882.

CEREALS.	1860.	1880.	1882.
Wheat, per bushel.....	\$0 72.0	\$0 95.1	\$0 88.2
Corn, per bushel.....	43.0	39.6	48.4
Oats, per bushel.....	25.0	36.0	37.5
Rye, per bushel.....	52.0	75.6	61.5
Buckwheat, per bushel ..	58.0	59.4	72.9
Barley, per bushel.....	55.0	66.6	62.8
Potatoes, per bushel.....	40.0	48.3	55.7
Tobacco, per pound.....	05.0	08.2	08.4
Cotton, per pound.....	09.8	09.8	09.9
Hay, per ton.....	8 00.0	11 65.0	9 70.0

Butter and cheese production.

"The butter production of farms, as reported by the census of 1860, was 459,681,372 pounds. Inclusive of that, not entering into the farm enumeration, the entire product of the United States was about 500,000,000 pounds. In 1880 the amount returned from farms and factories was 794,672,071. The total product of the country was about 900,000,000 pounds.

"The average price of butter exported in 1860 was 15 cents. As only the poorer qualities were exported the average farm price is a little higher than the seaboard price of export butter, and I estimate it at 16 cents. The range of recent prices is from 9 to 40 on the farm, with much higher rates for a small quantity of 'gilt-edged' samples, yet the average is still low, but is not less than 21 cents for 1880 and 22 cents for 1882.

"The export price in these years respectively was 17.1 and 18.5 cents per pound.

"The production of cheese advanced from 103,633,927 pounds in 1860 to 243,157,850 in 1880. Including a little unenumerated, the actual production would be about 130,000,000 and 300,000,000 respectively.

"The average prices were about 9½ cents in 1860, 9½ in 1880, and 10.5 in 1882. There was a partial glut in 1880, which reduced the price. The export prices of cheese are a little higher than farm prices—10 cents in 1860, 9½ cents in 1880, and 11.2 in 1882.

"As a rule prices of butter are much higher in recent years than twenty-five years ago. Cheese is now about 10 per cent higher, as an average."

Values of our farm production and an advancement of prices.

"The value of all productions of agriculture for 1879, exclusive of about \$400,000,000 of corn and hay consumed in the production of meat, was, approximately, \$3,600,000,000. This includes all meat products, milk consumed, fruit, and various minor products not included in the census tabulation of 1880. Of this about \$400,000,000 (farm value) was exported, leaving \$3,200,000,000 for domestic consumption. This gives about 11 per cent for exportation, which is more than usual, the range of recent years being 8 to 10 per cent.

"In 1859 the production aggregated a value of about \$1,600,000,000, of which nearly \$200,000,000 was exported, leaving for home consumption a value of \$1,400,000. The per capita value of this consumption is nearly \$45 in 1860 against \$65 in 1859.

"Again, Mr. Chairman, I invite the closest examination of the figures I have presented, and they prove, sir, an enormous increase in our farm production and an advancement of price."

Increased value of farms and farm products in protected America—Agricultural decline in free-trade England.

Said Representative Kasson of Iowa, in his speech in the House, March 27, 1884:

"Has this [protective] system which you [free-traders] so violently condemn impeded the development of the country? If I look in your books on political economy I perhaps should answer 'Yes.' I prefer to look into my own book, which is the history of the United States as disclosed by the census taken under the law. I inquire, first, as to the effects upon that class of population with which I have been identified, and which you say suffers most of the burdens and injustice. I find that the value of the farms of the country in 1860 was \$3,200,000,000, rising to \$7,000,000,000 in 1870, and in 1880 to \$10,197,000,000. The gross value of their products in 1860 was not returned, but is estimated at \$1,400,000,000; in 1870 it was \$1,800,000,000, and in 1880 \$2,200,000,000. And just here let me re-enforce my statement respecting the growth of agriculture in this country by an extract from the British Agricultural Commission's report in 1882, in which this sentence occurs: 'It is safe to say that for the last two years the agriculture of America has been at the very flood-tide of its prosperity.' So even the census of 1880 has not fully told the magnificent story of our agricultural development under this system of 'rob-

bing' the farmers, our foreign rivals being the witnesses.

"But what is the condition of the same agriculture under free trade in England, where the farmers, instead of being 'robbed' by protection, have the blessings of free trade? Let the great free-trade organ of England, the *London Times*, tell the story in its issue of April 19, 1882. Its four-column article is under the title 'Agricultural Decline in England,' and is a review covering thirteen years. It declares that England now has about \$40,000,000 less value of live-stock, and a further loss of \$20,000,000 in grain crops, irrespective of the falling off in yield per acre planted. That paper says sadly, in summing up:

'We present the above statements illustrating the decline in agricultural wealth and production, leading to farm occupiers and their landlords to consider how far the facts constitute an indictment against their craft, or only a record of its misfortunes.'

"Now put in contrast with this what is said by the British Agricultural Commission of our agriculture in its report of the same year, 1882: 'It is safe to say that for the last two years the agriculture of America has been at the very flood-tide of its prosperity.'

"Which system has 'robbed the farmer' or plundered the poor? Which has proved most beneficial to the farmer?"

Everything the farmer sells has gone up in price—Everything he buys has gone down.

Representative Brumm, of Pennsylvania, in his speech before the House, May 1, 1884, said:

"I remember very well, and I want you farmers to remember—I remember very well in my short lifetime when it took a good cow to buy a good cooking-stove. To-day a good cow will furnish the best kitchen in the land with cooking-stove and all the utensils necessary for a well-regulated kitchen.

"I worked for years as a watchmaker, and I remember well when it took a good horse to buy a good clock, and to-day the price of a good horse will set you up in a respectable watch and clock business. Clocks for a dollar. A good horse is all the way from \$250 to \$1000.

"Why, sir, it used to take, in my short lifetime, a whole calf to buy a saw. To-day you can buy the best of Dissont's make for the hide of a calf.

"I remember when it took a pound of the best butter to buy a pound of nails. To-day you can buy a pound of nails with a quart of skimmed milk.

"Yet you talk about protection to the farmer. Where has his commodity fallen in price? Every other commodity has fallen by reason of protection, while the farmer has always held his own, or rose steadily from year to year."

Representative Browne, of Indiana, in his speech of April 30, 1884, on the Morrison horizontal-reduction Tariff bill, said:

"What is our own experience? I will not repeat the figures so often given, but the fact dare not be controverted that under our protective system labor and the farm product have constantly been advancing, while every manufactured product has been cheapening in price. Farm labor has gone up 100 per cent and more within forty years. Cereals, poultry, beef, pork, hay, the product of the dairy, everything the farmer puts on the market has gone up, while woollens, cotton goods, hats, shoes, agricultural implements, every manufacture, indeed, the laboring man buys has steadily gone down."

"Mr. Chairman, I remember when, as a boy, forty years ago, I stood behind the counter of a country store in my district; we bought butter at from 5 to 10 cents per pound, eggs at 3 to 6 cents per dozen, chickens at 75 cents to \$1 per dozen, pork at from \$1.50 to \$2.50 per hundred net, and other farm products at prices equally low. These products have advanced three to four hundred per

per cent since then. On the other hand, cotton fabrics, such as prints, brown sheetings, tickings, drills, etc., that sold then at 12 to 15 cents per yard, are to be had to-day in the same market for from 6 to 9 cents. There have been like reductions in the prices of lawn, cammeres, cloths, flannels; but I need not give details, as these facts stand admitted. The conclusion is clear: we can safely continue a policy that has brought these conditions to the country."

Dutiable agricultural products—The foreigner bears the burden of the duties which protect the American farmer.

Representative Chace, of Rhode Island, in his speech before the House, April 16, 1884, said:

"Below are the totals given in a table, prepared by the Bureau of Statistics, showing the amounts of dutiable agricultural products imported into this country during the years 1882 and 1883, and the rate and amount of duties collected on them. Among them are \$4,000,000 worth of live animals, \$12,667,000 worth of breadstuffs and farinaceous foods, \$18,000,000 worth of fruit, nearly \$1,000,000 worth of hay, more than \$1,000,000 worth of potatoes, and \$18,000,000 worth of provisions, including \$300,000 worth of butter. Included in the item of breadstuffs is \$1,833,406 worth of rice, the duty on which is a direct protection to the Southern farmer. East Indian rice is worth in bond in New York from 24 cents to 26 cents per pound wholesale, the duty being 24 cents per pound, and the average ad valorem rate last year being 114.8 per cent. The average duty on fruits was 25.35 per cent, on sugar and molasses 52.88 per cent, and 31.17 per cent of all the duties collected was on agricultural articles. A favorite method of figuring with the free-trade doctrinaires is to assume that if an article is imported on which there is a duty that fact is proof that all such articles produced and consumed in this country are enhanced by so much. I annex a table, prepared by the Agricultural Bureau, showing that the gross agricultural products of this country in 1882 amounted to \$3,600,000,000; the average duties, being 31 per cent, would amount to \$1,116,000,000: either an utter absurdity, or we are paying our farmers a great bonus. It is pure nonsense. The fact is the foreigner generally pays the whole or a part of the duty on all articles."

PART III.

A Distinguished Democrat Admits that Protection Cheapens all Articles used by the Farmer and others—The Farmer will soon Demand more Protection for the Home Market.

Representative and ex-Senator Eaton, of Connecticut, in spite of threats to read him out of the Free-Trade Democratic Party if he dared to utter even a part of the truth as to the benefits of protection, said in his speech in the House, May 1, 1884:

"The duty, then, of the patriot alone has gone by; as a patriot alone I would not have this question before Congress, but now I come to it as a party man, a Democrat of forty years' standing—yes, sir, of forty years' standing; and I am to be read out of the party, am I? . . .

"But to the members of this House I desire to address myself, to those who are talking of robbery, of plunder, corruption, stealing, and thievery. There is not a single article bought in the South, from the wagon that draws the farmer's cotton to the markets to the pin that his wife uses, that is not 100 per cent cheaper than it was fifteen years ago. No matter how wrong the principle of protection may be, that is the fact. I grant you that it is wrong; but the fact remains the same. It has cheapened everything under God's heavens that men, women, and children use in this land—every-thing. And there is reason for it."

"Talk about the cotton of which my shirts are made. There is 50 per cent duty on that cotton. And it cannot be made anywhere on God's great earth except in New England; it cannot be made for the same money anywhere else. I know it; I assert it; I defy contradiction from anybody and anywhere. Take the Collins axes that have driven the English axes out of England and Scotland and Ireland, and the Swiss ax out of Switzerland, and yet there is a duty of 50 per cent on the Collins axes made in my county, their office under mine. There is not an ax that can be sold anywhere on the face of the earth in competition with the Hartford ax, and yet they pay, permit me to say, to meet the argument of my friend from New York, they pay for what is called raw material—and it is not raw material, it is material, but not raw—they pay duty on their iron and steel and yet make an ax which has driven every manufacturer of every other country out of the market."

"I assert it as a fact, for I brought it to the attention of the State Department when I occupied a very honorable position in the other branch as head of a committee, that the trade-marks of Massachusetts and Connecticut are stolen by Great Britain to-day—four in my own State and four in the State of Massachusetts; that she cannot sell her own wares in her own country without stealing the trade-marks of the United States. (Applause.)

"These are facts and ought to be known. . . .

"Now a little story. Mr. Lincoln used to point an argument with a story. Suppose I do it, although I know it will not be as good as his stories were. There was a certain professor in my county, a theorist of the first water, a man who does not know any more about the practical tariff than I know about the Hebrew that he is well acquainted with. This professor came up into a large manufacturing village in my county to make a theoretical speech, such a one as my friend from Ohio (Mr. Hurd) delights in. There was a farmer standing by a post in the lecture-room, and the professor thought he might be a good subject to operate upon; so he said to him, 'My friend, you are a farmer?' 'Yes.' 'You live here?' 'Yes.' 'Do you know these manufacturers in this village are robbing you?' 'Why, no, I do not know it. How can they rob me? I came here ten years ago with \$500; I bought a farm, running in debt \$2,500 for my farm and stock. I went to work raising truck for this village. I paid my debt and have got money in the savings-bank, and do not owe any man a dollar. How have they ruined me?' The professor said, 'Well, it appears you have been a hard-working man and have lived it through. But you pay six cents a yard duty for the very cloth your shirt is made of.' 'Well, professor,' replied the farmer, 'you may think so, but you cannot prove it by your algebra or your logarithms; you cannot prove it unless by Esop's fables, for I did not give but five cents a yard for the cloth.'" (Great laughter.)

Our farmers' foreign market vanishing before the competition of Russia and India—They will soon want more protection for the home market.

Representative Kelley, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, April 15, 1884, said:

"I have said that our wheat-growers are in more danger from Russia than from India, and this is

true. Southern Russia is one immense body of prairie land, as fertile as and in all respects resembling the rich wheat fields of Illinois. The aggregate of Russia's production of wheat for export has hitherto been limited by the want of agricultural machinery, railroads leading to the nearest seaports, and a system of elevators. When these improvements shall be introduced, in connection with the little better than Indian wages that are paid to Russian peasants, the foreign market for grain produced on our high-priced land, and at from one, to two thousand miles from ports of shipment, will will pay the cost of production and transportation.

"But it will be asked, is there danger of the establishment of such means of competition? No reply to this question. I beg leave to tell gentlemen that the Russian government has been and is again in negotiation with American parties to establish in the heart of this great wheat-growing country factories for the production of agricultural implements, to undertake the construction of railroads over the level surface of this prairie land, and of systems of elevators at convenient points along the railroads, and in the shipping ports to which they will lead. *I am no prophet of evil, no Cassandra, and have not risen to say to our farmers this overwhelming competition is your inevitable and immediate fate; my mission is now, as it has been for all the years of my mature life, to avert, if wise counsels can do it, such disaster to any portion of the American people."*

And Representative Evans, of Pennsylvania, April 22, 1884, during the same debate, said:

"It is the opinion of the best-informed political economists that the farmer will soon need a much higher protection on his cereal products to prevent importation of like products into this country to feed the millions of our people who are employed in manufactures and different pursuits other than agriculture. It is an admitted fact that we can no longer rely upon a foreign market for their consumption. British America, India, Australia, and Russia are building railroads and improving their facilities to make cheaper transportation.

India alone has increased her exports of wheat enormously in the last four years. In 1880 she exported 4,000,000 bushels; in 1881 12,000,000 bushels; and in 1883 36,000,000 bushels. Her soil is fertile and well adapted to wheat-raising. It is said that the rates of freight from India and Russia to Liverpool are no higher than from the United States to Liverpool. Her rate of wages, although having risen 100 per cent in the last thirty years, is now about eight cents per day; farm labor can be had for five cents per day.

It is with this pauper labor we will have to compete in our exports of grain; and at the rate they are increasing their animal products, we will not only be compelled to give up the foreign market, except in times of failure, but they will be knocking very soon at the doors of our ports with their cereal products. Then you will find that the farmer will plead as he has never pleaded before for protection, and instead of twenty cents per bushel on wheat and barley he will want perhaps three times that amount. It is said that wheat can be produced at a profit in India for thirty cents a bushel.

Representative Russell, of Massachusetts, also said during that debate:

"India is displacing the old rude implements of agriculture with new and modern ones, improving her lands by irrigation, and pushing railroads into the wheat-growing sections of the country. A new railroad line now constructing from Calcutta will open an outlet for from fifty to eighty million bushels per year. Another proposed line would draw traffic from 27,000 square miles of wheat cultivation, or more than 17,000,000 acres, capable of producing 150,000,000 bushels per year, thus increasing rapidly her growth and exports of wheat."

PART IV.

Values in Agriculture enhanced by Increase of Non-Agricultural Population—Values of Farm-Lands.

In his valuable report for December, 1883, Mr. J. R. Dodge, Statistician of the Agricultural Department, at Washington, D. C., demonstrates a fact of great interest to the American farmer, to wit, that "Values in agriculture are enhanced by increase of non-agricultural population."

Comparison between States.

He takes Virginia and Pennsylvania as preliminary examples to test the truth of that law. Says he:

"More than half of the people of Virginia are farmers; only one in five of the Pennsylvanians are engaged in agriculture. Does the greater number in the former State make a greater demand for land and a higher price by reason of the competition? No; the competition is between one farmer and another in the sale of produce for which there is no near market; and the cheapening of products also cheapens the acres on which they are grown. So, Virginia farm-lands are valued at \$10.89 per acre, while those of Pennsylvania command \$49.30. So says the census of 1880. It also says that the average farm-worker of Virginia produces crops worth \$180, while the Pennsylvania agriculturist gets \$431. Why is this? Because of the other four months seeking to be filled and competing for the supply. Besides, high prices are a stimulus to large production, and fertilizers are more abundant in a district full of towns and villages."

Then, to more fully test the accuracy of the law which he announces, he divides the States and Territories of the United States into four classes—the first having less than 30 per cent engaged in agriculture; second, those with 30 and less than 50 per cent; third, those with 50 and less than 70 per cent; and fourth, those having 70 per cent and over, being almost exclusively agricultural States—and obtains the following verification of that law:

Summary.*

CLASSES.	Number of States and Territories.	Acres.	Value	Value per acre.	Per cent of workers in agriculture.
First class...	15	77,259,742	\$2,965,641,197	\$38.65	18
Second class...	13	112,321,257	\$3,481,915,767	\$30.55	42
Third class...	13	237,873,040	\$3,212,108,970	\$13.50	28
Fourth class	6	108,636,796	\$62,430,842	5.18	77

The tabulations from which the above summary is compiled are given below, and they prove very clearly that "As the proportion of agricultural to other workers diminishes, the value of land increases, but in a much higher ratio."

* There are nearly twice as many agricultural producers in the fourth class as are found in the first, yet the crops of the million are worth much more money than all the results of labor of the two million workers. The class that has 68 per cent in agriculture makes \$101 per annum more than that which has 77 per cent, and the class with the lower average of 42 per cent gets \$133 above the earnings of that which averages 38 per cent in agriculture.

1st Class*—States and Territories with less than 30 per cent of their total workers engaged in agriculture.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Acres in farms.	Value of farms.	Value per acre.	Per cent of workers in agriculture
District of Columbia.....	18,146	\$3,632,406	\$200.18	2
Massachusetts.....	3,859,079	110,197,315	43.52	9
Rhode Island.....	514,813	25,882,079	50.27	9
Colorado.....	1,165,373	25,100,223	21.55	13
Nebraska.....	530,862	5,408,325	10.19	13
Arizona.....	135,573	1,127,946	8.32	15
New Jersey.....	2,999,773	190,986,833	65.16	15
Wyoming.....	134,433	825,895	6.17	18
Connecticut.....	2,453,541	121,069,910	49.34	18
Montana.....	405,683	3,231,504	7.97	30
New York.....	23,780,751	1,050,170,741	44.41	20
Pennsylvania.....	10,791,341	975,689,410	49.30	21
California.....	16,593,742	262,051,482	15.79	21
Idaho.....	327,798	2,832,860	8.64	25
Maryland.....	5,119,831	165,503,341	32.33	28
Total.....	77,250,742	2,965,641,197	38.65	18

2d Class*—States and Territories with 30 and less than 50 per cent of total workers engaged in agriculture.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Acres in farms.	Value of farms.	Value per acre.	Per cent of workers in agriculture
N. Hampshire.....	3,721,173	\$73,834,389	\$20.38	31
Delaware.....	1,090,345	30,789,678	33.74	33
New Mexico.....	631,131	5,514,329	8.74	35
Maine.....	6,552,578	102,357,615	15.62	35
Utah.....	635,524	14,015,178	21.38	36
Ohio.....	24,529,286	1,127,467,333	45.97	40
Oregon.....	4,214,712	50,968,575	13.50	40
Washington.....	14,409,421	13,844,222	9.82	42
Michigan.....	13,807,240	499,103,181	36.15	42
Illinois.....	31,673,615	1,009,594,580	31.87	44
Wisconsin.....	15,233,118	357,700,507	23.30	47
Vermont.....	4,882,588	109,346,010	22.40	47
Dakota.....	3,800,656	22,401,084	5.89	49
Total.....	112,321,257	3,430,915,765	30.55	42

* In this list the most diverse conditions are represented. On one extreme the District of Columbia has 18,146 acres of agricultural land, which is valued at \$200 per acre as suburban property under the shadow of a large city. On the other, small areas in the Territories are surrounded by immense bodies of unoccupied lands, which are given away by the United States Government, keeping the prices of cultivated farms low, though they are rising with great rapidity. California and Colorado are similarly situated, yet further advanced in point of time and in development of industries, and of course showing higher prices. In the States in which there is no public land to depress prices, there is no average that is not higher than the general average of the next class of States having 30 to 50 per cent in agriculture; the range of prices is from \$32.33 per acre in Maryland to \$49.30 in New Jersey. Though New Jersey has 15 per cent in agriculture, the influence of the adjacent populations of Philadelphia, New York, and Brooklyn reduces practically her percentage to a lower proportion than Massachusetts and Rhode Island."—*Mr. Dodge's Report, Dec. 1883.*

† This list embraces also a few of the Territories and a State or two in which the unoccupied public lands continue to depress prices of farm-lands."—*Ibid.*

3d Class—States with 50 and less than 70 per cent of total workers engaged in agriculture.

STATES.	Acres in farms.	Value of farms.	Value per acre.	Per cent of workers in agriculture
Virginia	19,835,785	\$216,028,107	\$10 89	51
Missouri	27,879,276	375,633,307	13 47	51
Minnesota	13,403,019	193,724,260	14 45	52
Indiana	20,420,983	635,236,111	31 11	52
Louisiana	8,273,506	58,989,117	7 13	57
Iowa	24,752,700	567,430,327	22 92	57
Nebraska	9,944,826	105,932,541	10 65	59
W. Virginia	10,193,779	133,147,175	13 06	61
Kentucky	21,495,240	299,293,631	13 92	62
Florida	3,297,324	20,291,835	6 15	64
Kansas	21,417,468	235,178,936	10 98	64
Tennessee	20,666,915	206,749,837	10 00	66
Texas	36,292,219	170,468,586	4 70	69
Total	237,873,040	3,218,108,970	13 52	58

4th Class—States having over 70 per cent of total workers engaged in agriculture.

STATES.	Acres in farms.	Value of farms.	Value per acre.	Per cent of workers in agriculture
Georgia	26,043,282	\$111,910,540	\$4 30	72
N. Carolina	22,363,558	135,793,602	6 07	75
S. Carolina	13,457,613	68,677,482	5 10	75
Alabama	18,855,334	78,954,648	4 19	77
Mississippi	15,855,462	92,841,915	5 86	82
Arkansas	12,061,547	74,249,655	6 16	83
Total	108,636,796	562,430,842	5 18	77

Comparisons within each State.

In his February, 1884, number, Mr. Dodge continues his interesting statistical investigations, thus:

"In the December number it was shown conclusively, by figures of the census of 1880, that increase of non-agricultural population enhances prices of lands and farm products. There was found a relation, other things being equal, of such prices to rela-

tive numbers of agriculturists and other workers. The larger the proportion of farmers, the smaller were found values in agriculture. Now, in the view of the above considerations of nearness of producers to consumers, it is important to know whether, within the States, the proximity of different classes of workers increases locally such prices. It would be reasonable to suppose it would.

To test the supposition, by the figures of the census which show the value of the products of manufacture, which represent usually the largest element in non-agricultural industry, let us take the principal manufacturing counties, average the value of their farm-lands, and compare the result with the average value of all the remaining farm-lands within the State.

"There is a great difference in the aggregate value of manufactures of the different States. Mississippi and Nevada have no county with \$1,000,000 worth of manufactured products. Massachusetts has only two with less than \$10,000,000, and has one with \$134,567,625. Therefore it is necessary, in a comparison between the principal manufacturing counties and those of less importance, to take a different minimum of value in Alabama, as a line of separation, from the minimum taken for Massachusetts. The minimum proposed for each of the States south of Pennsylvania and the Ohio River is \$1,000,000. Each county having not less than that amount of value in manufacturing production is placed in a group, and the average value of their lands compared with the average value of all the remaining lands in the State.

"Then the agricultural States, in which other industries are more important, are allowed a minimum of \$2,000,000 per county. In this group come the thriving Northwestern States, new and largely agricultural, yet progressive, and already diversifying their industries, rural and manufacturing, quite rapidly. They are Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa, and California is classed with them.

"Then come the four States of the Ohio Basin, which lie between the river and the Great Lakes, which are already prominent in industrial development. It is necessary to make \$5,000,000 the minimum, so general is the distribution of the industries. With Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois are placed the States of Northern New England, viz., Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont.

"In a fourth group, comprising each of the Middle States, having a larger industrial development, \$10,000,000 per county will make a fair exhibit of the more advanced industrial counties.

"These four groups comprise all the States, except those in Southern New England, which have a very exceptional degree of industrial advancement. In these Connecticut has three of her eight counties with more than \$25,000,000 each. In Massachusetts and Rhode Island the minimum is fixed at \$50,000,000.

"The result of this comparison shows, in every State, without exception, a higher average value of farm-land in that portion of each State which makes the largest value of the products of manufacturing industry. These two sections of each State are contrasted in the following statement, which also gives the totals for each State, as follows:

Statement showing the local variation of prices in each State.

STATES.	Number of counties.	Value of products of manufacture.	Acres.	Total land in farms.	Value of farm lands.	Value per acre.
Alabama:						
Manufacturing counties	12	\$3,785,685	481,484		\$3,152,779	\$6 55
Other counties	64	10,773,819	18,373,850		75,801,869	4 13
Total	66	13,565,504	18,855,334		78,954,648	4 19
Arkansas:						
Manufacturing counties	1	1,859,198	173,395		2,058,079	11 87
Other counties	73	4,896,961	11,888,152		72,191,576	6 07
Total	74	6,756,159	12,061,547		74,249,655	6 16

Statement showing the local variation of prices in each State—Continued.

STATES.	Number of counties.	Value of products of manufactures.	Total land in farms.	Value of farm lands.	Value per acre.
California:					
Manufacturing counties.....	6	\$96,217,320	Acres, 2,116,416	\$76,972,137	\$36.37
Other counties.....	46	20,001,633	14,477,320	183,079,145	12.78
Total.....	52	116,218,973	16,593,742	262,051,282	15.79
Colorado:					
Manufacturing counties.....	2	10,383,367	78,317	3,460,553	44.19
Other counties.....	29	3,870,762	1,087,056	21,648,670	19.91
Total.....	31	14,260,159	1,165,373	25,109,223	21.53
Connecticut:					
Manufacturing counties.....	3	122,572,290	967,946	60,537,950	71.84
Other counties.....	5	63,124,915	1,488,595	51,525,951	34.68
Total.....	8	185,697,211	2,453,541	121,063,910	49.34
Delaware:					
Manufacturing counties.....	1	17,805,608	253,939	18,737,836	73.87
Other counties.....	2	2,708,830	836,306	18,031,836	21.56
Total.....	3	20,514,438	1,090,245	36,769,672	33.74
Florida:					
Manufacturing counties.....	1	1,366,785	5,759	83,200	14.45
Other counties.....	38	4,179,663	3,291,563	30,908,635	6.14
Total.....	39	5,546,448	3,297,324	30,991,835	6.15
Georgia:					
Manufacturing counties.....	7	19,331,604	905,971	9,181,254	9.22
Other counties.....	130	17,109,344	25,047,311	102,729,286	4.10
Total.....	137	36,440,948	26,043,282	111,910,540	4.30
Illinois:					
Manufacturing counties.....	10	340,527,740	4,470,503	196,518,392	43.96
Other counties.....	92	74,336,933	27,203,142	813,076,188	29.89
Total.....	102	414,864,673	31,673,645	1,009,594,580	31.87
Indiana:					
Manufacturing counties.....	7	73,226,591	1,508,599	74,233,562	49.21
Other counties.....	85	74,779,820	18,912,384	561,002,549	23.66
Total.....	92	148,006,411	20,420,983	635,236,111	31.11
Iowa:					
Manufacturing counties.....	9	37,355,066	3,018,517	97,434,304	32.28
Other counties.....	90	33,690,860	21,734,183	469,925,923	21.62
Total.....	99	71,045,926	24,752,700	567,460,227	22.92
Kansas:					
Manufacturing counties.....	5	16,050,363	1,006,965	24,699,833	24.53
Other counties.....	99	14,793,414	20,410,503	210,479,133	10.31
Total.....	104	30,843,777	21,417,468	235,178,966	10.98
Kentucky:					
Manufacturing counties.....	10	56,630,426	1,571,585	57,335,970	36.48
Other counties.....	107	18,823,951	19,923,635	241,962,661	12.14
Total.....	117	75,483,377	21,495,240	299,298,631	13.92
Louisiana:					
Manufacturing counties.....	2	90,456,396	49,075	1,010,663	20.59
Other counties.....	56	3,748,787	8,224,431	57,978,454	7.05
Total.....	58	94,205,183	8,273,506	58,989,117	7.13
Maine:					
Manufacturing counties.....	5	58,246,405	2,288,037	50,607,054	22.12
Other counties.....	11	21,583,388	4,264,541	51,750,561	12.14
Total.....	16	79,829,793	6,552,578	102,357,615	15.62
Maryland:					
Manufacturing counties.....	8	101,635,101	1,904,199	93,199,562	48.94
Other counties.....	10	5,145,462	3,215,632	72,900,779	29.49
Total.....	24	106,780,563	5,119,831	165,503,341	32.53

Statement showing the local variation of prices in each State—Continued.

STATES.	Number of counties.	Value of products of manufactures.	Total land in farms.	Value of farm lands.	Value per acre.
Massachusetts:					
Manufacturing counties	4	\$153,360,766	1,292,876	\$74,819,191	\$57.87
Other counties.....	10	177,774,518	2,066,203	71,378,224	34.55
Total.....	14	631,135,284	3,359,079	146,197,415	43.52
Michigan:					
Manufacturing counties.....	6	74,928,516	1,500,690	60,373,468	40.23
Other counties.....	72	75,786,509	12,306,550	438,720,713	35.65
Total.....	78	150,715,025	13,807,240	499,203,181	36.15
Minnesota:					
Manufacturing counties.....	6	55,507,084	1,508,251	29,581,909	26.24
Other counties.....	72	20,558,114	11,894,768	154,142,261	12.96
Total.....	78	76,065,198	13,403,019	193,724,260	14.45
Missouri:					
Manufacturing counties.....	9	139,598,517	2,309,339	49,433,922	21.41
Other counties.....	106	25,787,688	25,569,937	326,199,385	12.76
Total.....	115	165,386,205	27,879,276	375,633,307	13.47
Nebraska:					
Manufacturing counties.....	2	5,866,751	495,484	9,456,461	19.09
Other counties.....	68	6,760,585	9,443,392	96,476,080	10.21
Total.....	70	12,627,336	9,941,826	105,932,541	10.65
New Hampshire:					
Manufacturing counties.....	5	60,258,153	1,880,602	47,725,874	25.38
Other counties.....	5	13,719,875	1,840,571	28,108,515	15.27
Total.....	10	73,978,028	3,721,173	75,834,389	20.38
New Jersey:					
Manufacturing counties.....	6	208,670,151	368,675	35,562,438	96.46
Other counties.....	15	45,710,085	2,561,098	158,333,395	60.65
Total.....	21	254,380,236	3,929,773	190,895,833	65.16
New York:					
Manufacturing counties.....	13	896,651,665	4,981,545	310,699,132	62.37
Other counties.....	47	184,044,931	18,799,209	745,477,609	39.65
Total.....	60	1,080,696,596	23,780,754	1,056,176,741	44.41
North Carolina:					
Manufacturing counties.....	3	4,141,385	542,488	3,550,625	6.55
Other counties.....	91	15,953,702	21,821,070	132,242,977	6.06
Total.....	94	20,095,037	22,363,558	135,793,602	6.07
Ohio:					
Manufacturing counties.....	12	249,632,186	3,388,305	229,903,034	67.85
Other counties.....	76	98,666,204	21,140,921	897,594,319	42.46
Total.....	88	348,298,390	24,529,226	1,127,497,353	45.97
Oregon:					
Manufacturing counties.....	3	5,543,941	678,769	13,123,679	19.33
Other counties.....	20	5,387,291	3,535,943	43,784,896	12.38
Total.....	23	10,931,232	4,214,712	56,908,575	13.50
Pennsylvania:					
Manufacturing counties.....	13	596,122,801	3,930,549	310,912,032	86.73
Other counties.....	54	148,695,644	15,860,793	634,777,378	40.02
Total.....	67	744,818,445	19,791,341	975,689,410	49.30
Rhode Island:					
Manufacturing counties.....	1	82,083,318	193,544	11,180,683	57.77
Other counties.....	4	22,080,303	321,269	14,701,396	45.76
Total.....	5	104,163,621	514,813	25,882,079	50.27
South Carolina:					
Manufacturing counties.....	3	8,884,219	1,471,846	8,387,900	5.70
Other counties.....	30	8,353,789	11,985,767	60,289,582	5.03
Total.....	33	16,738,008	13,457,613	68,677,482	5.10

Statement showing the local variation of prices in each State—Continued.

STATES.	Number of counties	Value of products of manufacture.	Total land in farms.	Value of farm lands.	Value per acre.
Tennessee:			Acres.		
Manufacturing counties.....	4	\$19,003,353	1,119,004	\$19,955,466	\$17.83
Other counties.....	90	18,071,533	19,547,911	136,794,872	9.56
Total.....	94	37,074,886	20,666,915	206,749,337	10.00
Texas:					
Manufacturing counties.....	3	5,139,720	554,512	5,671,879	10.23
Other counties.....	207	15,580,208	35,737,707	164,707,007	4.61
Total.....	210	20,719,928	36,292,219	170,408,886	4.70
Utah:					
Manufacturing counties.....	1	1,933,221	51,320	1,932,585	37.66
Other counties.....	22	2,301,771	604,204	12,082,593	20.00
Total.....	23	4,324,992	655,524	14,015,178	21.38
Vermont:					
Manufacturing counties.....	1	6,244,301	344,860	10,368,730	30.07
Other counties.....	13	25,109,975	4,537,728	98,977,274	21.81
Total.....	14	31,354,276	4,882,588	109,346,010	22.40
Virginia:					
Manufacturing counties.....	6	33,731,492	1,624,304	19,429,261	11.96
Other counties.....	93	18,049,500	18,211,481	106,398,846	10.80
Total.....	99	51,780,993	19,835,785	216,828,107	10.89
West Virginia:					
Manufacturing counties.....	2	11,907,436	944,624	11,955,131	48.87
Other counties.....	52	11,650,690	9,949,155	121,192,044	12.18
Total.....	54	22,557,126	10,193,779	133,147,175	13.06
Wisconsin:					
Manufacturing counties.....	15	96,101,406	4,720,777	150,941,426	33.88
Other counties.....	48	32,154,074	10,632,341	197,768,081	15.60
Total.....	63	128,255,480	15,353,118	357,709,507	23.30

The reader will observe that in every State there is a difference in value of lands in favor of the manufacturing counties, and that where there is little manufacturing there is small difference, and where the

products of manufacture are of large value lands bear a high price. That this differentiation may be easily seen the following classification is made:

Statement showing higher land values in manufacturing counties.

FIRST GROUP.

STATES.	Manufacturing counties.		Other counties.	
	Acres.	Value per acre.	Acres.	Value per acre.
Massachusetts.....	1,292,876	\$37.87	2,066,203	\$34.85
Rhode Island.....	193,544	57.77	321,269	45.76
Connecticut.....	967,946	71.84	1,483,305	34.68
New York.....	4,981,545	62.37	18,799,810	39.65
New Jersey.....	368,675	96.46	2,361,098	60.65
Pennsylvania.....	3,930,549	66.73	15,860,702	40.02
Delaware.....	233,939	73.87	836,306	21.56
Total.....	11,989,074	71.85	41,980,472	40.83

SECOND GROUP.

Maine.....	2,288,037	\$22 12	4,264,541	\$12 14
New Hampshire.....	1,880,602	25 38	1,840,571	15 27
Vermont.....	344,860	30 07	4,537,728	21 81
Ohio.....	3,388,305	67 85	21,140,921	42 46
Michigan.....	1,500,690	40 23	12,306,550	35 65
Indiana.....	1,508,599	49 21	18,912,384	29 66
Illinois.....	4,470,503	43 96	27,303,142	29 89
Total.....	15,381,596	43 54	90,205,837	32 03

THIRD GROUP.

Wisconsin.....	4,720,777	\$33 88	10,632,341	\$18 60
Minnesota.....	1,508,251	26 24	11,894,768	12 96
Iowa.....	2,018,517	32 28	21,734,183	21 62
California.....	2,116,416	36 37	14,477,326	12 78
Total.....	11,363,961	32 90	58,738,618	17 14

FOURTH GROUP.

Maryland.....	1,904,199	\$49 94	3,215,632	\$22 49
Virginia.....	1,624,304	11 96	18,211,481	10 80
North Carolina.....	542,488	6 55	21,821,070	6 06
South Carolina.....	1,471,846	5 70	11,965,767	5 03
Georgia.....	995,971	9 22	25,047,811	4 10
Florida.....	5,759	14 45	3,291,565	6 14
Alabama.....	481,484	6 55	18,373,850	4 13
Louisiana.....	49,075	20 59	8,224,431	7 05
Texas.....	554,512	10 23	35,737,707	4 61
Arkansas.....	173,395	11 87	11,888,152	6 07
Tennessee.....	1,119,004	17 83	19,547,911	9 56
West Virginia.....	244,624	48 57	9,949,155	12 18
Kentucky.....	1,571,585	36 48	19,923,655	12 14
Missouri.....	2,309,339	21 41	25,569,937	12 76
Kansas.....	1,006,965	24 53	20,410,503	10 31
Nebraska.....	495,434	19 09	9,449,392	10 21
Colorado.....	78,317	44 19	1,087,056	10 91
Oregon.....	678,769	19 33	3,535,943	12 38
Utah.....	51,320	37 66	604,204	20 00
Total.....	15,358,390	21 95	267,874,722	8 27

Variation by States and Groups.

These States aggregate the value of \$5,336,465,954 in products of manufactures, the grand aggregate in 1880 being \$5,369,579,191 for all the States and Territories of the United States. Now the eighteen States and one Territory in the group which has the least manufactures, produce a value of \$676,427,860, or 12.6 per cent of the total for the United States, a fraction of 1 per cent for each State. These may well be considered agricultural States.

The third group includes four States, also essentially agricultural—Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and California—in which there is a quite general determination not to remain in the category of one-idea communities in industrial development. They have \$391,585,577 in manufacturing production, or 7.3 per cent of the grand aggregate for the whole country.

The second group is rounding into symmetry in industry and realizing the benefits

of such a status in high prices of lands and farm products, and rapid increase in wealth and culture. This class includes the States north of the Ohio River—Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois—and also Northern New England. These seven States return a production of \$1,247,046,686, which is 23.2 per cent of the whole. These may be deemed industrial as well as agricultural.

But there are seven other States in which the industries are more equally balanced than any other, which make more than half the industrial production of the United States, worth \$3,021,405,831, or 56.3 of all. These are found in Southern New England and the Middle States, and may properly be grouped together.

They include all manufacturing production except six-tenths of one per cent, scattered through two States and nine Territories. The tabulation by States is as follows:

Aggregate value of the products of manufacture, of acres of land in farms, and value of farm lands, by States and groups of States.

FIRST GROUP.

STATES.	Value of products of manufacture.	Total land in farms.	Value of farm lands.	Value per acre.
Massachusetts.....	\$631,125,284	3,359,079	\$146,197,415	\$43.52
Rhode Island.....	104,163,621	514,813	39,882,079	50.27
Connecticut.....	185,697,211	2,453,541	121,063,910	49.34
New York.....	1,080,696,590	23,789,754	1,086,176,741	44.41
New Jersey.....	254,384,236	2,929,773	190,805,853	65.16
Pennsylvania.....	744,818,445	19,791,341	975,682,410	49.30
Delaware.....	20,514,428	1,000,245	30,789,672	31.74
Total.....	3,021,405,831	53,919,516	2,532,665,060	47.34

SECOND GROUP.

Maine.....	\$79,829,793	6,552,578	\$102,357,615	\$15.62
New Hampshire.....	73,078,028	3,721,173	75,854,380	20.38
Vermont.....	31,334,360	4,882,588	109,346,010	22.40
Ohio.....	348,298,390	23,529,236	1,127,497,353	45.97
Michigan.....	150,715,025	13,807,240	499,100,181	36.15
Indiana.....	148,006,411	20,430,983	635,236,111	31.11
Illinois.....	414,864,673	31,073,645	1,009,594,580	31.87
Total.....	1,247,046,680	105,587,493	3,558,969,239	33.71

THIRD GROUP.

Wisconsin.....	\$128,255,480	15,353,118	\$357,700,307	\$23.90
Minnesota.....	76,065,198	18,403,019	193,724,260	14.45
Iowa.....	71,045,926	24,732,700	567,430,227	22.92
California.....	116,218,973	10,593,742	262,051,282	15.79
Total.....	391,585,577	70,102,579	1,380,915,276	19.70

FOURTH GROUP.

Maryland.....	\$106,780,563	5,119,831	\$165,503,341	\$32.33
Virginia.....	51,780,992	19,835,785	216,028,107	10.89
North Carolina.....	20,095,037	22,361,558	132,703,602	6.07
South Carolina.....	16,738,008	13,457,613	68,677,482	5.10
Georgia.....	36,440,948	26,048,282	111,910,540	4.30
Florida.....	5,546,448	3,297,324	20,291,835	6.15
Alabama.....	13,565,504	18,855,334	78,254,648	4.19
Louisiana.....	24,205,183	8,273,506	58,989,117	7.13
Texas.....	20,710,928	36,292,219	170,468,886	4.70
Arkansas.....	6,736,159	12,061,547	74,240,655	6.16
Tennessee.....	37,074,886	20,696,915	206,749,837	10.00
West Virginia.....	22,867,126	10,193,779	133,147,175	13.06
Kentucky.....	75,483,377	21,495,240	299,298,631	13.92
Missouri.....	165,386,205	27,879,256	377,633,307	13.47
Kansas.....	30,843,777	21,417,468	231,178,936	10.98
Nebraska.....	12,627,336	9,944,826	105,932,541	10.65
Colorado.....	14,260,159	1,165,373	25,100,223	21.55
Oregon.....	10,931,232	4,214,712	56,908,575	13.20
Utah.....	4,324,992	653,524	14,015,178	21.38
Total.....	676,427,860	283,233,112	2,532,840,616	9.01

PART V.

The Farmer's Income—Values of Farm Products Enhanced by Increase of non-Agricultural Workers—Comparative Tables.

In the last part it has been shown that the higher the proportion of non-agricultural proportion the greater the value of the land to its owner. We shall now find from the same authority, in following tabulations compiled in his December, 1883, report, from the census of 1880, that the cultivation of the soil, the farmer, even though he be not the land-owner, obtains an annual product of higher value where the proportion of non-agricultural workers is greater than that of agricultural workers.

Comparison by States.

SUMMARY.

CLASSES.	Number engaged in agriculture.	Value of products of agriculture.	Value per capita.	Proportion of workers in agriculture.
First class.....	1,060,681	\$484,770,797	\$457	18
Second class.....	1,566,875	616,850,959	394	42
Third class.....	3,017,971	786,681,420	261	58
Fourth class.....	2,024,966	324,237,751	160	77

1st Class—States and Territories with less than 30 per cent of their total workers engaged in agriculture.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Persons in all occupations.	Persons engaged in agriculture.	Per cent in agriculture.	Value of products of agriculture.	Value per capita.
District of Columbia.....	66,624	1,464	2	\$514,441	\$351
Massachusetts.....	720,774	64,978	9	24,160,881	372
Rhode Island.....	116,979	10,945	9	3,670,135	335
Colorado.....	101,251	13,539	13	5,063,228	372
Nevada.....	32,233	4,180	13	2,855,449	683
Arizona.....	22,271	3,435	15	614,327	179
New Jersey.....	396,879	59,214	15	27,650,756	501
Wyoming.....	8,884	1,639	18	372,391	27
Connecticut.....	241,333	44,026	18	18,010,075	409
Montana.....	22,255	4,513	20	2,024,923	449
New York.....	1,884,645	377,460	20	178,025,695	472
Pennsylvania.....	1,456,067	301,112	21	129,760,476	431
California.....	376,505	79,396	21	59,721,425	752
Idaho.....	15,578	3,858	25	1,515,314	393
Maryland.....	324,432	90,927	28	28,839,281	317
Total.....	5,786,710	1,060,681	18	484,770,797	457

2d Class—States and Territories with 30 and less than 50 per cent of total workers engaged in agriculture.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Persons in all occupations.	Persons engaged in agriculture.	Per cent in agriculture.	Value of products of agriculture.	Value per capita.
New Hampshire.....	142,468	44,490	31	\$13,474,330	\$303
Delaware.....	54,580	17,849	33	6,320,345	354
New Mexico.....	40,822	14,139	35	1,897,974	134
Maine.....	231,993	82,130	35	21,945,489	267
Utah.....	40,055	14,550	36	8,337,410	229
Ohio.....	994,475	397,495	40	156,777,152	394
Oregon.....	67,343	27,091	40	13,234,548	489
Washington.....	30,122	12,781	42	4,212,750	330
Michigan.....	569,204	240,319	42	91,159,558	379
Illinois.....	999,780	436,371	44	203,950,137	467
Wisconsin.....	417,455	195,901	47	72,779,496	372
Vermont.....	118,584	55,251	47	22,082,656	400
Dakota.....	57,844	28,508	49	5,648,814	198
Total.....	3,764,725	1,566,875	42	616,850,959	394

3d Class—States with 50 and less than 70 per cent of total workers engaged in agriculture.

STATES.	Persons in all occupations.	Persons engaged in agriculture.	Per cent in agriculture.	Value of products of agriculture.	Value per capita.
Virginia.....	494,240	254,000	51	\$45,726,221	\$150
Missouri.....	692,959	355,297	51	95,912,660	270
Minnesota.....	255,125	131,535	52	49,468,951	376
Indiana.....	635,080	331,240	52	114,707,082	346
Louisiana.....	363,228	205,306	57	42,883,523	209
Iowa.....	528,302	303,557	57	136,103,473	448
Nebraska.....	152,614	90,507	59	31,708,914	230
West Virginia.....	176,199	107,578	61	19,390,049	150
Kentucky.....	519,854	320,571	62	63,860,155	199
Florida.....	91,536	58,731	64	7,439,392	195
Kansas.....	322,285	206,080	64	52,940,361	233
Tennessee.....	447,970	294,153	66	62,076,811	211
Texas.....	522,133	359,317	69	65,204,329	181
Total.....	5,201,525	3,017,971	58	786,081,420	261

4th Class—States with over 70 per cent of total workers engaged in agriculture.

STATES.	Persons in all occupations.	Persons engaged in agriculture.	Per cent in agriculture.	Value of products of agriculture.	Value per capita.
Georgia.....	597,862	492,204	72	\$67,028,929	\$155
North Carolina.....	480,187	360,937	75	51,729,611	143
South Carolina.....	302,102	294,602	75	41,108,112	140
Alabama.....	492,790	380,630	77	60,572,604	149
Mississippi.....	415,506	339,938	82	63,701,844	187
Arkansas.....	260,692	216,655	83	43,796,261	202
Total.....	2,689,130	2,024,966	77	334,237,751	160

In commenting on the latter table, Statistician Dodge makes some remarks which the South would do well to heed. "In the almost exclusively agricultural States," says he, "the range of income per man is quite uniform, from \$140 in South Carolina to \$202 in Arkansas, the average of all being \$160. It may be claimed that labor, from climatic or race considerations, is less efficient than in other States, but it is evident from the small areas planted, except in cotton and corn, and the small products gathered, that the lack of diversity in industry, and even of variety in agriculture, is dwarfing the magnificent productive resources of this great belt of States. The wisest and brightest of these farmers have reiterated this sentiment for a generation, and many are acting on it; but the reflex influence of manufactures and mining would accomplish more for agriculture than the most persistent direct efforts for the improvement of agriculture."

In his report of February, 1884, Mr. Dodge makes the following comments touching the farmer's income:

"The fact that the group of States where industry is most diversified (those having only 13 per cent of all workers engaged in agriculture) afford \$457 per annum to each one, while the agricultural States, having 77 per cent in agriculture, allow an annual income of only \$160, is too significant to be explained away, too convincing for pretence of cavil. It stands as proof of the necessity of symmetry and completeness of the productive system, and as a forceful illustration of the solidarity of the industries.

"Full acceptance of the truth that increase of non-agricultural workers enhances values in agriculture, as proven by this grouping of facts, has been nearly universal. Two or three objections have been vaguely hinted, and may be easily answered.

"If it should be objected that production on high-priced lands requires expenditure for labor, let us be thankful that the laborer shares the advantage of the farmer, and that higher values of products admit of higher wages of labor. If it be said that fertilizers cost money and reduce profits, it should be remembered that some States which use the largest proportion of fertilizers are in the list of lowest incomes, and exclusively agricultural districts. It may be said that the States of large incomes have the largest expenditure for agricultural implements. The difference is a trivial one, and yet it is one of the evidences of thrift and progress, and one of the means of enlarged production. All of these aids to production are abundant in thriving and prosperous districts, and ominously scarce in those where a worker produces less than \$200 per annum, or else absent altogether. There is no money for hired labor, for fertilizers or farm implements, in many a district exclusively agricultural.

"But suppose some objector should cap the climax of absurdity by hinting that the interest on \$40, or \$2,40 per acre, is too great a burden to be borne in comparison with 30 cents on land worth \$5 per acre. The small boy of the farm would say at once that his father and grandfather had always lived on it and paid no interest, but that the value it represented had accrued under their good management and the stimulus of diversified industry about them. He would say that 160 acres and the stock upon it would command \$10,000 at any time, while the owner of the \$5 land could not get \$2000. One has had comfort and culture, and the other deprivation—facts which tell the story of superior profit with a clearness that no sophistry can obscure.

"It is like the growth of a city newspaper to an ultimate value of \$500,000 parallel with the progress of a city which sustains it, while a country journal at the same time attains a value of \$10,000. The proprietor would scarcely feel impoverished because

his accrued capital represents a large annual interest, or desire greatly a change of place with the owner of the less valuable establishment.

"It is a little like the increased valuation of a slave in 1860, worth \$1000 with cotton at 10 cents per pound, over his value in 1845, of \$500, when cotton would bring only 5 cents, except that he has grown older with less productive power, while the improved farm has advanced in fertility and in real capacity for production. Yet he is worth more, because the product of his labor brings twice as much money, and represents a capital that can be realized.

"The experience of western pioneers furnishes a strong illustration of the reality and profit of the advance in values by increase of population and the stimulus of activity. They enter homesteads in part from a desire for a home and farm, and in large part from the expectation of increased selling value; as settlement progresses, roads are built, schools established, and the neighborhood enriched and beautified. The original price being nominal, the advance is rapid, with general settlement and cultivation. Not unfrequently, in fifteen to twenty years, lands costing \$1.25 are readily salable at \$20 per acre. This is the case in many parts of the West. Investments are made by non-residents, to take advantage of the inevitable rise caused by the labor of others. One such owner of Iowa lands, after paying taxes for fifteen years, was astonished to find that land for which he had paid \$5 per acre would scarcely command the original price. A group of such investors owning a large slice of a county happened to be located together, all distant non-residents and each depending in vain upon his neighbors for the improvements which were to enrich him. It is a great pity that the land speculators were not always thus placed by themselves. Their lands would not long be held unimproved.

"The objection to which these illustrations make answer is as futile and unreal as the fancied burden of taxes to a rich tax-payer."

Comparisons within each State.

Pursuing the investigation from the variations between the States to those between localities within the State, Mr. Dodge proceeds:

"While the four groups of States arranged with reference to the proportion of workers in agriculture show the steep gradation, in annual income of the worker, of \$457, \$394, \$261 to \$160, as the proportion in agricultural pursuits rises from 18, 42, 58, to 77 per cent of all persons reported in occupations, it is admitted that other causes come in to produce local variations. Were the presence of non-agricultural population—the fact of diversity in industry—the only cause of varying prices of lands or agricultural income, the difference would exactly accord with the relative proportion of farmers, which is not the case. The figures above show, however, that it is the predominant, controlling cause.

"Pennsylvania has 20 per cent in agriculture; her farm lands are worth \$49.30 per acre. Iowa has 57 per cent in rural occupations, and her lands are valued at \$22.92. In annual income, however, Iowa distances every State in her class with \$48, while the average is only \$261, and Pennsylvania's is \$431. It is because of the fertility of Iowa soil, rich prairie areas instead of sterile mountain slopes, the ease and cheapness of cultivation, and the enterprise of a superior class of farmers. It is a case exceptional in the extreme, and the only State of thirteen in this class that approaches closely a comparison with Pennsylvania in income.

"Referring to Missouri, adjoining Iowa, a State of varied resources, with lands as a whole not so easily opened or so cheaply cultivated, we find 51 per cent in agriculture, lands averaging \$13.47 per acre and producing \$270 per capita. Manufactures are more diffused through Iowa than Missouri, exclusive of the commercial and manufacturing city, St. Louis, which communicates with and benefits Southern Iowa perhaps even more than Southern Missouri. The condition of agriculture is generally more advanced in Iowa, the average rate of producing somewhat higher, and the profits of agriculture are therefore greater.

"The prevalence of other industries develops mechanical skill, stimulates invention of labor-saving appliances, and gives more symmetrical practical culture to hand and brain. This is a prominent cause of the vast difference between sections almost wholly agricultural, and those in which exist harmonious and full development of the other industries. It gives more production per capita, while home markets make higher prices. Isolation tends to rust and decay; contact of industrial ideas and prevalence of mechanical skill tend to labor-saving ingenuity and manual dexterity in the work of agriculture. While various causes of difference in average incomes are admitted, the controlling influence of diversity in industry is undeniably established by the striking fact, that the average income of no State in the fourth class comes up to the average (\$261) of the third; not one in the third attains the average (\$394) of the second; and only two of the second, Illinois and Oregon, reach the average (\$457) of the first class."

PART VI.

Wages of Farm Labor.*

In the same report, Statistician Dodge pursues his inquiry further and proves that the farm laborer is also benefited by increased wages wherever there is an increased proportion of non-agricultural to agricultural workers. That protection fosters manufactures and increases the non-agricultural population none would dream of denying. The statistics given in this chapter therefore prove beyond a doubt that protection does not protect merely those engaged in manufacturing the articles which are protected by the tariff, but that it protects the owner of the farm, the cultivator of the farm, and the farm laborer, each and every one of them. Says Mr. Dodge, who treats the matter as one of pure statistics and not of politics:

"Having shown that the value of the farm and the income of the farmer are enlarged by increasing the proportion of non-agricultural laborers in a State, it is important to inquire whether the farm laborer shares in the advantage to the owner and cultivator of the soil. Fortunately a definite answer can be given from repeated and trustworthy returns of the wages of farm labor to the Department of Agriculture.

"In 1870, when wages and prices generally were high, the average wages of farm labor in the first or manufacturing class of States was \$34, while in the last, exclusively agricultural class, it was but \$15. When the panic came, and years of manufacturing depression followed, mechanics and artisans competed with farm laborers and reduced the price of rural labor. It is a fact that prices at different times furnish an accurate measure both of the industrial status of the laborers and the prosperity of the great industries of the country.

"In 1882 the wages of agricultural labor averaged nearly \$25 in the first and second class, \$19.50 in the third, and \$13.20 in the fourth. The demand for wheat and corn, beef and pork, the product of Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and other States of the second class, to supply home, eastern, and foreign markets, brought up the value of farm labor to an equality with wages in the States of the first class. The scarcity of laborers, who prefer farms of their own, also contributed to high rates in this class. Where more than half of the workers are

* The enhanced wages of farm labor under the Republican American Protective Tariff System is treated more fully in the chapter on "The Protected American Laborer," see page 54.

farmers, the competition of laborers reduces inevitably the rate of wages. So we find that where the proportion reaches three fourths, the reduction usually amounts to 50 per cent.

"The influence of manufactures, of mining, of any productive industries on local prices, whether of

farms or farm products or farm labor, is plainly traceable in States, and in various districts within the States, by the furnace fires, the mines, the factories that thickly dot the location where high prices for farm labor prevail."

CHAPTER V.

The Protected American Laborer.

"We favor the establishment of a National Bureau of Labor, the enforcement of the eight-hour law, and . . . protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity."—Republican National Platform, 1884.

PART I.

Comparative Wages of Mechanical and Factory Labor in Massachusetts and Great Britain—Increase of Wages in Massachusetts, 1860 to 1881.

That the American Protective Tariff System encourages the investment of capital in manufacturing enterprises and hence gives employment to labor is denied by none. That it thereby makes the Nation self-sustaining by diversifying our industries is equally patent. In the preceding chapter its great benefits to the farm-owner and farm-cultivator in all ways—whether as to increased value of his land and its products or as to decreased price of all that he needs must purchase—have been shown beyond cavil. Let us now ascertain how and to what extent this Republican-American System benefits and elevates American Labor in all its practical aspects, so that the miserable working classes of Europe lift their sad eyes with longing gaze toward the fair land where honest toil is respected, adequately compensated, and is a badge of nobility and not of degradation.

As England is the great exponent of the doctrine of Free-Trade, so America is that of Protection. Comparisons, therefore, between the results achieved in these two countries are eagerly sought by the intelligent workingman. It is difficult, of course, in a country so vast as this, with wages of the same kind of labor so much greater in some parts than in others, to make as close a comparison for the study of the laboring man and the political student as could be wished. But it is generally conceded that the fairest comparison of the sort that can be made is that between Massachusetts and Great Britain. Let us then take Massachu-

sets, and compare twenty-four of the leading industries common to both of them, and we find the following to be the general average weekly and hourly wages paid to all employees therein engaged:

* General average weekly wage paid to all employees.

INDUSTRIES.	General Average Weekly Wage paid to All Employees.		Percentage of Average Weekly Wage, higher in	
	Mass.	Great B'tain.	Mass.	Great B'tain.
Agricultural implem'ts.	\$10 25	\$8 85	15.8	
Artisans' tools.	11 80	4 89	141.3	
Boots and shoes.	11 63	4 37	166.1	
Brick.	8 63	4 10	107.5	
Building trades.	14 99	7 21	107.9	
Carpetings.	6 08	4 11	47.9	
Carriages and wagons.	13 80	4 82	182.2	
Clothing.	10 01	6 71	49.1	
Cotton Goods.	6 43	4 66	38.4	
Flax and jute goods.	6 16	2 84	127.5	
Food preparations.	9 81	2 72	360.7	
Furniture.	11 04	7 96	38.7	
Glass.	12 28	6 94	76.9	
Hats: fur, wool, and silk.	11 01	5 51	99.8	
Hosiery.	6 49	4 67	30.0	
Liquors: malt and distilled.	12 87	12 66	1.7	
Machines and Machin'y.	11 73	6 93	69.0	
Metals and metallic goods.	11 25	7 40	52.0	
Printing and publishing.	11 37	5 52	106.0	
Printing, dyeing, bleaching, and finishing cotton textiles.	8 67	4 94	75.5	
Stone.	14 39	8 58	67.7	
Wooden goods.	12 13	5 67	115.0	
Woollen goods.	6 90	4 86	42.0	
Worsted goods.	7 82	3 60	103.3	
All industries.	\$10 31	\$8 86	73.94	

* Compiled from tabulations pages 300 to 301 of the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, 1884, furnished by Col. Carroll D. Wright, Chief of that Bureau.

* Average wages by the hour.

INDUSTRIES.	MASS.	GREAT BRITAIN.			
		Average per Hour.	Wages by the hour higher in Mass. Per cent.	Average per Hour.	Wages by the hour higher in Great Britain. Per cent.
Agricultural implements.	Cts.	Cts.			
Artisans' tools.....	17.08	4.2	16.39		
Boots and shoes.....	19.67	117.1	9.06		
Brick.....	10.56	135.1	8.32		
Building trades.....	13.48	24.98	78.4	14.00	
Carpenters.....	23.00	153.9	9.06		
Carriages and wagons.....	17.15	37.1	12.51		
Clothing.....	10.75	29.2	8.32		
Cotton goods.....	10.77	104.8	5.26		
Flax and jute goods.....	16.35	217.5	4.88		
Food preparations.....	18.55	22.4	15.16		
Furniture.....	20.47	7.47			
Glass.....	18.35	79.9	10.20		
Hats: fur, wool, and silk.....	10.82	25.7	8.61		
Hosiery.....	18.56				
Liquors: malt and distilled.....	19.72	48.8	13.25		
Machines and machinery.....	18.91	37.3	13.77		
Metals and metallic goods.....	19.56	90.1	10.29		
Printing, dyeing, bleaching, and finishing cotton textiles.....	14.45	57.9	9.15		
Stone.....	24.10				
Wooden goods.....	20.32				
Woollen goods.....	11.50	32.5	8.68		
Worsted goods.....	12.20	89.7	6.43		

These tabulations, the result of painstaking and most intelligent research by the Massachusetts State Bureau of Statistics, exhibit the significant fact that the *wages of labor by the hour in Protected Massachusetts exceed those in Free-Trade Great Britain by about 71 per cent (70.80), and that the wages of labor by the week in Protected Massachusetts exceed those in Free-Trade Great Britain by about 76 per cent (75.94).*

Other careful statistics furnished in the report of the same Bureau for July, 1884, show in a comparison of weekly wage tabulations, that—

"Taking the average wages paid to men as 100, in Massachusetts the ratio of those paid to women is as 51.39 to 100 (that is, the average wages of women are a little more than one half as much as those paid to men), those paid to young persons 43.04 to 100, and those paid to children 32.15 to 100. In Great Britain the ratio for women is 40.92 (men's wages considered as the unit, or 100), for young persons 29.06 to 100, and for children 9.56 to 100. In Massachusetts, on the average, one woman, one young person, and one child working together would earn as much combined as 1.26 men; in Great Britain they could earn only .79 as much as a man, or 59.4 per cent in favor of the women, young persons, and children of Massachusetts."

And furthermore that—

"There is in Great Britain no branch of an industry, of those considered, in which men are employed, in which the prevailing average weekly wage rises above \$20, while in Massachusetts in 8 + per cent

of the occupations the average weekly wage exceeds that figure, reaching to \$40, or double the highest weekly average wage in Great Britain.

"In Great Britain there is no branch of these industries in which women are paid more than \$6 per week, on an average, while in Massachusetts in 53 + per cent of the various occupations, or branches of industry, the average weekly wage exceeds \$6 per week, reaching as high as \$19, or more than three times the highest occupation average for Great Britain. In Great Britain \$6 is the highest occupation average for young persons in these industries; the occupation average in Massachusetts reaches to \$11, or nearly double the Great Britain highest occupation average for young persons.

"In the case of children, the highest occupation average, in the industries considered, for Great Britain is \$2, while in Massachusetts in 98 + per cent of the branches of these industries in which children are employed, the range is higher, reaching \$7 in a small percentage of the occupations."

The increase of wages of mechanical and factory labor in Massachusetts from 1860 to 1881.

The following table from the Report of the Massachusetts Labor Statistics Bureau for 1882, develops the increase of labor wages in that State at different periods, from 1860 to 1881 inclusive:

Average weekly wage in Massachusetts—1860, 1872, 1878, 1881, from the Report on the Statistics of Labor for Massachusetts for 1882.

OCCUPATIONS.	Average Weekly Wage; standard, gold.				Increase for 1881.*
	1860.	1872.	1878.	1881.	
Agriculture:					
Laborers, per month, with board.....	13	63	23	99	+2 28
Blacksmithing:					
Blacksmiths.....	9	30	16	44	+2 63
Boots and shoes:					
Cutters	12	00	14	81	+3 86
Bottomers	10	50	16	00	+1 00
Crimpers	10	50	10	00	+1 88
Finishers	14	50	16	00	+4 43
Shoemakers	10	33	14	66	+4 21
Machines and machinery:					
Pattern makers.....	11	50	17	60	+2 86
Iron-moulders	9	50	14	67	+1 10
Brass-moulders	10	00	14	67	+2 50
Blacksmiths	9	15	16	00	+3 60
Blacksmiths' helpers	6	50	10	20	+2 59
Machinists	6	64	14	40	+4 04
Cleaners and chippers	6	00	7	50	+1 14
Chuckers	6	75	9	75	+1 58
Fitters	8	83	14	40	+2 16
Setters-up	10	00	12	80	+3 38
Rivet-heaters, boys	4	00	—	5	+64
Riveters	9	50	14	67	+2 05
Wood-workers	9	16	—	10	+4 21
Painters	6	00	—	8	+4 23
Laborers	6	00	8	53	+1 89
Watchmen	7	00	—	9	+2 21
Teamsters	7	50	—	10	+1 80
Metals and metallic goods:					
Hammersmen	—	—	12	00	+6 00
Heaters	21	33	23	40	+7 77
Rollers	10	67	13	80	+2 60
Puddlers	24	00	18	00	+2 91
Shinglers	24	00	19	50	+3 44
Finishers	—	—	27	00	+1 87

* Compiled from tabulations, page 304, *ibid.*

* As compared with 1878.

PART II.

Comparative Wages of Mechanical and Factory Labor in New Jersey and Scotland.

Hon. Wm. P. Frye, of Maine, in his speech in the United States Senate, February 10, 1882, in reply to Southern Senators who reiterated the dogma that protection does not increase the wages of labor, disposes of it in the following figures and facts:

"But the Senator from Texas denies that a tariff for protection secures for the laborer higher wages than does 'a purely revenue tariff.' A most amazing declaration. In my hand is a book entitled 'The State of Labor in Europe,' carefully prepared and printed under the authority of Congress, from 'reports of U. S. Consuls,' and a work entitled 'Labor in Europe and America,' by Dr. Young, late chief of the United States Statistical Bureau, and I aver that in the cotton and woollen mills of England the average wages is one half below the wages in the cotton and woollen mills of America.

"But I do not rely upon these authorities alone. H. Conant, treasurer of the Conant Thread Company of Pawtucket, R. I., and also the owner of thread mills in Great Britain, writes me under date of January 19, 1882, that the 'cost of building and equipping a cotton factory in New England as compared with the cost of a similar structure in Lancashire or Scotland is just about double.' Mr. Wyckoff, secretary of the Silk Association of America declares that 'a silk factory built in Coventry or Macclesfield of the same size and floor capacity as one here would cost about 60 to 65 per cent as much.' William Clark, superintendent of the Clark Thread Co. of Newark, N. J., a company owning mills both here and in Great Britain, declares that a factory, including buildings and machinery, erected in Newark will cost 80 to 85 per cent more than in Paisley. James Coats, of J. & P. Coats, the largest thread manufacturers in the world, and owning and running mills here and abroad, declares that a factory would cost 'fully twice as much to build here in Scotland.'

"I have here the *Deutsche Industrie Zeitung* of June, 1881, the organ of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry for Chemistry in Dresden, and regarded, I believe, as the highest authority in Europe. It shows that the cost per spindle of constructing mills in England is \$5.70 to \$7.78; in France, \$8.60 to \$9.65; in Germany, \$8.60 to \$9.65; while in the United States the cost is from \$12 to \$18.

"Mr. President, what makes this difference in cost? It is because 90 per cent of the cost is labor, and labor in Great Britain is paid only one half as much as labor here.

"But, Mr. President, as to the wages of these operatives. The Clark Thread Mills of Newark, N. J., under date of January 25, 1882, furnish from their pay-rolls in Scotland and here the following comparative table of wages:

EMPLOYEES.	Paisley, Scotland.	Newark, N. J.
Per Week.	Per Week.	
Girls.		
Spoolers.	\$3.50 to \$5.75	\$7.00 to \$9.00
Reelers.	3.50 to 3.75	7.50 to 8.00
Cop-winders.	3.50 to 3.75	7.50 to 8.50
Twisters.	2.25 to 2.50	5.00 to 6.00
Strippers.	1.50 to 1.75	3.00 to 3.00
Bobbin-cleaners.	1.25 to	2.50 to 2.50
Men:		
Carpenters.	7.00 to 7.50	16.50 to 18.00
Machinists.	7.00 to 7.50	16.50 to 18.00
Dyers.	7.00 to 7.00	15.00 to 15.00
Bleachers.	6.50 to 6.50	13.50 to 13.50
Firemen.	6.00 to 6.00	12.00 to 13.00

"Mr. Coats, under date of Pawtucket, R. I., February 2, 1882, furnishes me the following comparative rates of wages paid in their factories here and in Scotland:

OPERATIVES.	United States	Scotland	Difference	
	Wages per week	Wages per week		
Spoolers.	\$6.59	\$3.40	\$3.19	48
Twister-tenders.	5.69	2.55	3.14	123
Doffers.	4.37	1.94	2.43	125
Cleaners.	3.63	1.52	1.11	73
Reelers.	2.88	1.52	4.36	124
Winders.	2.25	1.20	1.05	45
Wrappers and Boxers.	2.25	1.04	1.21	102
Dyers.	9.84	6.32	3.52	36
Bleachers, men.	11.81	5.10	6.71	132
Bleachers, women.	5.25	2.43	2.82	116
Mechanics.	13.13	7.94	5.19	65
Firemen.	10.66	5.83	4.83	83

"Mr. Coats adds:

"Our manufacture is a specialty, requiring the employment of good, steady hands, it being impossible for us to maintain the quality of our goods with a floating class of help. The general average of female help in Scotland, you will observe, is under \$3 a week, whereas here it averages \$7.50 per week. (Remember the difference in the time run between the two countries is deducted from the rates paid here to make the comparison more correct.) The difference in male help is not so great, but the great bulk of those we employ are females. We are obliged to pay higher wages, as we have to employ help corresponding to the best class engaged in weaving and other highly paid departments of labor. Unless we do so we find our help unwilling to remain with us steadily, subject to the strict discipline necessary to produce our quality of goods. These conditions apply to Scotland as well as here, where our experience proves the help to be quite as efficient and able to attend to as many machines or spindles.

"I deduct from the wages paid here an amount corresponding to the difference of time run during the week in the two countries."

"These statements are from business men, owners of mills here and in Europe, who know wherof they affirm. They are the indisputable practical facts of their business record. They show conclusively that in Europe the workingmen and working-women do not receive *half as much pay as do ours*.

"The following statement, showing the weekly rates in the several countries, computed from the consular reports, and compared with rates prevailing in the United States, show as great a difference in all other branches of industry:

[Here follows a condensation of the tables given in Part III.]

"While the cost of the necessities of life is, on the average, from twenty to forty per cent higher in Europe than in America.

"And yet the Senator from Texas declares they are paid alike."

PART III.

Comparative Weekly Rates of All Wages in Europe and America—in Country and City.

Consul-General Merritt, of London, in his report to the State Department upon "Labor

and Living in the United Kingdom" (U. S. Consular Reports, December, 1883, p. 298), referring to the consular reports made in 1878 on the condition of "Labor in Europe," says: "These reports having been found correct and comprehensive, may well be taken as a basis for comparison and reference in the present inquiry respecting wages,

cost of living, and consequent condition of the laboring classes of the United Kingdom." As no better or later tabulations are given, the following official tables (in the letter of the Secretary of State May 17, 1879, to the Speaker of the House), compiled from the consular reports of 1878 aforesaid, are subjoined:

Statement showing the Weekly Rates of all Wages in the several Countries, compiled from the Consular Reports, and compared with Rates prevailing in the United States.

OCCUPATIONS.	Bel.- gium.	Den- mark	Fr'ce.	Ger- many	Italy.	Spain	United Kingdom.			United States.	
							Engl'd	Irel'd	Scotland.	N. York	Chic'o.
<i>Agricultural laborers:</i>											
Men, without board or l'dg.			\$3 15	\$2 87	\$3 50		\$3 60	\$3 40	\$4 25		
Men, with b'rd and lodging			1 36	1 48	1 80		2 60	1 30	\$1 50-2 40		
Women, without b'rd or l'dg.			1 10	1 08	1 55		1 50	2 16	1 80-3 25		
Women with b'rd and l'dg.				75	60		1 15	75	60-1 00		
<i>House-building trades:</i>											
Bricklayers	\$6 00		4 00	3 60	3 45	\$5 12	8 12	7 58	9 63	\$12-15	\$6-10
Carpenters and joiners	5 40	\$4 25	5 42	4 00	4 18	4 88	8 25	7 33	8 12	9-12	7-12
Gasfitters	5 40				3 65	3 95	7 25	7 95	8 40	10-14	10-12
Masons	6 00	4 45	5 00	4 30	4 00	4 80	8 16	7 58	8 28	12-18	12-15
Painters	4 20	4 15	4 90	3 92	4 60		7 25	7 54	8 16	10-16	6-12
Plasterers	5 40				3 80	4 35	7 20	8 70	7 68	10 13	10-15
Plumbers	6 00		5 50	3 60	3 90		7 75	8 46	7 13	12-18	12-20
Slaters					4 00	3 90		7 90		8 30	10-15
<i>General trades:</i>											
Bakers	4 40	4 25	5 55	3 50	3 90	5 40	6 50		6 60	5-8	8-12
Blacksmiths	4 40	3 90	5 45	3 55	3 94	4 65	8 12		7 04	10-14	9-12
Bookbinders	3 72	4 85	3 82	3 90	3 60	7 83			6 50	12-18	9-20
Brassfounders	4 20				3 20	5 49		7 40		6 90	10-14
Butchers	4 50	4 50	5 42	3 85	4 20			7 23		4 75	8-12
Cabinet-makers	4 80		6 00	3 97	4 95	4 20		7 70		8 46	9-13
Coopers		4 10	7 00	3 30	4 35	4 95	7 30		6 10	12-16	6-15
Coppersmiths	3 85				3 30	3 90		7 40		7 10	12-16
Cutlers	3 85	4 63	4 00	3 90			8 00			6 25	10-13
Engravers					4 00	4 00		9 72		8 75	15-25
Horseshoers	3 85	5 40	3 25	3 50			7 20		7 00	12-18	15-25
Millwrights		4 00		3 30	4 95			7 50		7 50	10-15
Printers	4 62	4 70	4 80	3 90			7 75		7 52	8-13	12-18
Saddlers and harness-mkrs	4 80	3 85	5 00	3 60	3 90		6 80		6 15	12-15	6-12
Sailmakers		4 85		3 30	3 90		7 30		6 33	12-18	12-15
Shoemakers	3 20	4 75	3 12	4 32	3 90		7 35		7 35	12-18	9-18
Tailors		4 10	5 10	3 58	4 30	3 90	\$5-7 30		7 00	10-18	6-18
Tinsmiths	4 80	3 90	4 40	3 65	3 60	3 90	7 30		6 00	10-14	9-12
Labourers, porters, etc.	3 00				2 92	2 60	3 00	5 00		4 50	6-9
<i>Railway employees:</i>											
Engineers, pass. trains			11 33	8 35	9 50		9 12	9 00	8 70		
Firemen,			6 25	3 30	4 50		6 00	4 50	4 96		
Brakemen,			3 60	3 22			5 50	4 00	4 69		
Signalmen			5 85	3 52	4 00		5 60	5 00	5 12		
Switchmen			5 50	3 41	4 00		5 60	5 00	5 19		
Porters			5 00	2 60	3 40		4 50	4 00	4 44		
Labourers			3 35	3 10	3 30		4 50	4 00	4 27		

NOTE.—It may here be remarked *en passant*, that the invaluable American Consular Reports upon the condition of labor in Europe—from which the above and other interesting data in this Text-Book is taken—are likely to be discontinued in the future, as, thanks to the efforts of the Democratic-English Free-Traders of the present Congress, who "love darkness rather than light," no appropriation has been made for their continuance. How it is that Mr. Samuel J. Randall, the leader of the small protection-wing of the Free-Trade Democracy in the House, could have consented to this omission, is a matter that the protection-loving voters of Pennsylvania should settle with him.

Statement showing the Weekly Rates of all Wages in the principal Cities of Europe, compiled from Consular Reports, and compared with Rates in New York and Chicago.

OCCUPATION.	Belgium. (Brussels.)	France. (Bordeaux.)	Germany. (Dresden.)	Italy. (Rome.)	Spain. (Barcelona.)	Switzerl'd. (Geneva.)	United Kingdom. (Liverpool.)	United States. (New York.)	United States. (Chicago.)
House-building trades:									
Bricklayers.....	\$6 00	\$4 80	.....	\$3 00	\$5 40	\$4 80	\$9 25	\$12 to \$15	\$6 00 to \$10 50
Carpenters and joiners.....	5 40	5 00	\$3 75	3 00	5 00	6 00	9 00	9 — 12	7 50 — 12 00
Gasfitters.....	5 40	.....	.....	.....	.....	4 60	7 80	10 — 14	10 00 — 12 00
Masons.....	6 00	5 40	3 75	3 00	6 00	4 80	8 70	12 — 18	12 00 — 15 00
Painters.....	.....	.....	.....	7 00	4 60	8 50	10 —	15	6 00 — 12 00
Plasterers.....	5 40	.....	.....	7 00	4 60	9 72	10 —	15	9 00 — 15 00
Plumbers.....	6 00	6 00	.....	.....	.....	4 60	9 00	12 — 15	12 00 — 20 00
Slaters.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4 60	9 72	10 — 15	12 00 — 18 00
General trades:									
Bakers.....	6 00	4 80	3 50	.....	5 40	4 80	.....	5 —	8 00 — 12 00
Blacksmiths.....	6 00	4 80	4 00	3 30	4 50	4 80	8 90	10 — 14	9 00 — 12 00
Bookbinders.....	6 00	4 80	2 00	.....	3 60	4 60	8 00	12 — 18	9 00 — 20 00
Brassfounders.....	.....	.....	3 00	4 75	6 00	.....	7 20	10 — 14	8 00 — 15 00
Butchers.....	6 00	6 00	4 00	.....	.....	4 60	.....	8 — 12	12 00 — 18 00
Cabinet-makers.....	4 80	.....	.....	.....	4 20	6 00	8 00	9 —	13 700 — 15 00
Coopers.....	6 00	8 00	.....	.....	5 50	4 60	8 75	12 —	16 6 00 — 15 00
Coppersmiths.....	6 00	.....	4 75	.....	.....	4 60	8 90	12 — 16	15 00 — 20 00
Cutlers.....	5 50	4 20	4 00	.....	.....	4 60	.....	10 — 13	15 00 — 10 00
Engravers.....	6 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	4 80	.....	15 — 25	9 00 — 30 00
Horseshoers.....	6 00	4 80	.....	.....	.....	.....	8 50	12 — 18	15 00 — 25 00
Millwrights.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7 70	10 — 15	12 00 — 30 00
Printers.....	6 00	3 00	.....	.....	4 80	4 60	10 15	8 — 15	12 00 — 18 00
Saddlers and harness makers.....	4 80	4 80	.....	.....	.....	4 60	7 30	12 — 15	6 00 — 12 00
Sailmakers.....	6 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12 — 18	12 00 — 15 00
Shoemakers.....	6 00	4 20	2 00	3 60	3 60	4 60	8 75	12 — 18	9 00 — 18 00
Tailors.....	6 00	4 80	3 00	3 60	3 60	4 80	.....	10 — 15	6 00 — 18 00
Tinsmiths.....	4 80	4 80	3 00	.....	4 00	4 80	7 50	10 — 14	9 00 — 12 00
Laborers, porters, etc....	3 50	.....	2 50	.....	.....	3 00	5 82	6 — 9	5 50 — 9 00

[The latest comparative tabulation, 1884.]

Weekly Wages in England, France, Germany, and the United States.

OCCUPATIONS.	Wages paid in England.				Remarks.	OCCUPATIONS.	Wages paid in England.				Remarks.
	Wages paid in France.	Wages paid in Germany.	Wages paid in U. S.	Wages paid in France.			Wages paid in Germany.	Wages paid in U. S.	Wages paid in France.		
Brickmakers.....	\$ 3 10	3 00	2 50	12 00		Masons.....	7 50	6 00	5 35	18 00	
Bricklayers.....	7 10	5 40	4 40	15 00		Typesetters.....	12 00	9 40	7 42	16 00	
Boot and Shoe Workers.....	Sewing Chinists.....	7 20	.....	15 40	Men.	Pressmen.....	10 50	7 20	6 05	14 50	
Carpenters.....		3 80	.....	7 81	Women.	Papermakers.....	10 00	9 20	8 10	15 00	
Cotton Mills.....	12 64	6 00	4 28	17 50		Bookbinders.....	10 00	8 50	6 60	15 00	
Iron Furnaces.....	5 40	3 60	6 21	.....		Painters.....	10 00	8 00	4 60	14 66	
Iron Foundries.....	5 16	3 60	8 42	.....		Flatpressers.....	11 00	.....	5 00	20 30	
Overlookers.....	12 00	7 20	18 00	.....		Dismissers.....	9 60	.....	4 28	19 40	
Mule Spinners.....	8 40	4 00	10 00	.....		Cupmakers.....	10 00	.....	4 28	19 70	
Engine Drivers.....	12 00	6 50	18 00	.....		Saucermakers.....	7 60	.....	3 90	18 60	
Firemen.....	5 40	5 00	9 00	.....		Basinmakers.....	10 00	.....	4 28	19 70	
Puddling.....	1 94	.....	5 50	Per ton.		Hollow-ware Pressers.....	8 14	.....	4 10	18 00	
Shingling.....	0 29	.....	0 77	"		Hollow-ware Jiggers.....	11 60	.....	5 10	22 00	
Rolling in Pud- dling Mill.....	0 29	.....	0 69	"		Printers.....	6 55	.....	3 00	13 50	
Rolling and Heating.....	1 80	.....	4 80	"		Ovenmen.....	6 86	.....	3 00	13 20	
Joiners.....	8 80	6 00	4 28	12 60		Saggermakers.....	8 46	.....	4 18	19 50	
Laborers (cities). " (farm).....	4 50	3 40	3 00	9 00	With board.	Mouldmakers.....	10 23	.....	4 31	20 80	
Pattern Makers.....	7 90	4 4	18 10	.....		Turners.....	8 00	.....	4 00	17 00	
Iron Moulders.....	8 40	4 4	16 40	.....		Handlers.....	8 40	.....	4 00	16 60	
Brass Moulders.....	8 40	4 4	16 00	.....		Railway Engine Drivers.....	11 00	.....	21 00	.....
Smiths.....	8 20	4 4	16 00	.....		Railway Engine Firemen.....	5 50	.....	15 00	.....
Strikers.....	5 00	3 50	9 00	.....		Shoemakers.....	6 40	5 40	3 85	12 21	
Filters.....	8 00	4 32	13 00	.....		Stonecutters.....	8 16	7 20	4 79	14 45	
Leather Tanners.....	7 50	6 00	5 10	11 60		Sorters.....	5 76	5 85	5 20	9 45	
" Curriers.....	8 60	7 50	6 25	14 00		Scourers.....	5 50	5 30	3 60	8 84	
						Dyers.....	5 28	4 90	3 00	7 81	
						Weavers.....	7 20	7 00	3 40	10 00	
						Mechanics.....	5 50	6 25	3 00	13 50	
						Glass-blowers.....	12 00	15 00	10 50	30 00	Work suspended in heat season.

PART IV.

Labor-Wages of Mechanics in America in 1874 as Compared with 1860—The Rise under Protection.

The following tables, prepared in the Bureau of Statistics, will furnish an interesting study to the artisan and mechanic, as exhibiting the rise in wages from 1860, when the Democrats were in power, to 1874, when the Republicans were in full power:

Mechanical Labor.

Table showing the average Daily Wages, without Board, paid in the several States and Territories to persons employed in the undermentioned Trades in the respective years 1860 and 1874.

STATES.	Black-smiths.		Brick-layers or Masons.		Cabinet-makers.		Coopers.		Carpenters.		Painters.		Plasterers	
	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.														
Maine.....	\$1.97	\$2.37	\$2.30	\$3.50	\$1.85	\$2.12	\$1.74	\$2.12	\$2.00	\$2.75	\$1.92	\$2.50	\$2.27	\$3.50
New Hampshire.....	2.08	3.44	2.50	3.87	1.63	3.00	1.75	2.67	1.75	2.94	1.75	2.75	2.00	3.69
Vermont.....	2.21	2.88	2.63	2.75	2.19	2.88	2.13	2.75	2.05	3.00	2.04	2.62	2.65	3.00
Massachusetts.....	1.91	2.83	2.42	3.67	2.00	3.16	2.25	2.37	1.98	3.02	1.94	2.83	2.42	3.85
Rhode Island.....	1.50	1.75	1.50	2.00	1.50	1.50	1.50	1.50	1.50	1.50	1.50	1.75	1.75	1.75
Connecticut.....	1.67	2.00	1.75	2.00	1.75	2.00	1.67	2.00	1.67	2.00	1.67	1.67	1.92	1.92
MIDDLE STATES.														
New York.....	1.66	2.64	2.02	3.22	1.77	2.55	1.64	2.19	1.74	2.65	1.77	2.63	2.11	3.07
New Jersey.....	1.48	2.96	1.58	3.34	1.32	2.65	1.34	3.00	1.60	2.75	1.75	2.92	1.84	3.17
Pennsylvania.....	1.47	2.32	1.82	2.89	1.32	2.91	1.31	2.22	1.59	2.37	1.85	2.42	1.76	2.74
Delaware.....	1.50	3.00	2.00	3.50	1.50	3.00	(*)	2.00	1.50	2.75	1.50	3.00	2.00	3.75
Maryland.....	1.50	2.50	1.50	4.00	2.50	3.00	1.50	3.00	1.50	2.50	1.50	3.00	2.00	3.25
West Virginia.....	1.69	2.50	2.06	2.95	1.66	2.81	1.53	2.19	1.73	2.50	1.84	2.40	2.08	2.58
WESTERN STATES.														
Ohio.....	1.75	2.30	2.18	3.06	1.99	2.24	1.58	1.12	1.75	2.33	1.94	2.29	2.08	2.64
Indiana.....	1.93	2.00	2.60	3.25	1.84	2.62	1.62	2.25	1.83	2.33	1.96	2.37	2.33	3.00
Illinois.....	2.02	2.51	2.73	3.69	1.97	2.82	2.00	2.73	2.03	2.87	2.02	2.56	2.49	3.38
Michigan.....	2.10	2.41	2.41	3.18	1.88	2.41	1.70	2.50	1.90	2.37	1.90	2.30	2.30	3.00
Wisconsin.....	2.88	2.50	2.54	3.00	2.01	2.00	2.03	2.00	2.13	2.50	2.08	2.75	2.49	4.00
Minnesota.....	1.90	3.00	2.41	3.00	1.96	2.50	1.86	3.00	1.89	2.50	1.96	3.00	2.33	3.00
Iowa.....	2.17	2.50	2.47	3.50	2.10	2.50	1.95	2.01	2.01	3.00	1.93	2.50	2.47	3.00
Kansas.....	2.69	3.17	3.17	3.00	2.88	2.88	2.75	2.75	2.55	2.55	2.69	2.69	2.69	3.00
Nebraska.....	2.50	3.50	2.50	2.50	2.50	2.50	2.50	2.50	2.50	2.50	2.50	2.50	4.00	3.00
Missouri.....	2.03	2.50	2.71	4.00	2.10	3.00	2.00	2.50	2.05	3.00	2.46	3.00	2.71	3.50
Kentucky.....	2.03	2.63	2.68	3.50	1.84	2.75	1.88	2.90	2.28	3.20	2.17	2.90	2.37	3.10
SOUTHERN STATES.														
Virginia.....	1.40	2.20	1.75	2.00	1.68	1.88	1.55	1.63	1.74	1.70	1.80	1.63	1.71	2.00
North Carolina.....	1.50	2.50	1.83	3.00	1.50	2.50	1.00	1.00	1.00	2.75	1.50	3.00	1.67	3.00
South Carolina.....	1.67	2.50	1.71	2.50	2.17	1.56	1.56	1.90	1.50	1.85	2.50	1.90	2.50	2.50
Georgia.....	1.88	3.00	2.53	5.20	2.08	2.75	1.44	3.00	2.13	2.75	2.13	2.75	1.94	2.50
Florida.....	2.30	2.25	2.82	2.82	2.50	2.50	2.25	2.25	2.50	2.50	2.50	2.67	2.67	3.00
Alabama.....	2.70	4.00	2.60	3.50	2.12	2.50	2.50	3.00	2.70	2.25	2.50	2.50	2.50	3.00
Louisiana.....	2.66	3.00	3.23	3.75	3.50	2.50	2.37	2.25	2.50	2.50	2.50	2.87	3.50	3.50
Texas.....	2.50	3.00	2.93	3.00	2.25	2.50	2.50	2.12	2.50	2.00	2.50	3.00	2.50	3.00
Mississippi.....	2.60	3.50	2.83	4.50	2.71	3.00	2.25	3.00	2.41	3.00	2.42	3.00	2.67	3.00
Arkansas.....	2.03	3.25	2.28	4.08	2.29	2.83	1.78	2.50	2.29	2.75	2.36	2.83	2.32	3.16
PACIFIC STATES.														
California.....	4.22	3.00	4.96	5.50	3.75	3.00	4.00	.....	3.95	3.00	4.06	4.00	4.75	5.00
Nevada.....	6.80	6.00	6.80	6.00	6.88	.....	.....	.....	7.00	6.00	7.80	5.00	7.80	6.00
Oregon.....	4.50	5.00	5.42	5.00	4.41	4.00	4.12	4.00	4.50	4.00	4.34	4.50	5.00	5.00
TERRITORIES.														
Washington.....	8.50	4.00	8.00	5.00	6.00	3.00	5.00	3.00	6.00	4.50	6.00	5.00	6.00	5.00
Colorado.....	5.25	6.50	6.50	4.87	.....	.....	4.38	.....	4.37	.....	5.37	.....	5.37	.....
Dakota.....	2.25	3.50	2.35	3.50	3.00	.....	.....	3.25	2.50	2.50	3.00	3.00	3.50	3.50
Idaho.....	3.75	5.50	5.50	5.00	.....	.....	5.00	.....	5.00	.....	5.00	.....	6.00	.....
Arizona.....	4.00	5.00	5.00	4.00	.....	.....	5.00	.....	5.00	.....	5.00	.....	5.00	.....
Montana.....	2.50	3.75	3.00	4.00	2.50	2.75	3.00	.....	3.00	4.25	3.00	3.50	4.00	3.00
New Mexico.....	2.50	3.25	2.28	4.08	2.29	2.83	1.78	2.50	2.29	2.75	2.36	2.83	2.32	3.00
AVERAGES.														
New England States.....	1.89	2.88	2.27	3.45	1.91	2.79	1.90	2.48	1.83	2.93	1.80	2.67	2.17	3.38
Middle States.....	1.55	2.65	1.83	3.32	1.68	2.82	1.46	2.43	1.61	2.59	1.70	2.73	1.97	3.09
Western States.....	2.13	2.66	2.67	3.37	2.11	2.56	1.95	2.50	2.10	2.72	2.13	2.67	2.57	3.23
Southern States.....	2.12	2.99	2.41	3.20	2.31	2.95	1.95	2.63	2.12	2.52	2.16	2.59	2.37	2.85
General average.....	1.92	2.79	2.30	3.33	2.00	2.73	1.82	2.51	1.92	2.69	1.95	2.66	2.27	3.14
Pacific States (gold).....	5.17	4.67	5.73	5.50	5.01	3.50	4.06	4.00	5.15	4.33	5.40	4.50	6.05	5.33
Territories (gold).....	4.63	3.80	5.19	4.60	4.46	3.65	4.00	3.00	4.16	4.25	3.97	4.00	4.72	4.50
Average.....	4.90	4.23	5.46	5.05	4.74	3.57	4.03	3.50	4.66	4.29	4.69	4.25	5.39	4.91

Mechanical Labor—(Continued.)

Table showing the average Daily Wages paid, etc.

STATES.	Shoe-makers.		Stone-cutters.		Tailors.		Tanners.		Tinsmith.		Wheelwrights.	
	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.												
Maine.....	\$1 70	\$2 50	\$2 22	\$3 50	\$1 86	\$3 50	\$2 09	\$2 50	\$1 82	\$2 25	\$1 80	\$2 50
New Hampshire.....	1 84	2 50	2 12	3 75	1 75	3 75	1 80	3 25	1 50	3 19	1 75	3 12
Vermont.....	1 44	2 50	2 25	3 00	1 65	2 50	1 70	2 75	1 88	2 88	1 83	3 00
Massachusetts.....	1 72	2 25	2 50	3 94	1 80	2 37	1 94	2 38	1 85	3 05	2 01	2 37
Rhode Island.....	.....	2 00	.....	2 00	.....	1 50	.....	1 75	.....	2 00	.....	2 00
Connecticut.....	1 37	2 13	.....	1 37	.....	2 00	.....	1 67	.....	1 50	.....	1 50
MIDDLE STATES.												
New York.....	1 52	2 36	2 17	3 15	1 66	2 26	1 71	2 22	1 74	2 52	1 90	2 95
New Jersey.....	1 83	1 96	1 92	3 00	1 92	2 25	1 50	2 06	1 33	2 50	1 35	2 30
Pennsylvania.....	1 35	1 78	2 01	2 28	1 34	2 14	1 40	2 05	1 37	2 15	1 59	1 92
Delaware.....	(*)	2 00	1 50	2 00	(*)	2 50	1 50	2 00	.....	2 50	.....	2 50
Maryland.....	2 00	2 50	2 00	3 50	1 75	2 00	1 50	2 00	2 00	2 25	2 00	2 50
West Virginia.....	1 57	3 02	2 18	3 23	1 42	2 72	1 50	2 44	1 75	2 38	1 80	2 75
WESTERN STATES.												
Ohio.....	1 59	2 08	2 28	2 86	1 59	2 30	1 74	2 16	1 72	2 00	1 96	2 38
Indiana.....	1 64	2 25	2 25	3 08	1 76	1 92	1 61	2 08	1 50	2 17	1 96	2 21
Illinois.....	1 96	2 31	2 40	3 50	1 80	2 33	1 95	2 50	2 01	2 25	2 15	3 75
Michigan.....	1 54	2 25	2 25	3 00	1 69	2 00	1 79	2 00	1 79	2 00	2 06	2 06
Wisconsin.....	3 13	1 25	2 75	4 00	2 30	1 50	2 36	2 00	2 24	2 50	2 23	2 00
Minnesota.....	1 86	2 50	2 43	3 00	1 64	2 50	1 93	2 00	1 54	2 50	1 79	2 00
Iowa.....	1 85	1 50	2 36	3 00	1 50	1 73	2 00	2 00	1 50	2 00	2 51	2 50
Kansas.....	2 12	2 25	3 25	3 25	2 25	2 25	2 50	2 17	2 17	2 25	2 50	2 50
Nebraska.....	3 00	4 00	2 75	2 75	2 00	2 00	2 00	2 00	2 00	2 00	2 00	2 00
Missouri.....	2 00	2 50	2 92	3 50	2 10	2 50	2 00	2 00	2 17	2 75	2 35	2 75
Kentucky.....	1 96	2 50	2 65	3 10	2 13	2 95	1 83	2 75	2 00	2 25	2 15	3 33
SOUTHERN STATES.												
Virginia.....	1 44	1 58	2 00	3 38	1 74	2 00	1 67	1 75	1 66	1 75	1 61	2 20
North Carolina.....	1 06	3 00	1 58	.....	1 25	3 00	1 17	.....	2 00	2 75	1 58	2 50
South Carolina.....	1 88	2 50	2 67	2 50	2 10	2 50	2 38	2 50	1 65	2 50	2 15	2 00
Georgia.....	1 75	2 50	2 18	3 50	2 00	3 50	2 50	2 27	2 50	2 25	2 75	2 75
Florida.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Alabama.....	2 00	.....	3 50	.....	1 94	.....	2 50	.....	2 50	.....	2 42	.....
Louisiana.....	1 50	2 00	3 50	2 00	2 12	2 00	2 50	2 50	2 50	2 50	2 50	2 50
Texas.....	2 33	.....	3 17	3 73	1 92	.....	3 12	.....	2 50	2 75	1 75	2 50
Mississippi.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 80	.....	3 00	.....
Arkansas.....	2 05	2 00	2 42	5 00	1 83	3 00	1 50	.....	2 17	4 00	2 17	.....
Tennessee.....	2 20	2 33	2 53	3 42	2 08	3 22	1 75	2 50	1 75	2 62	1 85	2 50
PACIFIC STATES.												
California.....	3 88	.....	4 96	5 00	3 60	.....	4 00	.....	4 04	3 00	4 75	.....
Nevada.....	5 88	4 00	7 00	6 00	6 00	3 00	5 60	.....	6 00	5 00	8 75	7 00
Oregon.....	3 95	3 50	5 40	5 00	3 80	3 50	4 10	4 00	4 25	4 50	4 67	5 00
TERRITORIES.												
Washington.....	5 00	.....	6 00	5 00	.....	3 00	.....	3 00	6 00	2 50	6 00	5 00
Colorado.....	4 00	.....	5 87	.....	4 00	.....	.....	4 50	.....	5 00	.....	5 00
Dakota.....	3 50	3 00	.....	.....	3 00	3 00	.....	.....	3 00	.....	3 00	.....
Idaho.....	4 25	.....	5 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	4 25	.....	5 50	.....	5 50
Arizona.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	4 00	.....	8 00	.....	4 00	.....	.....	.....	5 50	.....	5 00	.....
New Mexico.....	2 50	3 00	3 00	.....	3 50	.....	.....	.....	3 25	.....	3 00	.....
AVERAGES.												
New England States.....	1 61	2 44	2 22	3 55	1 74	3 03	1 84	2 72	1 75	2 84	1 82	2 75
Middle States.....	1 65	2 20	1 96	2 86	1 59	2 27	1 62	2 05	1 64	2 38	1 74	2 49
Western States.....	1 97	2 11	2 09	3 26	2 09	2 22	1 97	2 25	2 02	2 30	2 24	2 70
Southern States.....	1 81	2 27	2 51	3 56	1 84	2 75	2 06	2 25	2 07	2 67	2 14	2 42
General average.....	1 76	2 25	2 35	3 26	1 82	2 57	1 87	2 32	1 87	2 55	1 99	2 59
Pacific States (gold).....	4 57	3 75	5 78	5 33	4 47	3 25	4 57	4 00	4 76	4 17	6 06	6 00
Territories (gold).....	4 17	3 44	5 29	5 25	4 00	3 37	3 00	3 00	5 25	3 70	5 50	5 30
Average.....	4 37	3 59	5 54	5 29	4 24	3 31	3 78	3 50	5 00	3 93	5 75	5 15

* Piecework.

PART V.

Comparative American Farm-Wages in Different Localities—The Rise in Prices of Farm-Labor under Republican Protection from 1860 to 1874.

Statistician Dodge of the Department of Agriculture says (Feb. 1884), with respect to the wages of the American farm-laborer:

There has been an increase of wages with the growth of manufacturing and other non-agricultural population, as shown by investigation of former prices, compared with repeated and thorough investigations in the Department of Agriculture.

"Fifty years ago, at the commencement of the era of manufacture, the ascertained average of wages of farm-labor was about \$9 per month, with board. At that time the rate was but little higher than at the establishment of the Government. From 1790 to 1830 there was a slow but appreciable advance. This tendency operated slowly with fluctuations incident to changes in legislation and industrial prosperity, until 1861. The inflation of the succeeding period carried the rate of wages, with board, to \$15.50. A decline of course followed during the era of descent to a gold basis. In 1875 the average was \$12.40. In 1879, when the National currency was at par, and industrial depression was at its lowest depth, the rate was \$10.54. With the healthful development of industry that followed, the average in 1882 was \$12.41, almost exactly the average of 1875. This may be considered the average of the present era, under normal conditions, and it is an increase of 37 per cent over the wages of thirty years ago, the advance being made coincident with the principal development of the present status of our agricultural industries.

"But this is the rate of wages 'with board,' the money paid when the laborer is given the remainder of wages in board. As the cost of board has been somewhat increased during thirty years, by reason of the higher price which the farmer is able to obtain for his products, the real cost of labor is greater than is shown above; and a fairer exhibit would be the rate of wages when wholly paid in cash, or 'wages without board.'

"The rate of wages per month paid wholly in cash, forty years ago, was approximately, \$13.25 per month. In 1860, when currency was inflated and all prices high, the average was \$26. During the monetary depression, as reported in 1879, the average rate was \$16.16. In 1882, when labor was in a normal condition and paid in currency at par, the average rate per month was \$18.58, an increase of 40 p. c. during the era of industrial development.

Comparative farm-wages in the States.

The following statement exhibits the rate of wages, with and without board:

Wages per month for the year.

FIRST GROUP.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	1882.		1879.	
	With out Board.	With Board.	With out Board.	With Board.
Massachusetts.....	\$30 66	\$18 25	\$25 00	\$15 33
Rhode Island.....	27 75	17 00	23 00	13 25
Colorado.....	36 50	27 08	35 00	20 00
New Jersey.....	24 25	14 20	20 22	11 53
Connecticut.....	27 90	17 37	23 29	14 23
New York.....	23 63	15 36	20 61	13 19
Pennsylvania.....	22 88	14 21	19 92	11 46
California.....	38 25	23 45	41 00	26 27
Maryland.....	16 34	9 89	14 00	8 95
Average.....	24 14	15 10	21 31	13 10

SECOND GROUP.

New Hampshire.....	\$25 25	\$16 72	\$19 75	\$12 30
Delaware.....	18 20	12 50	17 00	9 50
New Mexico.....	.....	.....	22 10	13 80
Maine.....	24 75	16 15	18 25	11 08
Utah.....	.....	.....	28 87	20 50
Ohio.....	24 55	16 30	20 72	13 34
Oregon.....	33 50	24 75	35 45	23 86
Michigan.....	25 76	17 27	22 88	14 64
Illinois.....	23 91	17 14	20 61	13 01
Wisconsin.....	26 21	17 90	21 07	13 81
Vermont.....	23 37	16 00	19 00	11 50
Dakota.....	.....	.....	28 56	16 57
Average.....	23 51	16 93	21 13	13 45

THIRD GROUP.

Virginia.....	\$13 96	\$9 17	\$11 00	\$7 66
Missouri.....	22 39	13 95	17 59	11 84
Minnesota.....	26 36	17 75	24 55	15 62
Indiana.....	23 14	15 65	20 20	12 76
Louisiana.....	18 20	12 69	16 40	11 27
Iowa.....	26 21	17 95	22 09	13 90
Nebraska.....	24 45	16 20	23 04	14 86
West Virginia.....	19 16	12 46	16 98	10 94
Kentucky.....	18 20	11 75	15 17	10 00
Florida.....	16 64	10 20	13 80	8 73
Kansas.....	23 85	15 87	20 67	13 28
Tennessee.....	13 75	9 49	12 73	8 69
Texas.....	20 20	14 03	18 27	11 49
Average.....	19 51	13 04	16 84	11 03

FOURTH GROUP.

Georgia.....	\$12 86	\$8 70	\$10 73	\$7 28
North Carolina.....	12 86	8 80	11 19	7 66
South Carolina.....	12 10	8 10	10 25	6 66
Alabama.....	13 15	9 09	12 20	8 30
Mississippi.....	15 10	10 09	13 31	9 28
Arkansas.....	18 50	12 25	17 12	11 31
Average.....	13 67	9 24	12 01	8 15

Farm-wages highest amid other industries.

"The influence of large industrial population on the rate of agricultural wages is very striking. Its effects are seen in different sections of the same State, according to the industrial development of such section. The State of Ohio, with only 40 per cent in agriculture, pays comparatively high wages for farm labor, because of its relative scarcity. Thus the northern part of the State, with Cleveland, Toledo, and other manufacturing cities, averaged, in 1882, \$25.96 per month. The western district, which is agricultural, with Cincinnati, Dayton, Springfield, and other manufacturing towns, averages \$24.75. The eastern district has a larger agricultural element, and therefore a lower average, which is \$22.65.

"Kentucky furnishes a fine contrast with Ohio. A river dividing, one State with four tenths in agriculture, the other with five eighths, and most of the remainder commercial and professional rather than industrial, the average has been as follows:

STATES.	1879.	1882.
Ohio.....	\$20 72	\$24 55
Kentucky.....	15 17	18 20

"A part of this difference, a small part, it may be conceded, comes from a large portion of negro labor.

"Illinois has a large proportion of its non-agricultural population in the northern counties. Dividing the State by east and west lines into three belts, the same result is seen, with quite as much contrast as between Ohio and Kentucky:

Northern District	\$27.52
Central District	24.05
Southern District	19.87

"Comparing Illinois, as a whole, with Missouri, separated only by the Mississippi, with somewhat less diversification in industry and smaller interests in manufactures, yet with vastly more than Kentucky, the rates are as follows:

STATES.	1870.	1882.
Illinois.....	\$20.61	\$23.91
Missouri.....	17.59	22.39
Kentucky.....	15.17	18.20

Farm-wages affected in each State and district by the presence of factories.

"In every State the rate of wages is affected favorably by the presence of manufactures, whatever other causes of difference may prevail.

"The Middle States furnish an interesting illustration of local proximity of great populations within a large district which may be considered a prominent manufacturing section. New York extends from the sea to the lakes, and Pennsylvania beyond the mountains, while New Jersey has a smaller area, with New York and Brooklyn on the northern border, and Philadelphia, over the Delaware, on the west, and large industrial cities within her borders; therefore, a higher average rate of farm wages is found in the latter State, as follows:

STATES.	1860.	1870.	1882.
New York	\$29.28	\$30.61	\$23.63
New Jersey.....	32.11	20.22	24.25
Pennsylvania.....	28.68	19.92	22.88

"Here are given the high wages of the period before resumption, the lowest rate attained after the monetary revolution, and the recuperation and healthy status of business in 1882. In the period of manufacturing depression, just prior to 1870, agricultural wages were greatly depressed, as is shown in the decline for 1869 in New Jersey. A large force of operatives, thrown out of employment, competed with agricultural laborers, intensifying the general decline toward a gold basis of values, and aiding in bringing down the general average from \$32.11 to \$20.22 in ten years.

Depression in manufactures causes decline in farm-wages.

"The effect of a period of depression in manufacture is almost immediately manifest in a decline in the rate of agricultural wages. If long continued, it depresses wages in every part of the country. The decline is greatest, however, in the immediate vicinity of the silent factories. The panic beginning in the autumn of 1873 soon caused a reduction in manufacturing activity, and began to tell on prices in 1875. The stagnation gradually deepened, and the lowest rate of wages was reached later. In 1879 an investigation disclosed the fact that all sec-

tions were feeling the effects of industrial inactivity. The following figures will show the course of wages from 1860 to 1882, those of 1869 representing the inflated values incident to a depreciated currency. It should not be forgotten that two causes co-operated to reduce values during the ten years following—the appreciation of currency value, and the stagnation of business after 1873. The showing is as follows:

STATES.	1860.	1870.	1879.	1882.
Eastern States.....	\$22.08	\$28.96	\$20.21	\$26.61
Middle States.....	29.02	26.02	19.69	22.24
Southern States	17.21	16.22	13.81	15.30
Western States.....	27.01	23.60	20.38	21.63
California.....	46.28	44.50	41.00	38.25

"The fact especially noteworthy is that the greatest reduction in rural wages occurred in the manufacturing States, the eastern and middle groups, from \$32.08 to \$20.21, and from \$28.96 to \$19.69, respectively, in ten years. This is precisely what should be expected. The liberated artisans and operatives returned to the country, competing with farm-laborers; some of them went West, reducing the rates of agricultural labor there, though in a less degree, as many became homesteaders rather than laborers.

"The factory laborers and artisans of Massachusetts and Rhode Island came largely from Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont (as well as from Canada), and hence in 1879 we find the depression in farm wages greater in those States than in Southern New England, as follows:

STATES.	1860.	1870.	1879.	1882.
Maine.....	\$26.25	\$25.40	\$18.25	\$24.75
New Hampshire.....	32.66	28.57	19.75	22.25
Vermont.....	32.40	29.67	19.00	23.37
Massachusetts.....	35.95	31.87	25.00	30.66
Rhode Island.....	33.25	30.00	23.00	27.75
Connecticut.....	33.00	28.25	23.25	27.90

As manufactures prosper, farm-wages advance.

"With the return of industrial activity comes general prosperity, and with it, as shown in the figures of 1882, a sharp advance in wages paid for farm-labor. Assertions have been plenty that labor on the farms is not affected unfavorably by manufacturing depression, but here are facts, in perfect accord with all similar records from time immemorial, which disprove that fallacy and show that the farm-laborer is indissolubly bound up with the general prosperity of all the industries, and must share the good or ill-fortune of workers in every legitimate line of human effort.

The rise in prices of farm-labor from 1860 to 1874.

The following table, prepared by the Bureau of Statistics at Washington, will show the rise in farm-laboring wages from 1860, when the Democrats were in power, to 1874, when the Republicans exercised full power:

Table showing the average Daily Wages for Farm-Labor in 1860 and 1874.

STATES.	Experienced Hands. Summer.				Experienced Hands. Winter.				Ordinary Hands. Summer.			
	With Board.		Without Board.		With Board.		Without Board.		With Board.		Without Board.	
	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.												
Maine.....	\$1 07		\$1 49		\$0 81		\$1 09		\$0 94		\$1 10	
New Hampshire.....	1 04	\$1 75	1 38	\$2 25	75	1 00	1 06	\$1 50	88	\$1 25	1 25	\$1 69
Vermont.....	94	1 44	1 13	2 12	72	1 06	1 00	1 62	75	1 00	1 01	1 62
Massachusetts.....	1 06	1 50	1 40	1 87	73	1 05	1 05	1 50	79	87	1 13	1 50
Rhode Island.....	75		1 00		42		75		50		82	
Connecticut.....	1 13	1 25		1 50	75	1 00		1 50	1 00	1 00		1 50
MIDDLE STATES.												
New York.....	89	1 48	1 21	2 00	67	96	90	1 48	68	1 18	99	1 71
New Jersey.....	79	1 65	1 16	2 00	54	1 00	85	1 42	73	1 13	1 09	1 53
Pennsylvania.....	84	1 13	1 22	1 57	62	84	94	1 25	63	89	95	1 25
Delaware.....	75	1 00		1 25	50	75		1 00	50	88		1 00
Maryland.....	38		63		25		50		38		62	
West Virginia.....	77	1 03	95	1 46	61	74	86	1 15	52	64	76	93
WESTERN STATES.												
Ohio.....	89	1 03	1 16	1 48	65	90	92	1 25	68	82	96	1 07
Indiana.....	96	1 13	1 26	1 47	71	86	99	1 11	71	84	96	1 23
Illinois.....	1 02	1 33	1 32	1 68	75	97	1 00	1 39	78	1 06	1 06	1 43
Michigan.....	93	1 25	1 22	1 75	70	1 25	1 05	1 75	73	1 00	1 02	1 40
Wisconsin.....	1 27		1 66		83		1 20		1 01		1 41	
Minnesota.....	1 42	1 00	1 73	1 50	88	75	1 14	1 25	1 10	75	1 38	1 00
Iowa.....	1 06	78	1 34		70	78	1 00		76	70	1 01	
Kansas.....	1 25		1 75		1 15		2 37		1 08		1 50	
Nebraska.....	1 00		1 38		75		1 25		1 00		1 25	
Missouri.....	81	1 50	1 12		69	1 00	99		67	1 00	93	
Kentucky.....	77		1 08		60		90		64		89	
SOUTHERN STATES.												
Virginia.....	60	64	1 02	80	47	47	69	67	52	54	66	76
North Carolina.....	60	1 00	63	1 25	36	75	52		33		47	
South Carolina.....	53	1 00	73	1 25	40	75	60	1 00	34	75	58	1 50
Georgia.....	55		81		50		71		47		68	
Florida.....												
Alabama.....	63	75	88	1 00	55	60	80	75	47	75	70	1 00
Mississippi.....	60	75	75	1 00	52		60		48	50	81	75
Louisiana.....	1 00	65	1 25	1 05	1 00	65	1 25	1 05	75			1 25
Texas.....	66	87	1 00	1 25	58	75	81	1 00	54	50	75	75
Arkansas.....	75		1 03		63		92		55		81	
Tennessee.....	74		97		55		75		51		71	50
PACIFIC STATES.												
California.....	2 07	1 50	2 50	2 50	1 39	1 00	2 13	2 50	2 00	1 00	2 17	2 00
Nevada.....	3 50	2 50	5 60	3 50	3 50	2 50	5 60	3 50	3 00	1 50	4 00	2 50
Oregon.....	2 14	1 00	2 50	1 60	1 51	1 25	1 94	2 00	1 61	1 00	1 88	1 60
TERRITORIES.												
Washington.....	3 12	2 25	4 12		2 25	1 50	8 00		2 25		2 75	
Colorado.....	2 17		2 88		1 50		2 00		1 75		2 75	
Dakota.....	1 50	1 00	2 00	1 25	1 25	75	1 50	1 00	1 25		1 50	
Idaho.....			1 50	2 12		1 12		1 25		1 25		1 75
Arizona.....												
Montana.....												
New Mexico.....	75	1 00	1 13	2 50	50	1 00	1 00	1 50	60	1 26	1 00	1 75
AVERAGES.												
New England States.....	1 00	1 48	1 28	1 92	70	1 03	99	1 53	81	1 02	1 07	1 58
Middle States.....	74	1 26	1 03	1 66	53	86	81	1 26	57	95	88	1 30
Western States.....	1 03	1 15	1 37	1 58	77	93	1 17	1 35	83	88	1 12	
Southern States.....	67	81	91	1 09	56	69	77	89	47	63	69	
General average.....	86	1 17	1 15	1 56	64	88	94	1 26	67	87	94	
Pacific States.....	2 57	1 67	3 53	2 53	2 13	1 58	3 22	2 67	2 20	1 17	2 68	
Territories.....	1 89	1 44	2 52	1 95	1 38	1 09	1 88	1 25	1 46	1 25	2 00	
Average.....	2 23	1 55	3 03	2 19	1 76	1 33	2 55	1 96	1 88	1 21	2 34	

For other points connected with the increase of wages of farm-labor see Part VI. of the chapter on "The Protected American Farmer."

PART VI.

Comparative Cost of the Laborer's Living in Great Britain and Massachusetts.

Having shown by undeniable statistics that under the Republican protective tariff the workingmen of Massachusetts as well as in other States of the Union are much better paid and earn more than his less favored brother in free-trade Great Britain let us see further whether it does or does not—as has been frequently asserted by the English Democratic free-trade advocates—cost so much more for him to live in this country that even with his higher wages he is absolutely no better off than the English workman. And it may be well to continue the comparison between Massachusetts and Great Britain, touching the cost of living in each country. The items mainly comprised in the cost of living are groceries, provisions, fuel, dry goods, boots, clothing, rents, and, for those who prefer that mode of life, board and lodging. The report of Colonel Carroll D. Wright, Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, for the year 1884, pages 440-469, contains a number of valuable tables bearing on all these in detail, to secure the data for which 75 retail stores in 10 cities and towns were visited in Massachusetts, and 150 retail stores in 20 cities and towns in Great Britain, and in addition, "the printed price-lists of leading retail houses in Boston and the 'supply-books' of the large workingmen's stores in Great Britain were consulted and used for verifications and to complete the grading of prices."

Analysis of tables of comparative cost of living for workingmen in Massachusetts and Great Britain.

A careful analysis of these authoritative tables shows the following results for the year 1883:

Groceries—comprising flour, cornmeal, codfish, rice, beans, tea, coffee, sugar, syrup, soap, starch, and oil, were 16.18 per cent higher in Massachusetts than in Great Britain.

Provisions—comprising beef, veal, mutton, pork, sausages, lard, pickled mackerel, potatoes, butter, cheese, milk, and eggs, were 23.08 per cent higher in Massachusetts.

Fuel—comprising coal only, was 104.96 per cent higher in Massachusetts.

Dry Goods—comprising sheetings, shirtings, flannels, quilts and comforters, blankets, cretonnes, table-cloths, napkins, towels, towelling, ticking—making the comparison on the basis of all goods of the "medium," "medium low," and "low" grades, from

which three grades workingmen make their purchases—are .9 or less than one per cent higher in Massachusetts.

Boots, Shoes, and Slippers—comprising men's, women's, and children's, and comprising the same three grades in Massachusetts and Great Britain, are 42.75 per cent higher in Massachusetts.

Clothing—comprising silks, satins, muslins, fancy dress-goods, mourning goods, ladies' underwear, ladies' hose, laces, men's and boys' shirts, men's merino underwear, men's hose, men's collars and cuffs, gloves, handkerchiefs, sewing-silks, cottons, needles and pins, elastics, and trimmings, are 27.36 per cent higher in Massachusetts if you compare the three grades, but only 18 per cent higher in prices if the comparison is made on "low" grades.

Rents—These were, in 1883, on the average, 89.62 per cent higher in Massachusetts than in Great Britain, the investigation covering a wide field, from one, two, and three rooms in the most crowded parts of large cities, to six- and eight-roomed houses in smaller manufacturing cities or with garden and fruit-trees in the suburbs of larger ones. It is shown that the average rent of one room in Massachusetts was 66 cents per week, \$2.86 per month, and \$34.38 per year, and in Great Britain 35 cents per week, \$1.51 per month, and \$18.02 per year, from which bases computations as to tenement prices can easily be made.

Board and Lodging—It appears also that board and lodging together was 39.01 per cent higher in Massachusetts in 1883 than in Great Britain. "The average price for *board and lodging* in Massachusetts, in 1883, for men, per week, was \$4.79, for women \$3.19; per month, men \$20.76, women \$13.82; per year, men \$249.08, and women \$165.88. Considering *board* alone the average rates for men, per week, were \$3.84, for women \$2.56; per month, men \$16.68, women \$11.09; per year, men \$199.68, and women \$133.12. Taking *lodging* by itself, the average rates, per week, for men were \$2.20, for women \$1.46; per month, for men \$9.53, for women \$6.33; per year, for men \$114.40, and for women \$75.92. Comparative figures for *board and lodging*, in 1883, in Great Britain, are as follows: per week, for men, \$3.37, for women \$2.37; per month, men \$14.58, women \$10.28; per year, men \$174.98, and women \$123.41. Women pay about two thirds as much for board and lodging as men. Parties lodging in one house and boarding in another pay more than those who secure board and lodging together. For this reason the averages for *board* added to those for *lodging* make more than the averages given for *board and lodging*."

From the same report the following concise comparative summary of prices is given:

Summary. Prices in Massachusetts and Great Britain.—1883.

ARTICLES.	PERCENTAGES.		
	Higher in Mass.	Higher in Gt. Brit'n.	
Groceries.....	16.18	23.08	
Provisions.....	104.96	104.96	
Fuel.....	13.26	13.26	
Dry goods, all grades.....	.90	.90	
" three lower grades.....	62.59	62.59	
Boots, shoes, and slippers, all grades.....	42.75	42.75	
" three lower grades.....	45.06	45.06	
Clothing, all grades.....	27.36	27.36	
" three lower grades.....	18.00	18.00	
" lowest grade.....	56.57	56.57	
" three highest grades.....	89.62	89.62	
Rents.....	39.01	39.01	
Board and lodging			

The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics secured 19 "budgets," or annual accounts of itemized expenditures for living, in Massachusetts, and 16 such "budgets" in Great Britain—each such budget showing the number of persons in the family, the number at work, earnings of the head and of members of the family, and the annual surplus or debt, together with expense details covering rent, groceries, meat, fish, milk, fuel, clothing, boots and shoes, dry goods, and "sundry expenses"—as follows:

Workingmen's Budgets. Percentages of Expenditure. Massachusetts and Great Britain.

CLASSIFICATION.	MASSACHU.		Gt. BR'TN.	
	Aver.	p. c.	Aver.	p. c.
Rent.....	148.95	19.74	68.55	13.48
Groceries.....	222.68	29.52	163.50	32.16
Meat.....	100.63	13.34	69.98	13.77
Fish.....	25.06	3.31	11.24	2.21
Milk.....	23.42	3.11	16.29	3.22
Fuel.....	32.42	4.30	17.81	3.50
Clothing	77.89	10.32	57.27	11.27
Boots and shoes.....	27.37	3.63	17.47	3.44
Dry goods	15.11	2.00	17.33	2.41
Sundry expenses.....	80.95	10.73	68.81	13.54

Workingmen's Budgets. Averages. Massachusetts and Great Britain.

CLASSIFICATION.	MASSACHU.		Gt. BR'TN.	
	Aver.	p. c.	Aver.	p. c.
Persons in family.....	5.21	...	6.06	...
Adults.....	2.16	41.46	2.00	33.00
Children.....	3.05	58.54	4.06	67.00
Number at work.....	2.16	...	2.55	...
Adults.....	1.16	53.70	1.00	39.06
Children.....	1.00	46.30	1.56	60.94
Total earnings	803.47	...	517.47	...
Earnings head of family.....	558.68	69.53	309.84	59.88
Earn'gs memb's of family.....	244.79	30.47	207.68	40.12
Total expenses.....	754.42	93.89	508.35	98.24
Surplus.....	49.05	6.11	9.12	1.76

The results of the comparison in a nutshell—The American workman lives better and saves more than the British workman.

Here we find, by Table 2, that the average total earnings of a Massachusetts workingman's family are \$803.47; that the total expenses of living are \$754.42; leaving him with \$49.05 in bank at the end of the year. While the total earnings of the British workingman's family are only \$517.47, of which \$508.35 must be paid out in expenses of living, leaving him only \$9.12 clear at the end of the year. The net earnings of the Massachusetts workingman then are about five and a half times as great as the net earnings of the British workingman. In addition to this fact is the further one, that the Massachusetts workingman must expend 48.41 per cent more for the support of his family than what the British workingman must expend for his. But, as Col. Wright points out, of this 48.41 per cent, only 5.80 per cent is paid extra for articles which could be purchased 5.80 per cent cheaper in Great Britain, while 11.49 per cent is paid extra to secure more and larger rooms and more air space than the workingman in Great Britain enjoys, while the remainder, 31.12 per cent, indicates also an extra amount expended by the Massachusetts workingman to secure better home surroundings and to maintain the same higher standard of living, as shown for rent, as regards other expenses, which standard is higher than that secured by the workingman in Great Britain."

The case then, in a nutshell, is this: The Massachusetts workingman earns more wages, expends more in keeping himself and family, and lives better in more healthful quarters and with more pleasing surroundings, than the British workingman; and besides all this, can save five and a half times as much for a rainy day. Were the comparison made as between other parts of the United States, where the workingman's wages are higher and the expenses of living no greater than in Massachusetts, the benefits of the Republican protective tariff to American labor would stand out in a still stronger light as compared with the results of the English free-trade policy which grinds the laborer down and keeps him down. And it is for the free American workingman who gets such comparatively high wages, and who lives and enjoys life in all respects better, and who can save more money than the British workingman, to say, by voting the Democratic ticket, that he would prefer the Democratic English free-trade policy instead of the Republican American protective policy; that he would like lower wages, less expenses, less comforts, less healthful and pleasing surroundings, poorer clothes, less educational advantages, less savings.

PART VII.

Prices of Food in European Countries and Cities compared with those in America.

Statement showing the Retail Prices of the Necessaries of Life in the several Countries, compiled from Consular Reports, and compared with Prices in New York and Chicago.

ARTICLES.	Belgium		France		Germany		Italy		Spain		Switzer-land		United Kingdom.			United States.				
			Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	England.	Ire-land	Scot-land	New York	Chicago.		
			4-5	4	3-7	6	64-74	4	7	4	34-44	4	4	4-41	4-41	3-4	2-4	2-4		
Bread.....per pound.																				
Flour.....do.			4	5	5	10			7	34-44	4	4	4-41	4-41	3-4	2-4	2-4			
Beef:																				
Roasting.....per pound.			20	22	22	20				30	22		22	12-16	8-12					
Soup.....do.			16	16	14	12			18	15	15		16	6-8	5-8					
Rumpsteak...do.			20	20	20	20			20	20	20		20	14-16	8-12					
Corned.....do.			16	16	13	12			18	18	18		20	8-12	4-7					
Veal:																				
Fore quarter.....per pound.			16	16	14	15			18	18	18		18	8-10	6-10					
Hind quarter...do.			18	20	14	18			18	18	20		20	10-12	10-12					
Cutlets.....do.			20	22	22	22			20	20	20		20	20-24	12-15					
Mutton:																				
Fore quarter.....per pound.			16	16	14	15			18	18	18		18	16	9-10	5-12				
Hind quarter...do.			20	18	14	18			18	18	20		20	12-11	5-15					
Chops.....do.			20	20	18	18			18	18	20		20	14-16	10-15					
Pork:																				
Fresh.....per pound.			16	14	17	13			18	16	16		16	10-12	13-16	8-10	4-5			
Salted.....do.			16	14	17	18			20	15	15		15	10-12	13-16	8-10	6-12			
Bacon.....do.			18	20	20	22					12-	16			8-10	7-12				
Ham.....do.			25	25	22	23			45	28	13-	23			8-12	7-15				
Shoulder.....do.			20	18	20	20						12			8-10	4-10				
Sausage.....do.			20	16	19	20						18			8-10	6-10				
Lard.....do.			20	20	21	22			21		15-	18	12		10-12	6-10				
Codfish.....do.						9			10		8		6		6-7	5-9				
Butter.....do.			20-50	25	22	23			45	36	29-	38	32		25-35	16-40				
Cheese.....do.			20-25		24	26			28	23	15-	21	20		12-15	5-16				
Potatoes.....per bush.			56	50	50	\$1 15			\$1 10	60	\$1 12-20	60	68	95	\$1 40-1	60	60-80			
Rice.....per pound.				9	6	7				34-	8		5		8-10	5-10				
Beans.....per quart.				10	18	12				5	6-	9		5		7-10	3-9			
Milk.....do.				4	7					6-	9		5		8-10	3-6				
Eggs.....per dozen.			20-25	18	20	18			20-25	20	19-	30	14	28	25-30	10-24				
Oatmeal.....per pound.				8						34-	44	34-	44	80	70-80	50-60	25-100			
Tea.....do.				75		70			50	43-	58									
Coffee.....do.			30-40	30	35	32			45	30	28-	42		32-50	20-30	16-40				
Sugar.....do.			15-20		11	84	11		8	54-	9	8	10		8-10	7-10				
Molasses.....per gallon.															60-70	40-80				
Soap.....per pound.					10	4	10			34-	9				6-7	3-8				
Starch.....do.					9	10	10			10-	12		14		8-10	5-10				
Coal.....per ton.						\$4 25	\$11 00		\$9 00		\$3 20-4	10		\$2 65	\$3 00-5	\$2 00-6	\$3 00-6	75		

Purchasing Power of One Dollar in England, France, Germany, and America.

The following tabulation shows at a glance the *present* purchasing power of \$1 (which is equal to 4s. 2d., English; 5 francs, French; and 4½ marks, German) in England and France:

One dollar will purchase:

IN	Bread, Lbs.	Flour, Lbs.	Beef, Lbs.	Mutton, Lbs.	Pork, Lbs.	Potatoes, Bush.	Coffee, Lbs.	Sugar, Lbs.	
England.....	25	25	5	6	8				10
France.....	20	18	5	5	7				10
Germany.....	9	8	5	5	6				8
U. S.....	25	25	10	12	18				10
									* Black (rye) bread.

Statement showing the Retail Prices of the Necessaries of Life in the principal Cities of Europe, compiled from Consular Reports, and compared with same in New York and Chicago.

ARTICLES.	Belgium.	France.	Germany	Italy.	Spain.	Switzer- land.	United King- dom.	United States.		
	Brus- sels.	Bor- deaux.	Dres- den.	Rome	Barce- lona.	Gen- eva.	Liverpool.	New York.	Chicago.	
Bread.....per pound.	Cts. 4-5	Cts. 3-4	Cts. 7	Cts. 6	Cts. 4	Cts. 3½	Cts. 4	Cts. 4-5	Cts. 4½	Cts. 4½
Flour..... do.			6	10	6½	7	5	3-4	2½	4½
Beef:										
Roasting.....per pound.	20	20	24	20	20	30	22	12-	16	8- 12½
Soup..... do.	16	16	18	12	15	18	16	6-	8	5- 8
Rump..... do.	18	18	19	15	18	25	18	14-	16	8- 12½
Corned..... do.	16	16	18	12	18	18	16	8-	12	4- 7
Veal:										
Fore quarter.....per pound.	16	16	12	15	15	12	14	8-	10	6- 10
Hind quarter..... do.	18	20	18	20	18	18	20	10-	12	10- 12
Cutlets..... do.	20	22	18	22	22	20	20	20-	24	12½ 15
Mutton:										
Fore quarter.....per pound.	16	16	12	15	12	18	14	9-	10	5- 12½
Hind quarter..... do.	18	20	18	18	15	18	20	12-	14	5- 15
Chops..... do.	20	20	18	18	18	18	20	14-	16	10- 15
Pork:										
Fresh.....per pound.	16	12	18	15	20	18	16	8-	10	4- 8
Salted..... do.	16	14	18	18	20	20	16	8-	10	6- 12
Bacon..... do.	18	20	30	25	30	30	20	8-	10	7- 12
Ham..... do.	20	25	35	30	40	28	24	8-	12	7- 15
Shoulder..... do.	16	16	30	25	30	30	16	8-	10	4- 10
Sausage..... do.	18	16	20	20	20	20	20	8-	10	6- 10
Lard..... do.	20	20	25	19	20	19	16	10-	12	6- 10
Codfish..... do.			10	9				6-	7	5- 9
Butter..... do.	20-50	16	30	40	36	24	36	25-	32	16- 40
Cheese..... do.	20-25	33	28	25	23	12-	20	12-	15	5- 16
Potatoes.....per bush.	56	60	45	\$1 20	\$1 00	60	\$1 20-	\$1 50	\$1 40-\$1 60	60- 80
Rice.....per pound.		10	5	6½		4-	10	8-	10	5- 10
Beans.....per quart.		14	15	12				7-	10	5- 9
Milk..... do.			4	12	5	6-	8	8-	10	3- 6
Eggs.....per dozen.	20-25	10-15		20	20	14-	18	25-	30	10- 24
Oatmeal.....per pound.								50-	60	25-\$1 00
Tea..... do.	75		60	50	40	85	50-	60	25-\$1 00	
Coffee..... do.	30-40	36	40	30	24-	40	20-	30	15-	40
Sugar..... do.	15-20	12	8	10	8	5-	8	8-	10	7- 10
Molasses.....per gallon.			4	9		4-	10	60-	70	40- 80
Soap.....per pound.			10	9				8-	10	5- 10
Starch..... do.										
Coal.....per ton.			\$3 10	\$11 00	\$9 00		\$3 65-\$4 38	\$3 00-\$5 25	\$3 00-\$6 75	

Earnings of brain-workers in England—What a competent clerk earns, expends, and saves in one year at Bristol.

U. S. Consul Lathrop, in his latest report on the "condition of labor in Bristol," October 30, 1883, says:

"There is reason for giving prominence and importance to the state of the manual laborer, but why his condition should interest, and why it should be a factor in political economy to the entire exclusion of the head-worker, I know not, and why the comparative condition of the joint head and hand workers, the clerks of the world, is not full of interest and instruction I fail to perceive.

"Of the brain-workers of England, their position, their emoluments, I cannot here speak at length. The learned professions are hemmed in and around by a wall of expense insurmountable to most patient endeavor, unless it be aided by a ladder of gold....

"As with the intellectual workman it is impossible, owing to the influence of individual abilities and character, to strike an average of income, so with the clerk it is difficult but not impracticable. The *really* competent man in Bristol, who has been in one employ say ten years, will earn about £150 or \$730 per annum. Of course, individual ability and employer's disposition makes great fluctuations, but this amount is near the average. The relationship this income bears to expense may be discovered by an inspection of an account of yearly expenditure made by an acquaintance of mine, a clerk with an income of £150 per annum, who seems to be as methodical in his household as in his employer's

office. His family consists of himself, wife, and two children aged respectively seven and three: Rent and taxes* £2 18s. 5d. or \$18 per month; per annum. £32 00s. or \$156 00 Meat, 1s. or 24 cents per day; per annum. 18 05 or 88 50 Groceries and vegetables..... 18 05 or 88 50 Washing, 3s. 6d. or 84 cents per week; per annum. 9 03 or 44 27 Fuel, one half ton coal per month, at 1s. or \$3.40 per ton, per annum..... 4 04 or 20 48 Bread, 2-pound loaf daily, at 2½d. or 5 cents; per annum. 5 10 or 26 76 Milk, 1 pint daily, at 2d. or 4 cents; per annum..... 3 05 or 15 80 Outside help twice a week to clean; per annum..... 2 12 or 12 64 Clothes..... 24 00 or 116 80 Gas, 2s. 8d. or 66 cts. per M ft. 3 00 or 14 60 Renewing furniture, household utensils, etc..... 9 00 or 43 29 General expenses absorbed the entire balance†..... 20 17 or 101 50

150 00 or 729 60

* Six-roomed house; fairly comfortable; neighborhood, medium; a fairly representative home for the money.

† Nothing saved this year, and nothing expected to be added to the savings-bank account (which had neither grown nor diminished since marriage) until an expected promotion should somewhat increase the annual income.

CHAPTER VI.

Condition of Unprotected Labor in Europe.

PART I.

Condition of Labor in England—What Representative Kelley saw in 1883—Testimony of the London Congregational Union.

The condition of the American working-men is one of remarkable ease, prosperity, and contentment, compared with that of the workingmen of Europe, as is easily shown. The condition of the former is patent to us all. Well dressed, well fed, well housed, well paid, possessing an equal chance with all others for an education and for advancement in every walk of life, his condition and surroundings are such that he may make of himself anything that courage, ambition, will, education and natural endowments may fit him for—as demonstrated by the careers of Lincoln, Garfield, and many another shining exemplar. But glance at the condition of the European laborer and what do we find?

Representative Kelley of Pennsylvania recently travelled extensively in Europe with his daughter, Miss Kelley. Together they visited manufacturing towns in England, and their observations of the condition of labor in England being of recent date are the more interesting. In his speech in the House, April 15, 1884, Mr. Kelley said of the poor of England:

The poor of London as badly conditioned as the Sans Culottes of France.

"It did not surprise me to learn that distinguished prelates of the Established Church had in a church congress warned those to whom they had a right to speak with authority that the condition of the poor of England, as they had found it upon personal inspection within a short distance from the palaces of the Queen and of the Prince of Wales, was as bad as that of the French *Sans Culottes* in the years immediately preceding the sanguinary revolution of 1789.

A family of nine living in a cellar near Bloomsbury Square no larger than the area of six church-pews.

"A dissenting clergyman, the eloquent and devoted pastor of Bloomsbury Chapel, which stands but a few hundred feet from Bloomsbury Square and the solid middle-class mansions around it, said to his congregation that he had found but a short distance from the pulpit from which he spoke, a family of nine, including father, mother, sons and daughters, who occupied a cellar not larger than the space marked by six of the pews his hearers occupied. 'This was not,' he said, 'a peculiar case, but one of many thousands.'

Another wretched family near Westminster Abbey—A full-grown girl devoured by vermin.

"Within a week we have read, at least those who watch the papers for such indications of the condition of the British people, of a family found by the coroner near Westminster's grand old abbey, and in one of the most aristocratic quarters of London, in a cellar without a window, one member of which, a girl of full age, had just died, but whose flesh had been largely consumed by vermin before death came to her relief. *These are said to be familiar chapters in the lives of tens of thousands who, thoughable and willing to work, can find no place among the wage-earners of free-trade England, who our Democratic friends present as a national exemplar from whom they would have us accept as indisputable truths dogmas the prevalence of which has produced in that country these terrible results.*

Trace-chains made by English women at 25 cents per day minus the cost of fuel and forge and rods.

"Yes, I think I hear some of you reply to me, 'you studied the poverty of London, which is, we are ready to admit, unparalleled.' No; I spent ten days, unknown to everybody but my daughter, who was my companion, in Birmingham, and in visiting the manufacturing towns around that rich and beautiful city. We visited so much of the overcrowded precincts of the city itself as a lady might ride into, and in charge of a policeman I went beyond these limits. Our visits embraced Halesowen, Lye, Lye-Waste, and Cradley, where we found women making nails, trace-chains, heavy fire-bricks, and galvanizing hollow-ware. I observe among those who do me the honor to be present, my friend from Kentucky [Mr. TRUSSELL], who comes to each succeeding Congress on the doctrine of free trace-chains, a bill to transfer which article to the free list he never fails to introduce. The introduction of the bill does nobody any harm, and I shall continue to welcome him as long as I shall be returned and a Democrat comes from that district.

"Mr. TRUSSELL of Kentucky. I never weary in well doing, and I hope that after awhile you will grant us that reasonable request."

"MR. KELLEY. Oh, yes; you ought to have free trace-chains, for we learned that the women who make them, if they are quick and good hands, can realize 25 cents a day. [Applause on the Republican side.] And all that they have to pay out of their weekly wage of 6s. is 1s. 6d. for the forge and fuel, and another 6d. for having the rods out of which to make the chains brought to the forge. Free trace-chains! God forbid that any Kentucky girl or woman should ever work at such unwomanly employment for such starvation wages, even though it be to furnish such trace-chains to my friend and his constituents. [Applause.]

The forges of Halesowen—Two nail-makers earn \$1.25 between them in a week—Women brick-makers at \$1.50 a week.

"In one of the smallest and dingiest of the forges of Halesowen we found two men at work making light nails, such as girls are put to making when at fourteen years of age the British law will allow them to leave school and enter upon their lives of unwomanly toil. One of these men was a cripple, and the

other was evidently suffering from pulmonary disease. One of them by expending his force for full time could earn 3s. per week and the other 4s., from each of which sums are deducted weekly 1s. for fuel and furnace rent, so that at the close of the week they had as a net result of their joint toil \$1.25. In the villages I have named, all of which are appendages of Birmingham, we also saw English girls and matrons making large fire-bricks; one carrying against her breast or stomach heavy lumps of wet clay, out of which her co-worker, it may be her sister or mother, molded the immense bricks which she who had brought the clay carried to a heated space near to where she was to pick up her next load of wet clay. Why, you ask, do these girls engage in such work? The answer is a simple one; they prefer to make bricks because they can make 6s., or a dollar and a half, net, per week, while their sisters who make nails or chains cannot assuredly earn so much, and are, as I have said, subject to a charge of 1s. 6d. per week for fuel and rent of forge.

The deadly galvanizing rooms of Cradley— Girl galvanizers at \$1.75 per week.

"The chief specialties of Cradley are chains and hollow-ware. There we saw girls galvanizing stews-pans, boilers, bath-tubs, and other articles of like nature. The desperate struggle for life imposed on British toilers by cheap goods and low wages is well illustrated at Cradley. The assured receipt of \$1.50 a week will tempt women from the nail or chain-maker's forge to the brick-shed. The pay of a galvanizer is \$1.75 per week; and for this additional shilling girls will pass the forge and the brick-shed to engage in a galvanizing room, although the strongest of them knows that in less than six months the gases generated by the process will vitally impair her health.

The villages around Birmingham—Lye, Lye-Waste, and Cradley.

"In this connection I submit a brief extract from one of Miss Kelley's published letters:

"It is characteristic of the neighborhood of Birmingham that each village has one industry; thus nailers and chainmakers are as thoroughly separated as though their work differed radically and separation were needed. But the difference between Lye-Waste and Cradley is slight. There are the same forges, the same hovels, the same dusty roads, and the same industrious people. To tell the story of the chainmakers whom we watched at their forges, is merely to repeat the picture of Stocking Lane, and this I have no wish to do. Here and there, however, the forges are interspersed with factories and 'works,' and the facts as to these works illustrate some of the ills to which the nailers eagerly fly in their efforts to escape from their peculiar slavery.

"In one establishment we were shown young women at work on galvanizing pails, and our guide (who had come over from Lye-Waste for a benefit) observed privately concerning them, 'They'm dyin' from nailin', and they thinks it's a fine thing to get seven shillin's a week. But they gets poorly, and then they gets sick, and then their parents has to keep 'em, and they don't earn nothin' for a long time till they'm well again.' This we are prepared to believe, for we found difficulty in breathing in the first room to which an intelligent foreman showed us. This was a large, dusky room with a high ceiling and arrangements for ventilation with which we could find no fault. But in the middle of the room stood a seething cauldron of a steaming fluid. Back of this stood a man dipping pails in the cauldron and handing them to young girls, who swiftly rolled each pail in a heap of sawdust, then deftly brushed the fluid over the metal surface, assuring an equal coating to every part. A few moments of breathing the fumes from the cauldron made our retreat to the sultry out-door air very refreshing, and sufficed to convince us of the unwholesome nature of this work, even before we noticed long rows of carbons of vitriol which furnish one ingredient of the galvanizing fluid. 'The inspection is severe,' observed the foreman. 'The works are closely watched, and if a girl works a half-hour over time we're brought up roundly. It's very unwholesome work.'

"This brief extract will convince you that I do not speak of things of which I have merely read. No, gentlemen, I speak of incidents that I saw and with people with whom and whose employers I conversed. Sir, I do not want American goods to become so cheap that as my distinguished friend, the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means (Mr. Morrison), said we can sell to other people. God forbid that American labor shall ever be embodied in any production that shall be cheap enough to be sold at Halesowen, Lye, Lye-Waste, Cradley, and other manufacturing villages that surround Birmingham. (Applause.)

30,000 canal children untaught—Families crowded into cramped sleeping rooms.

"It will hardly be regarded as possible that other classes of British laborers are housed with less consideration than the facts I have presented indicate, but the London *Echo* of Monday, October 8, 1883, says: 'The paper read by Mr. George Smith of Coalville, before the Social Science Congress, on Saturday, gives a lamentable account of the condition of large numbers of canal children. Mr. Smith tells us that there are close upon 30,000 of these children of school age who never enter a school. Many of the cabins in which they live are so small that a man can neither stand upright, nor lie out straight on the bed on which he and his wife and his children have to lie.'

"A house in any of the villages referred to, as small or smaller than these, of similar construction, with three rooms, the lower one a living-room, parlor, kitchen, and sitting-room, with broken stone floor, and chambers above, furnishes sleeping accommodations to the parents, the sons and daughters, and their children, all of whom are thus crowded into two little sleeping-rooms.

"Yet it is of these sets of three apartments, contracted, dark, undrained, and unventilated, that those apostles of falsehood, Professor Sumner of Yale and Perry of Williams College, speak when they compare their rental with that of the homes of American artisans to prove the superior condition of the working people of Great Britain to that of those of the United States."

The terrible mysteries and miseries of London—British statements.

Representative Chace of Rhode Island, in his speech on the Morrison Tariff Bill, April, 1884, after stating that there is in England a standing army of 922,000 paupers and that in London alone there have been as many as 500,000 in a hard season, who have received outdoor aid, quotes from a pamphlet called "Outcast London," published in the fall of 1883, by the Congregational Union in London. That pamphlet says of these miserable people:

"Two cautions it is important to bear in mind. First, the information given does not refer to select cases. It simply reveals a state of things which is found in house after house, court after court, street after street. Secondly, there has been absolutely no exaggeration. It is a plain recital of plain facts. Indeed, no respectable printer would print, and certainly no decent family would admit even the driest statement of the horrors and infantries discovered in one brief visitation from house to house. So far from making the worst of our facts for the purpose of appealing to emotion, we have been compelled to tone down everything, and wholly to omit what most needs to be known, or the ears and eyes of our readers would have been insufferably outraged.

The condition in which they live.

"We do not say the condition of their homes, for how can those places be called homes, compared with which the lair of a wild beast would be a comfortable and healthy spot? Few who will read these pages have any conception of what these pestilential human rookeries are, where tens of thousands are

crowded together amidst horrors which call to mind what we have heard of the middle passage of the slave-ship. To get into them you have to penetrate courts reeking with poisonous and malodorous gases arising from accumulations of sewage and refuse scattered in all directions and often flowing beneath your feet; courts, many of them which the sun never penetrates, which are never visited by a breath of fresh air, and which rarely know the virtues of a drop of cleansing water. You have to ascend rotten staircases, which threaten to give way beneath every step, and which, in some places, have already broken down, leaving gaps that imperil the limbs and lives of the unwary. You have to grope your way along dark and filthy passages swarming with vermin. Then, if you are not driven back by the intolerable stench, you may gain admittance to the dens in which these thousands of beings who belong, as much as you, to the race for whom Christ died, herd together. Have you pitied the poor creatures who sleep under railway arches, in carts or casks, or under any shelter which they can find in the open air? You will see that they are to be envied in comparison with those whose lot it is to seek refuge here. Eight feet square—that is about the average size of very many of these rooms.

"Every room in these rotten and reeking tenement-houses a family, often two. In one cellar sanitary inspector reports finding a father, mother, three children, and four pigs! In another room a missionary found a man ill with small-pox, his wife just recovering from her eighth confinement, and the children running about half-naked and covered with dirt. Here are seven people living in one underground kitchen, and a little dead child lying in the same room. Elsewhere is a poor widow, her three children, and a child who had been dead thirteen days. Her husband, who was a cabinman, had shortly before committed suicide. Here lives a widow and her six children, including one daughter of 29, another of 21, and a son of 27. Another apartment contains father, mother, and six children, two of whom are ill with scarlet fever. In another, nine brothers and sisters, from 29 years of age downwards, live, eat, and sleep together. Here is a mother who turns her children into the street in the early evening because she lets her room for immoral purposes until long after midnight, when the poor little wretches creep back again if they have not found some miserable shelter elsewhere. Where there are beds they are simply heaps of dirty rags, shavings, or straw, but for the most part these miserable beings find rest only upon the filthy boards. The tenant of this room is a widow, who herself occupies the only bed, and lets the floor to a married couple for 2s. 6d. per week. In many cases matters are made worse by the unhealthy occupations followed by those who dwell in these habitations. Here you are choked as you enter by the air laden with particles of the superfluous fur pulled from the skins of rabbits, rats, dogs, and other animals in their preparation for the furrier. Here the smell of paste or of drying match-boxes mingling with other sickly odors, overpowers you; or it may be the fragrance of stale fish or vegetables, not sold on the previous day, and kept in the room overnight. Even when it is possible to do so the people seldom open their windows, but if they did it is questionable whether much would be gained, for the external is scarcely less heavily charged with poison than the atmosphere within."

Poverty.

"The poverty, we mean of those who try to live honestly; for notwithstanding the sickening revelations of immorality which have been disclosed to us, those who endeavor to earn their bread by honest work far outnumber the dishonest. And it is to their infinite credit that it should be so, considering that they are daily face to face with the contrast between their wretched earnings and those which are the produce of sin. A child 7 years old is known easily to make 10s. 6d. a week by thieving, but what can he earn by such work as match-box making, for which 2d. a gross is paid, the maker having to find his own fire for drying the boxes and his own paste and string? Before he can gain as much as the young thief he must make 56 gross of match-boxes

a week, or 1296 a day. It is needless to say that this is impossible, for even adults can rarely make more than an average of half that number. How long, then, must the little hands toil before they can earn the price of the scantiest meal. Women, for the work of trousers' finishing (i.e., sewing in linings, making button-holes, and stitching on the buttons), receive 2d. a pair, and have to find their own thread.

"We ask a woman who is making tweed trousers, how much she can earn in a day, and are told one shilling. But what does a day mean to this poor soul? Seventeen hours! From five in the morning to ten at night—no pause for meals. She eats her crust and drinks a little tea as she works, making in very truth with her needle and thread not her living only, but her shroud. For making men's shirts these women are paid 10d. a dozen; lawn-tenns aprons, 3d. a dozen; and babies' hoods, from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. a dozen. In St. George's-in-the-East large numbers of women and children, some of the latter only seven years old, are employed in sack-making, for which they get 1 farthing each. In one house was found a widow and her half-idiot daughter making pincushions at 1d. each. Here is a woman who has a sick husband and a little child to look after. She is employed at shirt-finishing at 3d. a dozen, and by the utmost effort can only earn 6d. a day, out of which she has to find her own thread. Another, with a crippled hand, maintains herself and a blind husband by match-box making, for which she is remunerated on the liberal scale mentioned above; and out of her 2d. a gross she has to pay a girl a penny a gross to help her. Others obtain at Covent Garden in the season 1d. or 2d. a peck for shelling peas, or 1d. a basket for walnuts; and they do well if their labor brings them 10d. or a shilling a day. With men it is comparatively speaking

"My master," says one man visited by a recent writer in the *Fortnightly Review*, "gets a pound for what he gives me 3s. for making." And this it is easy to believe, when we know that for a pair of fishing boots which will be sold at three guineas the poor workman receives 5s. 3d. if they are made to order, or 4s. 6d. if made for stock. An old tailor and his wife are employed in making policemen's overcoats. They have to make, finish, hot-press, put on the buttons, and find their own thread, and for all this they receive 2s. 10d. for each coat. This old couple work from half-past six in the morning until ten at night, and between them can just manage to make a coat in two days. Here is a mother who has taken away whatever articles of clothing she can strip from her four little children without leaving them absolutely naked. She has pawned them not for drink, but for coals and food. A shilling is all she can procure, and with this she has bought seven pounds of coals and a loaf of bread. We might fill page after page with these dreary details, but they would become sadly monotonous, for it is the same everywhere.

"Professor Huxley says that in his voyage around the world and in all his studies of savage life he found no people so miserable, wretched, and degraded as those who exist in the poorer quarters of London."

Further British testimony as to the degraded condition of the British laborer.

Mr. Chace gave further English testimony on the condition of labor in Great Britain and Ireland as follows:

"Lord Salisbury, the great Tory leader of Great Britain, one of the most prominent men in England, last fall published the following:

"Thousands of families have only a single room to live in. It is difficult to exaggerate the misery which such conditions of life must cause or the impulses which they must give to vice. Three schools were taken and the condition of the children was ascertained. They came from 1129 families. Of these 871 families had only one room to live in. In a majority of these cases the families living in one room contained five or more persons; in some cases as many as nine."

"In the Dublin *Freeman's Journal* the following advertisement appears:

"WANTED—Strong, humble girl to assist in minding children and go of messages; age, 15; 8 shillings per quarter. Apply at 59 Harcourt Street, 11 o'clock to 2, Monday."

"For minding the children and running on errands the 'strong, humble girl' will receive \$8 per year, or 67 cents a month. Happy land!"

"The Glasgow *Herald* last month stated that there are in the city of Glasgow 45,000 families each living in a single room. These are among the worst of the pictures in Great Britain."

"But there are millions upon millions of people employed in her industrial pursuits who fare but little better. In Manchester, in Oldham, in Birmingham, in Bradford, where these worsted goods are made to which I have referred, if a man (or woman) leaves his work or loses his place, hundreds are ready to step in. The wages they earn are but barely sufficient to support life. Their flagging energies are kept up by constant draughts of beer. There is but one great river in England, and that is not laid down in the map. It is a river of beer, running down the throats of her people, in which they drown their sorrows."

"The London *Times* says of the agricultural laborer in England: 'His condition is hopeless; once a peasant always a peasant.'

"Joseph Arch said: 'The agricultural laborers of England look with envy upon the beasts of burden.'"

Comfortless condition of the laboring classes in Manchester, England.

Mr. Robert Porter, late Secretary of the Tariff Commission, writes of the condition of the laboring classes in Manchester:

"Some of the houses had bare wooden floors, some had red brick floors, some had bare flagstones. Hardly one had a vestige of carpet. By far the largest proportion of the operatives live from hand to mouth, generally in one room, in which a few chairs, a deal table, a bedstead, four or five cups and saucers, a few dishes and plates, a wash-tub, a sauce-pan, and a kettle comprise the chief articles of furniture. Everything in many cases, including the sleeping and family washing, is done in the general room. An old shawl and a dirty print gown, and wooden shoes which clatter on the sidewalk, form their toilet."

The wretched working people of Dundee—They live in one and two-roomed "nurseries of disease."

Mr. Porter writes also of the spinning and weaving districts of Dundee:

"The wages are not over \$2.25 per week, and the best of the workingmen only live from hand to mouth and in squalid misery. In some districts the operatives live in houses totally unfit for human habitations; they are low one-story buildings with but one room on a floor and windows about two feet square. I actually found in some whole families living like animals on the bare ground, and in one the mother of a family lay dying literally of starvation! The children were poor, pinched, half-starved little creatures. I visited, says he, at least a dozen houses in this part of Dundee and found the inmates almost all in the same state of misery and want. In one district alone 50,000 operatives were receiving alms annually. They lived principally on bread."

The American consul at Dundee, Mr. Wells, in his report to the State Department of November, 1883, writes:

"The average wages of the working people in this town is for skilled artisans \$6.87 per week of 54 hours' work, in the case of ironworkers, and 51 hours for tradesmen connected with house-building. Laborers get \$4.75 per week of 57 hours. There are workmen that make more money weekly. For instance, iron shipbuilders, some of whom at piece-

work are paid from \$11 to \$15, and several others, such as boilermakers, who have about \$8.50. The earnings stated, however, as the average, are considered very near the mark. In the jute and linen works women in the spinning-mill departments make about \$2.50, and in the weaving factories \$3.50 of wages per week for 56 hours' labor. These working people on the whole are but poorly provided for in the way of house accommodation. There are in Dundee 6,320 houses of only one room each, in which there is a population of 23,670, and 18,187 houses of two rooms, into which are crowded 74,374 men, women and children. If to these be added the three-roomed houses with the people living in them, it shows that 118,000 of the 140,000 inhabitants of this community live in houses of one to three rooms. The rent per year of these houses, which are in flats, is, for a house of three rooms, including all taxes and convenience of water therein, but not upholding gas, \$77.50, and for one of two rooms, \$48. These houses are engaged for the year, and rents are payable half-yearly. Rents for single-roomed houses are from 60 to 75 cents per week and payable weekly. As shown, a large portion of the population of this manufacturing centre live in houses of one room and two rooms each, and especially upon these denizens the devastation of infectious diseases almost entirely falls. Statistics proving that amongst them nine-tenths of the deaths from fever in this town take place."

"Of the whole population this year 157 per 10,000 were attacked by infectious diseases, of whom rather more than 12 per 10,000 died. But among the population living in one and two rooms 183 persons per 10,000 were smitten, and rather more than 16 per 10,000 died, while among the whole of the rest of the population, including the people in the three-roomed houses, 101 per 10,000 were attacked, and only 4 per 10,000 died, showing clearly that the one and two-roomed houses are great nurseries of disease. Many of these single-roomed habitations are wretched in the extreme, containing little furniture, and occasionally are without even a bed. In some of these hovels five or six human beings are sheltered, with nothing to lie on but the floor, and covering themselves, when they have the opportunity, with jute burlaps, which they take in to make into hand-sewed bags. The sanitary authorities of this town do a great deal to cleanse and purify the entrances to, and vicinity of, these vile dens, so that they may be kept healthy, but without success, as they continually prove to be prolific sources of all sorts of contagion, which sometimes spreads with virulence throughout the whole community."

The miners' families of Lanarkshire, Scotland, "huddle" together in one room.

U. S. Vice-Consul Gibson, of Glasgow, in his last report to State Department, writes:

"I have ascertained that a great many of the miners' houses in Lanarkshire and the west of Scotland are of a very poor kind, and many of them have only one apartment. They are generally arranged either in confined squares or closely-built rows, and in some cases the people are literally huddled together in them. It is no uncommon thing to find a family of six or seven persons living together in one room, and who yet consider they have accommodations to spare for one or two lodgers."

PART II.

Report of the Parliamentary Commission on the Condition of Labor in England—Consular Reports as to Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.

A Parliamentary Commission in England a few years since brought out some terrible details of the condition to which the Eng-

lith coal miner is reduced. In the coal mines, men, women, and children of both sexes worked together in an almost nude condition! Says the report of that commission:

Terrible condition of the English coal miner.

"In the Lancashire coal fields, lying to the north and west of Manchester, females are regularly employed in underground labor, and the brutal conduct of the men and the abasement of the women are well described by some of the witnesses examined by them."

Peter Garkel, collier, testified that he

"Prefers women to boys as drawers; they are better to manage and keep time better; they will fight and shriek, and do everything but let anybody pass them."

Betty Harris, aged 37, a drawer in a coal pit, testified:

"I have a belt around my waist and a chain between my legs to the truck, and I go on my hands and feet; the road is very steep, and we have to hold by a rope, and when there is no rope, by anything we can catch hold of. There are six women and about six boys or girls in the pit I work in; it is very wet, and the water comes over our clog-tops always, and I have seen it up to my thighs; my clothes are always wet."

Patience Kershaw, aged 17, testified:

"I work in the clothes I now have on (trousers and ragged jacket); the bald place upon my head is made by thrusting the cones; the getters I work for are naked, except their caps; they pull off their clothes; all the men are naked."

Margaret Hibbs, aged 18, testified:

"My employment after reaching the wall-face is to fill my bagie or stye with two and a half or three hundred weight of coal; I then hook it on to my chain and drag it through the seam, which is from twenty-six to twenty-eight inches high, till I get to the main road, a good distance, probably two hundred to four hundred yards; the pavement I drag over is wet, and I am obliged at all times to crawl on my hands and feet with my bagie hung to the chain and ropes. It is sad, sweating, sore and fatiguing work, and frequently mains the women."

R. Bald, Government coal viewer, testified:

"In surveying the workings of an extensive colliery under ground, a married woman came forward groaning under an excessive weight of coals, trembling in every nerve, and almost unable to keep her knees from sinking under her. On coming up, she said, in a plaintive and melancholy voice, 'Oh, sir, this is sore, sore, sore work!'"

Said a Sub-Commissioner:

"It is almost incredible that human beings can submit to such employment—crawling on hands and knees, harnessed like horses, over soft, slushy floors, more difficult than dragging the same weight through our lowest sewers."

The United States consular reports of 1878 give the following details as to labor in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales:

In Ireland—Women laboring in fields—Miserable food.

"In a large number of cases the agricultural laborers of Ireland supplement their wages by the produce of small plots of ground attached to their cabins. As a general thing, a fair share of the field work is performed by women."—Official Report.

The consul at Cork says of the workman's food:

"The food is made up of a selection from tea, bread, oatmeal, potatoes, dried fish, and, among the poorer classes, a coarse Indian meal instead of oatmeal, at an average expense to each person of fourteen cents per day. The mechanic pays something more for his lodging, but in other respects his living is the same as the laborer."

The consul at Londonderry states that:

"The food of all laborers here is Indian meal (principally), oatmeal, potatoes, and bacon next. Tea may be said to be in universal use."

In Scotland—Women laborers—Mush, potatoes and milk—"Hard lines."

The consul at Leith reports:

"Some women employed by the day at field work get about twenty-four cents per day. . . . There is little variety in the food of the Scottish peasant; it is plain but substantial, consisting almost wholly of oatmeal in various forms, potatoes and milk, with a little meat and beer added in harvest. Strikes are of frequent occurrence in all trades, but as a rule they result in impoverishing the workman, who has in the end to return to his previous wage or accept the employer's terms."

In Wales—Women as bread-winners.

Consul Wirt Sikes reports from Cardiff, that—

" . . . The wives of laboring men here fill a more active place in the bread-winning scheme than women do in America. Many go off to their work as regularly as their husbands every morning of their lives. They are also very frequently the treasurers of their marital firm, and help to keep the weekly outlay for jollification as near the minimum as possible. Among the occupations followed by women in this district are some which I think women nowhere else in Great Britain engage in, such as letter-carriers (in lieu of postmen), mussel-diggers, oyster-peddlers, etc."

PART III.

Condition of Labor in Continental Europe.

From the consular reports on "Labor in Europe," made in 1878, to our State Department, the following items are taken representing the condition of labor then. It is hardly to be supposed that that condition has since improved in any marked degree.

Sad condition of the laborer in Germany.

"*Barmen.*—The condition of the laboring classes of the mining and iron industries is very distressing; the price of iron is so low that nothing can be earned, and coal is 40 per cent below the average of the last twenty-five years. Wages are reduced and many hands discharged. In this district it is at present difficult, if not impossible, for a workingman to earn more than enough for his individual support, and every member of the family must contribute to the general fund; hence, from their earliest years, each member is inured to incessant toil and privation."—*From the report of Consul Stanton.*

"*Bremen.*—In order to make life possible, at this rate, women in the country raise garden produce and work in the fields; in the towns they keep shops, peddle, wash, sew, etc."—*From the report of Consul King.*

"*Brunswick.*—With steady work and the assistance of each member of the household, the working-

man can 'make both ends meet.'"—*From the report of Consul Fox.*

"*Dresden.*—The laborers are really part and parcel of the estate. Wages in money are often merely nominal."—*Consul at Dresden.*

"*Leipsic.*—Females are largely employed in business houses, and a person travelling through the country receives the impression that all the work in the fields is done by women."—*From the report of Consul Stewart.*

"*Chemnitz.*—At the present time large numbers are unable to obtain employment; the country is full of tramps, both honest and vagabondish; and almost every dwelling in this city is visited daily by at least half a dozen beggars, although begging is prohibited by law. In this district (Saxony) labor is subdivided, giving one man's work to two, in order to employ the largest possible number. As the husband's earnings are not sufficient for the support of his family, the wife and older children must contribute their share of the weekly earnings. This is a general rule, and applies to all families whose support is dependent on labor."—*From the report of Consul Griggs.*

"*Frankfort-on-the-Main.*—The condition of the laborer is not enviable; his opportunities are few; luxuries are almost unknown to him; and he is even obliged to use frugally the necessities of life in order to live upon what he can earn. Butter and meat are luxuries. The American people would consider such a life bitterly hard and joyless."—*From the report of Consul-General Lee.*

"*Sonneberg.*—The workingman rarely eats meat at all in any other form than sausage, and his wife and children scarcely know its taste, so little do they get of it. There is poverty in superabundance in the workingman's home, often verging upon squalor; his children are generally barefooted, and his wife looks haggard and weary of her lot.

"It may be easily imagined from the foregoing figures, showing the wages of the laboring classes of Thuringia, that their daily fare is of the simplest sort, and that their life is, at best, a struggle for existence for themselves and families. Their principal food is rye-bread and potatoes."—*Consul at Sonneberg.*

"*Mannheim.*—The wages paid hardly cover the necessities of life; many seldom taste meat more than once a week."—*Consul at Mannheim.*

Condition of the laboring classes in Belgium, "an unceasing battle."

"... Their lives are continual struggles for meagre subsistence, and nothing but that spirit of patience, kindness, and fortitude which enables them to practise the severest economy makes it possible for them to subsist themselves and supply the necessities of life to their families. At the very best, the lot of the workingmen of Belgium is hard and unremitting toil, an unceasing battle with most adverse circumstances."—*Official Report.*

In France "the wife and children must also labor to make ends meet."

The Consul at Nice writes:

"The laboring man's food consists principally of Indian meal, vegetables, bread and wine. Meat he seldom eats.

"Not only must the (French) husband labor for the support of his family, but the wife and children must also labor for the general fund in order to make ends meet."—*Official Report.*

In Italy—Miserable fare—Meat only "on great festivals and holidays."

"*Genoa.*—The fare of the Italian laborer is usually very simple, consisting of bread, boiled chestnuts, mush and minestrone, a substantial soup made of vegetables, olive oil, and macaroni. This, with an occasional bottle of ordinary wine, a relish of stockfish or cheese, and, at rare intervals, on great festivals and holidays, a dinner of fresh meat, constitutes the homely fare of the Italian peasant."—*From the report of Consul Spencer.*

"*Rome.*—The ordinary laborer's fare is coarse bread and cheese and raw onions in the morning; at

midday, a substantial soup of vegetables and macaroni, with fat pork or olive oil, or a dish of polenta (mush); in the evening, bread and cheese, with onions or salad, as the case may be, sometimes varied with stockfish. On very rare occasions mutton or goat's meat and wine are indulged in."—*From the report of Consul-General McMillan.*

"*Turin.*—The agriculturist, both farmer and laborer, lives very economically, hardly knows what fresh meat is, except half a dozen times a year, on State and church festivals. Sometimes he eats a little sausage, but his daily food consists of corn meal mush, rice-bread, soups of wheat-flour paste, rice, and sometimes a little lard in the soup by way of luxury, cheese, greens and chestnuts in their season."—*From the report of Consul Noble.*

"*Messina.*—The laboring classes are frugal and industrious. Contented with little, and living on what our workmen would despise, there is very little destitution among them."—*From the report of Consul Owen.*

In Switzerland—Pernicious anæmia common among the poor.

Representative Kelley of Pennsylvania, in his speech in the House (1884) on the Morison Tariff Bill, said:

"In a recent letter from Zurich, my daughter, Miss Florence Kelley, says: 'Our countryman, Dr. [redacted], informed us last evening, that though for fifteen years he had been official physician to the poor in some of the worst wards of New York, he had never seen in America a case of pernicious anæmia—which is the shrinking and decay of the bones of a human being as the result of insufficient food during childhood and youth—a disease which when it has once attacked the system, cannot be eradicated by any diet that may subsequently be taken. 'Unfamiliar as this disease is at home,' said the doctor, 'it is so common here that the frequent cases exposed at the clinics attract no special attention.'"

"Are our Democratic associates in their mad pursuit of cheap goods willing to add pernicious anæmia to the list of diseases with which our working people are already familiar?"

In the Netherlands—Fresh meat a luxury—Hard work to live.

The Consul at Rotterdam, speaking of the food of Dutch laborers, says:

"Meat, excepting sausage and chipped beef, is regarded by the mechanic and laboring man as a luxury, and is rarely indulged in. Bread, rice, fish, potatoes and other vegetables, constitute the staple articles of food for the laboring classes of the Netherlands. . . . With all his patient frugality and practised economy, the Dutch working man has all he can do to maintain himself and family."

In Spain—Rarity of meat—A miserable mess to live on!

The Consul at Barcelona reports that:

"The Catalonia working people live mostly on greens, beans, potatoes, onions, garlic, codfish (dried), and wine. . . . Boots or shoes are very seldom seen worn by laborers (men), the sandal (made of twine or grass) being the common foot cover."

The Consul at Cadiz says:

"The farm laborers of Andalusia, fed by their employers, are allowed daily three pounds of bread, some oil, and a little vinegar. A portion of the bread is set aside, with the oil and vinegar, to form the two meals of the *gaspacho* served to the farm hands. It consists of bread soaked in water, to which the oil and vinegar are added. It is served hot in winter and cold in summer. Any additions, generally of vegetables, are supplied by the laborer at his

own cost. This cheap ration is generally adopted by the working classes that pay their own board."

The Consul at Malaga says:

" . . . The laborer in the south of Spain is the most frugal of beings. He rarely or never eats meat.

Indeed, it would be impossible for him to do so and live on his earnings, as meat is extremely dear; common fresh meat being worth twenty cents and beef-steak thirty cents per pound. The laborer here generally subsists on fish, rice, beans and other vegetables. . . .

CHAPTER VII.

Democratic Free-Trade Tariff-Duplicity.

PART I.

General Butler's Minority Platform offered in the Democratic National Convention—The Vote by which it was Rejected.

In the Democratic National Convention held at Chicago, Ill., 1884, on the evening of the 10th of July, Mr. William R. Morrison of Illinois, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the present Democratic House of Representatives and the author of the Morrison 25 per cent horizontal tariff reduction bill, which was so ignominiously slaughtered by Republican votes, aided by a few Democrats, reported from the Committee on Resolutions the platform which will be found in the chapter entitled "National Platforms." General Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts, a delegate to this convention and a member of the Committee on Resolutions, submitted the following minority substitute for the platform recommended by the majority of the committee:*

"Resolved, That no taxes, direct or indirect, can be rightfully imposed upon the people except to meet the expenses of an economically administered Government; to bring taxation down to this point is true administrative revenue reform.

"Resolved, That the people will tolerate direct taxation for the ordinary expenses of the Government only in case of dire necessity or war.

"Resolved, Therefore, That the revenue necessary for such expenses should be raised by customs duties upon imports after the manner of our fathers.

"Resolved, That in levying such duties two principles should be carefully observed. First, that all materials used in the arts and manufactures and the necessities of life not produced in this country shall come in free, and that all articles of luxury should be taxed as high as possible up to the collection point; second, that in imposing customs duties the law must be carefully adjusted to promote American enterprise and industries, not to create monopolies, and to cherish and foster American labor.

"Faithful industry is the basis on which the whole fabric of civilization rests under our system.

Toilers are producers. The mass of the people are the governing power. Being the true Democracy, they demand the fullest consideration of measures for their education, their advancement, and their protection. Labor and capital are allies, not enemies. No contention can arise between them if each has done its duty to the other. Under the existing law, State and National, all such controversies can only be settled by brute force—capital starving labor and labor despoiling capital, the contention ending in the crippling or ruining of both. But capital is strong; labor is weak; therefore, labor has a right to demand of the Government to establish tribunals in which these great controversies, which may lead to revolution, may be judicially and justly determined with the fullest power to enforce their decrees; to provide by law that laboring men may combine and organize for their own protection as capital may be incorporated and combined for its protection, and that all devices, either by contract or terrorism or otherwise, to obstruct and set aside this right in laboring men are oppressive and in derogation of the rights of an American freeman, and should be made penal by law.

"All the great woes upon our country have come because of imported labor. Our fathers made this land the home of the free for all men appreciating our institutions, with energy enough to bring themselves here, and such we welcome. But our country ought never to be a lazaretto for the deportation of the pauper labor of other countries through Government aid, or the importation of the same kind of labor as an instrument with which capital can despoil American working men and women from the proud position they now occupy, by competing with them by imported or convict labor, while at the same time capital asks and receives protection of its interests at the hands of the Government under guise of providing for American labor. This evil, like all others that find birth in the cupidity and selfishness of men, labor demands should be redressed by law. Labor has a right to demand a just share of the profits of its own production.

"The future of our country unites with the laboring men in the demand for the liberal support by the United States of the school system of the States for the common-school education of all the children, the same affording a sufficient foundation for the coming generations to acquire due knowledge of their duties as citizens.

"Monopoly.—That every species of monopoly engenders two classes, the very rich and the very poor, both of which are equally hurtful to a Republic, which should give to its people equal rights and equal privilege under the law.

"Resolved, That the public lands of the United States were the equal heritage of all its citizens, and should have been held open to the use of all in such quantities only as are needed for cultivation and improvement by all. Therefore, we view with alarm the absorption of those lands by corporations and individuals in large areas—some of them more than equal to princely domains—and demand of Congress to apply appropriate remedies with a

* For which see chapter entitled "National Platforms."

stern hand, so that the lands of the people may be held by the many and not by the few.

Resolved, That the public lands of the Nation are held by the Government in trust for those who make their homes in the United States and who mean to become citizens of the Republic, and we protest against the purchase and monopolization of these lands by corporations and the alien aristocracy of Europe.

Resolved, That all corporate bodies created either in the States or Nation for the purpose of performing duties are public servants, and to be regulated in all their actions by the same power that created them at its own will, and that it is within the power and is the duty of the creator to so govern its creatures that by its acts it shall become neither a monopoly nor a burden upon the people, but be their servant and convenience, which is the true test of its usefulness. Therefore, we call upon Congress to exercise great constitutional power for regulating inter-State commerce; to provide that by no contrivance whatever under forms of law or otherwise shall discriminating rates and charges for the transportation of freight and travel be made in favor of the few against the many, or enhance the rates of transportation between the producer and the consumer.

The civil service.—The various offices of the Government belong to the people thereof, and who rightfully demand to exercise and fill the same whenever they are fitted by capacity, integrity, and energy the last two qualifications never to be tested by any scholastic examination. We hold that frequent changes of Federal officials are shown to be necessary, first, to counteract the growing aristocratic tendencies to a caste of life offices; second, experience having shown that all investigation is useless while the incumbent and his associates hold their places. Frequent change of officers is necessary to the discovery and punishment of frauds, speculations, defalcations, and embezzlements of the public money.

Resolved, That we adhere to and affirm the doctrine enunciated and established by Jackson, that the Government alone has the power to establish and issue money for the people; that the issue of the legal-tender note, made by the Government as a method of borrowing money to carry on the war in the exercise of a constitutional power, has become the fixed currency of the United States, equal to coined gold and silver; that neither policy nor duty calls for any meddling with it."

It is scarcely necessary to state that the Democratic National Convention contemptuously rejected the minority report of General Butler—the vote, upon a call of States, being 97½ yeas to 71½ nays—and then adopted the majority platform, without a division.

PART II.

General Butler's Speech in Favor of his Minority Resolutions—His Solemn Warning to the Democratic Convention—His Exposition of Democratic Duplicity.

That the Democratic National Convention in so acting, and adopting their Janus-faced tariff—“*for public purposes exclusively*” platform, did it with deliberation and in defiance of General Butler's solemn warning, can be seen from the following speech made by him to the Convention before the contemptuous vote alluded to was taken:

“Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention: I appear before you with great diffidence, having to differ from the very able committee of which I was an associate. Many and most things in the platform I agree to. You have heard the various propositions read which I have submitted and which are not agreed to. I shall speak here now, in the time permitted to me, of but one where there is the greatest and most radical difference between the two platforms; and it is all comprised in a single sentence. Everything else was agreed to. We both agreed that there is no constitutional power in the government to raise a dollar of taxes beyond the necessary expenses of an economical and honest administration. [Applause.] We all agreed that those must be raised by taxation from custom revenue after the manner of our fathers. We agreed that the material used in the arts and the necessities of life not produced in this country must be untaxed. Where we differed was in this: I claim that in raising that revenue it was the duty of the Government so to adjust the laws as to best promote American enterprise and foster and cherish American labor. [Applause.] Think of it a moment. A Democratic committee refusing, when they must raise taxes, to raise them in such a manner as best to sustain their own laboring men. [Applause.] Will that do? Are you ready to go into a contest with our opponents with such a platform?

“I come here as no mendicant, no beggar. I come here representing more than 1,500,000 of laboring men. [Great applause.] I have brought their condition before this Convention. I demand not that you should give them anything, but when you are taking from the people you take only where it will hurt them least. Is that an unreasonable demand? Do you think you can get along without them? I do not; and I therefore brought them here as your allies, if you receive them. I object to the tariff plank of the platform adopted by your committee, for it took them thirty-six hours to frame it—[laughter]—and if it took those able gentlemen that time to frame it and get it in form there must be some reason for it. And if they could not find out what they meant in thirty-six hours, how are my laboring men to find out what it means? [Laughter.] The tariff plank of the platform should be so that he who runs may read. [Applause.] The difficulty was there was a radical difference between us; a difference of principle. The very able chairman of your committee, Colonel Morrison, for whom I have the very highest respect—[applause]—because he believes there should be no such thing as protection of American labor by revenue taxation; indeed, I think he believes that it cannot be done, and I believe there should be such protection, such fostering, such cherishing. He could not yield his convictions. I could not yield mine, and therefore our associates upon the committee had to spend all that time to say something which would say one thing and mean another thing in another way.

“And now I reach the platform. Read that tariff plank and there see if you can find out what it does mean. [Applause.] But it does not mean protection. If it did, Colonel Morrison is too honest a man to bring it here. And yet it is twisted so that it might mean protection.

“Democrats, in the Convention you passed a tariff plank in 1876, tariff for revenue only, and you had a statesman upon it that could carry any platform on his back, and yet when in 1876 you had tariff for revenue only it broke the back of the most gallant soldier of this country, and you lost; and now you have got a tariff for public purposes exclusively. What is the difference? ‘*Exclusively*’ means ‘only.’ ‘*Only*’ means ‘*exclusively*.’ Think it over. This is no boy's play. The success of the campaign, in my opinion, before God, depends upon the question this night to be settled here and now. If you once say to the workingmen of New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts that you mean protection to their interests where you can, and say that with no certain sound, God help you, for I can't. Your platform says that you want to cut down taxes so you can protect workingmen, and you say they must not be cut down below that. What are you going to do if you do not cut them down? You say nowhere in your platform that you will not discriminate in favor of

the workingmen and women of this country, who are the true Democracy of the country. You may say—my very good friend, Colonel Morrison, will say to you that he does not believe that protecting labor is fostering and cherishing labor. I do not use the word protection, because I do not want to fling a retort to the bill—for I do not believe that. For more than fifty years the Democratic Party has told the working men of the country, ever since Andrew Jackson in 1832 declared in favor of judicious tariff, that a tariff did afford protection to them, and they believed it. They have taught it to their children and their children's children. And they are to vote, and not you. You can't unteach them in a single campaign, unless you get the chairman of the sub-committee who drew the platform, the gentleman from New York, to go into every school district in this country and explain it. I speak in the interest, therefore, of the Democracy. I speak for your success, and it is for you to say whether you will grasp that success when it is laid down to your hand.

"I do not intend to ask a vote upon any resolution but this tariff resolution, and I desire to accept the tariff resolution as an amendment instead of the resolution which you have heard read. It was passed through our committee by the cry: 'Oh, we must sustain the sub-committee.' I said: Then I will appeal to the Convention, for they have got to sustain the Democracy of the country; and therefore am I here. I desire to call your attention to one or two other of the planks which I will not submit to the Convention, for I know you are anxious to get through with your duties and go home. The first is, I want to call your attention to the difference of planks about currency. I affirm the doctrine of Andrew Jackson—[applause]—that the Government alone can issue money, and I would rather be wrong with Jackson than right with your committee. [Cries of 'Time,' and 'Go ahead.']

"I then affirm another proposition, which is that the legal tender currency which fought your battles and saved the life of your nation, paid your soldiers' wages and the pension of their wives and children, and freed 400,000 of slaves, declared to be constitutional currency of the country by the Supreme Court in solemn judgment, eight to one, not eight to seven—[applause and laughter]—yes, the currency of the people is as good as gold and better than silver—[applause]—and that being so established by the highest tribunal in the land, I do not desire, when wheat is only worth 86 cents a bushel in Chicago, to disturb finances and business by getting up a currency discussion, and, therefore, I say, 'Let well enough alone.' [Applause.] What is the answer? I represent many Greenback men, good and true Greenback men like Allen G. Thurman. [Laughter and applause and cries of 'Time.'] He can answer to every shibboleth of the Democracy besides, and those men are willing to come with you to root out corruption and wrong from the Government if you will have them.

"How do you receive them? By a plank drawn by a capitalist that commences: 'We are in favor of honest money.' Well, who is it? Trot him out if there is any such man. No, it is a phrase of contempt upon the Greenback men of this nation. It is a phrase, not original, so he cannot get a patent for it, but ripped from the seat of the pants of my old friends, the Republicans. Why don't they say 'rag baby'? Why don't he get some other insulting epithet for the Greenback men?

"Think of it a moment. There are a hundred districts in Congress where the change of five hundred men one way or the other will change the incumbent of the seat, and there are more than three quarters of a million of Greenbacks, honest and true, who knew what they were about when you did not. [Applause.] They advocated the greenback when everybody and all the lawyers were crying out it was unconstitutional, and now the highest courts have decided they were right, that Thurman was right, the Greenbackers were right; that the farming Greenbackers were better lawyers than your kid-gloved gentlemen of the bar who cried out for honest money. [Cries of 'Time.'] If any man says—[cries of 'Time']—that he wants gold and silver, he it is; but let us enjoy the paper currency which has now become a fixed fact—let us stop all agitation.

"There is one other plank in the platform to which I do not agree. There are many times—I believe something like twenty; fifteen would be enough—you repeat in your platform how much you love labor. But you haven't made any specific proposition but one in their favor, and that is laid with a protection of capital. There is another trouble. You start off in your platform in one point—you state you are for civil service reform. Now, I will venture to say there is not a man in this convention that is in favor of civil service reform unless he is a schoolmaster. [Laughter and cries of 'Time.']) One of the first statesmen of Ohio, and one who had a right to be brought here with pride by his delegation and put before you for your suffrage, an able and learned man, got carried away by the doctrinaire and started one of those civil service reforms, and it buried him so far out of sight of the Ohio Democracy that he has never been heard since. [Laughter.] What is this civil service reform? It is to give a man the preference who shall appear to have the most learning. He signs a paper containing questions, and if he can answer the questions he is said to be selected. Now what I want is that men from the people, earnest men of capacity and integrity, have the offices, and you cannot learn that by any schoolmaster's examination.

"Whose portrait is this above my head? The portrait of General Washington, and he could not have passed an examination for clerk. (Cries of 'Time' and hisses.)

"The Chairman—Order, order."

"General Butler—Let me repeat, George Washington could not have passed a civil service examination in the method named for a \$1200 clerkship. His early education was neglected, and in his will, written by those hands, he spells 'clothes' 'c-l-o-u-t-h-s.' [Laughter and cries of 'Time' and hisses and 'Go on.']) Therefore I have said that the offices belong to the people, and there ought to be frequent change of office in order to look over the books to see who are the defaulters, and they all want to be turned out, or else when you try to punish them they will protect one another as they did in the Star route trials. (Laughter.)

"Again, I want frequent change of offices in order to counteract the great tendency of these times to cast about for aristocratic life offices. If an office is a good thing, then I want all the people to have a chance at it. (Laughter.) If it is a bad thing, it is too hard to put it on a poor fellow for his whole life. (Laughter.) In the closing moments of the time permitted to me I want to call attention back to the main thing, because all these other matters are matters of very slight consequence in comparison. Bring your mind once more to this tariff platform. Tell the working men and women of this country to-night whether we will or will not protect their—no, not protect, but to cherish and foster, like a mother her child, the laboring men and women of the country. Tell them that, and you will sweep the country. Refuse to tell them that and they, sorrowful that the Democratic Party have deserted them, will go their way sadly to the workshop and remain there on election day. (Cries of 'Time.')

"Now my friends, I shall ask a call of States on the substitution of my tariff plank of the platform. There may be objections. There are free-trade notions against protection. Theoretically, I'm a free-trader myself. (Applause.) Practically, while you have got \$200,000,000 a year to raise by custom duties there is no such thing as free trade. Therefore, so long as we raise this money, so long see to it that you cherish and foster in doing it American industry, and take care of American men and women laboring for their support. And let me say to you if you do that the Democracy shall go on, the country prospering under their rule from year to year, from Presidential election to Presidential election, until the old time of the Democracy shall come back again when they held the country for more than a generation of men." (Great applause.)

* General Butler's letter of acceptance also lays bare the two-faced hypocrisy of the National Democracy on the tariff question. See chapter entitled "Letters of Acceptance."

CHAPTER VIII.

Education—Free Schools.

“Common schools fostered and protected.”—National Democratic Platform, 1880.
“We favor . . . the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.”—National Democratic Platform, 1884.

PART I.

Professions and Practices of the Two Great Parties—Democracy Tramples upon the Poor Man and his Child—Republicanism Educates and Elevates Them—The Record.

In 1880 the Democratic national platform contained this plank:

“Common schools fostered and protected.”

In 1880 the Republican national platform contained this plank:

“The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the national Government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional ability. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several States, and the destiny of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one State, but by the average genius of all.”

In 1884 the Democratic national platform contained this plank:

“We favor . . . the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.”

In 1884 the Republican national platform contained this plank:

“We favor . . . a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriations from the national revenue wherever the same is needed.”

These are the “professions” of the two great parties. An inquiry into their “practices” will prove instructive reading to the masses.

Free schools destructive of Southern “aristocracy”—Hence the Bourbons hate, cripple, and destroy them.

We have already seen that the Republican Party was born in a fight to liberate *owned* labor—slave labor—from the fierce clutch of the Democratic labor owners. From that

day to this it has been the friend and benefactor of the farmer, the artisan, the mechanic, the laborer. Pledged to that friendship at its baptism, it has devoted its life to fostering our industries of all kinds for the benefit and protection of the workingman in every condition of working life—paying regard not alone to his material but to his intellectual improvement—insuring him a comfortable living, high wages, and a *free education*. What, on the other hand, has been the record of the Democratic Party? During the past half century its every thought has been how to hold on to slavery, or to perpetuate it by peonage, and degrade honest toilers, white or black, to the condition of serfs. The “glorious aristocracy” of the South, as Hammond, of South Carolina once termed it, still believe in the sentiments uttered by Pickens in 1836, that—“All society settles down into Capitalists and Laborers, the FORMER will OWN the LATTER, either collectively through the Government, or individually in a state of domestic servitude, as exists in the Southern States of this confederacy. THE ONLY CONTEST IN THE WORLD IS BETWEEN THE TWO SYSTEMS”—and, thus believing, this “glorious aristocracy,” which masks itself under the name of “Democracy,” is determined to be the “upper dog in the fight.” While, therefore, the Republican Party is ever striving to give and secure to the masses—to the laboring man—that free education which will make him any man’s equal, and which is the very foundation of our free Republican institutions, the Democratic Party *renously hates the free schools* and does all that it can to cripple and destroy them wherever it has secured undisputed sway. Before the rebellion the term “free schools” was one of derision in the South. Since the Bourbon Democracy have usurped the governments of the South by terrorism and fraud they term them “pauper schools,” and hamper them in every way, because in the spread of ignorance lies their only hope of perpetuated power.

Comparative Illiteracy of Democratic and Republican States as per census of 1870.

Compare the condition of the Democratic States with the Republican States if you would see what Democracy denies to her poor whites and blacks, and what Republicanism does for the honored laborer, upon whom she showers benefactions. Take the census of 1870, and you will find that of the States which in 1876 voted for the Democratic Tilden, containing a population of 19,764,292, there were 3,257,683 persons who could not read and 3,973,611 persons who could not write; while of the States which for the Republican Hayes, containing a population of 18,391,213, there were only 1,186,820 unable to read and 1,575,700 unable to write! Coming down three years later, when the Congress of confederate brigadiers existed (when the education-loving States of Indiana, Oregon, and Ohio were for the moment classed as Democratic), it is found that the Democratic States, with a population of 18,314,435, had 3,722,388 persons unable to read, while the Republican States, with a population of 19,841,070, had but 722,115 unable to read!

Census of 1880—A further comparison of percentages—Some startling figures.

Examine this a little further. Take the census of 1880 and the last Presidential vote, and compare the percentages of illiteracy among voters of the Republican and Democratic States, as follows:

States voting for Garfield.—Colorado, 4 per cent of illiteracy; Connecticut, 5½; Illinois, 6; Indiana, 7½; Iowa, 4; Kansas, 5½; Maine, 4½; Massachusetts, 6; Michigan, 6; Minnesota, 6; Nebraska, 3; New Hampshire, 5; New York, 5½; Ohio, 5½; Oregon, 7; Pennsylvania, 6½; Rhode Island, 10; Vermont, 7; Wisconsin, 6—or, in other words, a mean average of less than 6 illiterates in every 100 voters in the 19 Republican States.

States voting for Hancock.—Alabama, 46½ per cent of illiteracy; Arkansas, 30; California, 9; Delaware, 17½; Florida, 38½; Georgia, 45; Kentucky, 25; Louisiana, 47; Maryland, 19½; Mississippi, 40½; Missouri, 11; Nevada, 7½; New Jersey, 6; North Carolina, 42; South Carolina, 52; Tennessee, 32; Texas, 24; Virginia, 39; West Virginia, 10—or a mean average of over 29 illiterates in every 100 voters in the 19 Democratic States.

California, Nevada, and New Jersey would have given their votes for Garfield but for the infamous Democratic forgery of "the Morey letter." Transpose these to their proper place in the Garfield column and it will be found that the Republican States showed less than six illiterate voters in each one hundred, while the Democratic States showed over thirty-three illiterate voters in each one hundred!

Does not this show, plainer than the nose on one's face, that the Republican Party educates the workingman in its free schools, while the Democratic Party holds him down and saturates him with ignorance? But this is only one point in the chain of proof.

Before the war—The improvement since owing to Republican efforts.

Prior to the war of the rebellion there were about 4,000,000 slaves in the country—as per census of 1860—all of whom may be set down as "illiterate." There were also in the old slave States about 8,000,000 whites, of whom much the larger proportion were laborers, or what were called by the Democracy "white trash"—just as they called their brother laborers of the North "mudsills"—and of these it is far within the bounds of truth to account 3,000,000 illiterate. At that time, then, before Republicans had touched these Democratic States, out of a population of 12,000,000 over 7,000,000 were illiterate, or a percentage of over 58 in every 100! That the percentage of illiteracy in those States has been reduced since the war to 29 in every 100 is due to the Republican Party and those who unite with it in antagonizing those Bourbon Democratic methods among which stands prominently the throttling of education and the encouragement of that degree of general ignorance which will enable the few educated Democratic aristocrats to rule with a rod of iron the laboring masses. Even in the matter of higher education the story is still the same. The Agricultural College bill of 1859 was vetoed by a Democratic President. The same bill was passed by a Republican Congress and signed by a Republican President in 1862. And the colleges thus established in most of the Southern States, supplemented by the munificent gifts of Peabody, Vanderbilt, and other Northern philanthropists, have been almost the sole hope of those States since the war for a higher education.

The Northern missionary teachers—Bourbon maltreatment of them—\$5,211,000, Northern dollars, given for Southern free schools.

Who does not remember the devoted men and women of the North who followed the track of our armies through the old slave States, distributed themselves everywhere as missionaries of education to the poor ignorant whites and blacks of those benighted regions? Millions of dollars, raised by the philanthropists of the Union, were profitably expended by these self-sacrificing teachers; and what was their reward at the hands of the Bourbon Democracy? *Insult, social ostracism, and even personal violence!* The schools thus established were fostered and maintained by the Republican Government for years, in spite of every conceivable Democratic opposition, at an expense of \$5,211,000, through the agency of the Freedman's Bureau. It was a cardinal principle with the Republican Party, as shown by its platforms, public utterances, and public acts, that the public school must everywhere be maintained.

PART II.

Education in Delaware, Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Louisiana, and Virginia—Free Schools Hampered and Crippled by Bourbon Democracy all along the Line.

Everybody knows how nobly endowed and supported are the free schools of all the old free States. There, education is rightfully considered to be the chief corner-stone of the Republic—as by education alone can the free citizen of this Nation properly understand his rights and cast an intelligent ballot. Turn however to the old slave States, and what do we find?

What the Democratic States of Delaware and Kentucky have done for poor white and colored children.

All the old slave States, except Delaware, Kentucky, and Maryland, after the rebellion was crushed resumed their places in the Union with constitutions which, under Republican auspices, provided for *free schools for all*. Delaware, on the other hand, in 1868 provided that "the school shall be free to all *white children* of the district," and in 1875 that *the revenue derived from a tax on the property of colored men may be used for the education of colored children*, to be administered not by the public educational officers, but through a so-called voluntary freedman's association which was endeavoring from its own funds to educate the freed blacks. More recently a small appropriation (\$2,000) has been appropriated for the education of the colored people, to be distributed in the same way. Kentucky has substantially the same provisions for the education of colored children, with the addition of a few fines and forfeitures to the fund, but making no State appropriation for it.

Alabama free schools—How the Republicans established and the Democrats crippled them.

The free-school system established in the reconstructed Southern States by the Republican party was hated by the Bourbons, scoffed at as a "Yankee importation," and denounced as a "monstrous evil," and almost invariably *the return of the Bourbon Democracy to power in any State was the signal for abolishing free schools altogether or for crippling their usefulness*, and it is only to the gradual uprising of Republican and anti-Bourbon ideas that the increasing favor with which free schools are regarded in the South is due. Take Alabama for instance. The Republican constitution of that State (abolished by the Bourbons when they usurped the power in 1875) required that one fifth of the annual revenues of the State be set aside for educational purposes; and under Republican control the State paid 8 per cent inter-

est to those townships whose lands were sold under the sixteenth section, appropriation made by the ordinance of 1787. The Democrats, however, in gaining control not only reduced this interest from 8 to 4 per cent—a reduction to the common school fund of \$73,491.66—but cut down the interest on the surplus revenue funds given to the State by the act of 1836, which had also been added to the school fund. The University fund, and the mechanical and agricultural fund—beneficial only to the higher classes—continued to receive their 8 per cent. Democratic antagonism was not directed against these; it sought only to keep in ignorance the masses, the poor laborers, whether black or white.

Mississippi free schools—Built up by the Republicans, pulled down by the Democrats.

Again, take the State of Mississippi. The first free-school law enacted in this State was passed by Republicans in 1870, despite the solid vote of the Democratic members of the legislature against it. The Chickasaw fund—created by the sale of Chickasaw lands, and dedicated by the general Government to school purposes in the State—amounting to \$850,000, had been loaned by Democratic legislation to corporations and lost. Less than one sixth of the sixteenth section fund was left available for school purposes; but with this small beginning—despite the bitterest opposition of the Democratic press and people throughout the State, despite mob violence, the burning of more than fifty school houses and churches used as schools—the free-school system was established, free-schools multiplied, and in 1874 \$492,500 were expended upon them. But in 1876, the "Mississippi plan" having done its work of terrorizing, the Democrats regained control of the State. What followed? The county superintendence of schools, upon which the system depended, was indirectly abolished; the expenditure for schools was reduced from \$500,000 to \$150,000 derived from a tax on liquor sales, fines, etc., and a fictitious "surplus remainder," which it was well known would not exist. The Republican free-school system—the "Yankee invention"—was cut down and crippled.

Texas free schools—Grandly endowed by the Republicans—Utterly destroyed by the Democrats—The free schools of Louisiana.

Take also the State of Texas. Upon entering the Union that State was allowed to retain control of all her public lands. In 1870 she was reconstructed, and under a Republican State administration. Here again, after a desperate struggle with the Democracy, a system of free common schools was established. Its constitution required that all the public lands and one fourth of the entire revenue of the State be devoted to common schools. In 1872-3 the expendi-

tures for this purpose reached \$1,217,101.48 and a fund of \$2,585,279 had been created. But in 1873 the State fell into the hands of the school-blighting Bourbons. The constitution was amended and the school laws abrogated. The trust fund for schools, which had been invested in United States bonds, was converted into depreciated State bonds, and the money used to pay expenses of the constitutional convention and the salary and travelling expenses of a Democratic legislature which gave 30,000,000 acres of the school lands to the Texas Pacific Railroad. Said a prominent Texas gentleman in 1876: "The present law, as administered, does not provide any public schools. Alternate sections of land are set apart for schools, but no money is received from their sale. No money derived from taxation is devoted to this purpose. I know of no free schools in the State." What is true as to Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas is substantially true as to the other Southern States. It was but in 1882 that the Democratic legislature of Louisiana so far diverted its school funds that, outside of the city of New Orleans, only \$16,000 were available for the common schools of the State for the past two years.

Virginia free schools—The Bourbon Democracy "spit upon and trample" them—The "Readjusters" or "Liberals" foster and provide for them.

Take also the State of Virginia under Bourbon Democratic rule. In a speech at Alexandria, Va., Aug. 17, 1882, U. S. Senator Riddleberger said:

"Then comes the question of education. It is hardly necessary to go into this subject at length, or for me to recite that under Bourbon rule, down to 1879, the schools had received but \$323,000, and their number had been reduced to 2379. Under the Readjusters the schools have received \$1,400,000, and their numbers have increased to upward of 5,400. The first work of the Readjusters was to return \$1,100,000. No, gentlemen, you who are opposed to this system in Virginia, I say to you it is best to educate the negro, even for the sake of the grand old Commonwealth, that every man may be able to vote freely and intelligently, and according to dictates of his own conscience. The talk of Democratic orators to the negro voters reminds me of that dainty old crow, who, sitting upon a limb with a piece of cheese in her mouth, was spied by a hungry fox, who proceeded to flatter her upon several minor points, and finally induced her to attempt to sing, when the coveted morsel fell and was snapped up at once. The old crow sat there, and she was just as black, just as much of a crow, as she was before. She was deluded. No man but he who believes in total irresponsibility can refuse to educate every man capable of receiving it who possesses the basis of an immortal soul. Now, fellow-citizens, that is the kind of free-school man that I am and the kind of free-school platform the Readjuster Party of Virginia has."

So, also, in a speech about the same time at Williamsburg, Va., Attorney-General Blair, of Virginia, showed that under the administration of the Liberal Party since the first day of January, 1880, the taxes of the people had been reduced from fifty cents to forty cents on the \$100 worth of property, and had placed the public schools of the

State on a permanent basis by restoring to them \$100,000 which had been wrested from the school fund by the Bourbons, and the insane asylums at Staunton and Williamsburg for the whites and at Richmond for the colored were promptly furnished the proper and necessary appropriations; that when this party came into power there were three hundred insane persons confined like criminals in the jails of the State. They are now provided for as humanity would dictate. He traced the principal public troubles and difficulties to the infamous McCullough bill, which virtually turned over to a syndicate the management and control of the Virginia revenues, and that the coupon feature had well nigh annihilated the school fund. He reminded the audience that the Bourbons had refused to set apart the pittance of ten cents on the \$100 for schools, and that Governor Halladay called them "a luxury that the common people should not enjoy." He stated that ex-Attorney-General R. T. Daniel had said that "If ever there is a chance to render nugatory the infamous free-school clause of the Constitution of Virginia, my vote shall not be wanting." That ex-Senator Withers on another occasion said: "There still remains the infamous free-school clause under which a regiment of Yankees and carpet-buggers will be sent down to educate the children of the State at the expense of the property-holders. I spit upon that provision and trample it under my feet!" He made these references to show the hostility of the Bourbon leaders to free education, and advocated a free ballot and a fair count. He showed that the success of the Liberals in Virginia meant peace, prosperity, and happiness for the people and the burial for all time of the bitter memories of past strife and a perfect union of the hearts and hands of the Nation.

PART III.

How Free Schools are regarded in the North — What Presidents Grant, Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur said of them—Attitude of Mr. Blaine and General Logan.

Turning now to the North and Northern statesmen, let us see how differently free schools are there regarded:

Grant, Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur in behalf of free schools for all free men.

It was General Grant who said in his address to the Army of the Tennessee:

"The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us as a free nation."

In one of his messages to Congress President Grant earnestly recommended:

"That a constitutional amendment be submitted to the legislatures of the several States for ratification making it the duty of each of the several

States to establish and forever maintain free public schools adequate to the education of all the children in the rudimentary branches, within their respective limits, irrespective of sex, color, birthplace, or religion."

President Hayes more than once brought the subject to the attention of Congress, recommending:

"That Congress, by suitable legislation and with proper safeguards supplant the local educational funds in the several States where the grave duties and responsibilities of citizenship have been devolved on uneducated people, by devoting to the purpose grants of public lands and, if necessary, by appropriations from the Treasury of the United States."

President Garfield in his inaugural said of the coming generation of voters:

"If that generation comes to its inheritance, blinded by ignorance and corrupted by vice, the fall of the Republic will be certain and remediless. The census has sounded the alarm in the appalling figures which mark how high the tide of illiteracy has risen among our voters and their children. . . . For the North and the South alike there is but one remedy. All the constitutional power of the nation and of the States, and all the volunteer forces of the people, should be summoned to meet this danger by the saving influences of universal education."

President Arthur, in his first annual message, said:

"There is now a special reason why, by setting apart the proceeds of its sales of public lands, or by some other course, the Government should aid the work of education. Many who now exercise the right of suffrage are unable to read the ballot which they cast. Upon many who had just emerged from slavery were suddenly devolved the responsibilities of citizenship in that portion of the country most impoverished by war. . . . All that can be done by local legislation and private generosity should be supplemented by such aid as can be constitutionally afforded by the national Government . . . wisely distributed in the different States according to the ratio of illiteracy. . . ."

In his second annual message President Arthur said:

"The census returns disclose an alarming state of illiteracy in certain portions of the country where the provision for schools is grossly inadequate. It is a momentous question for the decision of Congress whether immediate and substantial aid should not be extended by the general Government for supplementing the efforts of private beneficence and of State and Territorial legislation in behalf of education."

In his third annual message President Arthur again adverted to the subject, saying:

"I have previously referred to the alarming state of illiteracy in certain portions of the country, and again submit for the consideration of Congress whether some Federal aid should not be extended to public primary education wherever adequate provision therefor has not already been made."

Attitude of Blaine and Logan.

The attitude, also, of Messrs. Blaine and Logan is of no doubtful character in this matter. Both have by vote and otherwise announced it. Indeed the latter introduced in the Senate the first bill giving National aid to Free Schools.

Said Senator Logan, in a speech in 1882:

"The 9,000,000 of children who daily march to the school-houses of the North, the West, and the South are better as a defence for the whole nation

than a standing army as large as all the armies of Europe. The quarter of a million of school-teachers who daily drill these children in the school-houses are a better provision for training the nation in patriotism than all the statesmen and military officers of the Old World. Let every child of the nation be sent to a good school, and trained by a proper method in broad national ideas, and we never need fear either foreign aggression and domination, or domestic insurrection and sectional strife and jealousies. Strength, peace, harmony, prosperity, nobility of character, patriotism, virtue, and happiness would flow as from a perennial spring in the mountains, to fill the land forever."

Again, in his recent letter accepting the nomination of the Republican Party for the Vice-Presidency, General Logan said:

"The colored people of the South have recently emerged from the bondage of their present political oppressors; they have but few of the advantages of education which might enable them to compete with the whites."

"As I have heretofore maintained, in order to achieve the ideal perfection of a popular government, it is absolutely necessary that the masses should be educated. This proposition applies itself with full force to the colored people of the South. They must have better educational advantages, and thus be enabled to become the intellectual peers of their white brethren, as many of them undoubtedly already are. A liberal school system should be provided for the rising generation of the South, and the colored people be made as capable of exercising the duties of electors as the white people."

PART IV.

Free Schools in Congress—Magnificent Donations Proposed by Republicans—Democratic Obstruction and Opposition—Significant Votes—The Democratic National Convention "sits down" on the Laborer's Children.

A glance at Congress during its recent sessions will show that there, as well as in the Southern State legislatures, it is the Republican that favors the education and elevation of the poor people, whether white or black, and the Democrat that steeps them in ignorance and debasement. In President Grant's Fourth Annual Message, Dec. 2, 1872, that clear-headed and sagacious man said:

"The bill now pending before Congress, providing for the appropriation of the net proceeds of the sales of public lands for educational purposes, to aid the States in the general education of their rising generation, is a measure of such great importance to our real progress, and is so unanimously approved by the leading friends of education, that I commend it to the favorable attention of Congress."

The Senate passes a Republican bill in 1880—A Democratic House refuses to pass it—Text of the bill thus killed.

In December 17, 1880, Republican Senators aided by a few Democrats succeeded in passing through the Senate "a bill to establish an educational fund and apply a portion of the proceeds of the public lands to public education, and to provide for the more com-

plete endowment and support of colleges for the advancement of scientific and industrial education" in these words:

"Be it enacted etc., That the net proceeds of sales of public lands and the net proceeds of patents are hereby forever consecrated and set apart for the education of the people.

"SEC. 2. At the close of each fiscal year the Secretary of the Interior shall cause an account to be taken, and shall ascertain the total receipts from the sale or other disposition of the public lands of the United States, including all fees received at the general and district land-offices during said year, and the amount of expenditures occasioned by the survey, sale, or entry, or other disposition of such lands, including appropriations for the expenses of the said offices for said year. He shall also ascertain, in like manner, the net proceeds of all receipts for patents after deducting the expenses of the Patent Office. He shall thereupon certify to the Secretary of the Treasury the amount of said receipts for public lands and patents after deducting such expenditures.

"SEC. 3. That upon the receipt of such certificate the Secretary of the Treasury shall, on or before the thirty-first day of July of each year, apportion to the several States and Territories and to the District of Columbia, upon the basis of population of the said States and Territories between the ages of five and twenty years, the net proceeds of sales of public lands and the net proceeds of patents for the previous year: *Provided*, That the net proceeds of said sales and receipts for patents shall be set apart as an educational fund, and entered upon the books of the Treasury to the credit of the fund and bearing interest at the rate of four per cent per annum, the interest on such educational fund only to be paid to said States for educational purposes as herein provided: *And provided further*, That for the first ten years the said apportionment of said net proceeds and the interest on said fund to and among the several States, Territories, and District of Columbia, shall be made according to the numbers of their respective population, of ten years old and upward, who cannot read and write, as shown from time to time by the last preceding published census of the United States: *And provided further*, That one third of the income arising from said educational fund, and which shall be apportioned to each State or Territory, shall be annually appropriated to the more complete endowment and support of colleges established or such as may be hereafter established therein, in accordance with an act of Congress approved July second, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, until the annual income thus accruing to the said colleges in each State shall have the sum of thirty thousand dollars, then the said amount only shall be annually appropriated to said colleges; and said last mentioned act of Congress is hereby amended so as to authorize each State and Territory to establish in said colleges, or under their direction, schools for the instruction of females in such branches of technical or industrial education as are suited to their sex; and the whole remaining annual income of the aforementioned educational fund shall thereafter, in the manner provided in this act, be appropriated by each State and Territory, including the District of Columbia, to the free and impartial education, in public schools, of all its children between the ages of six and sixteen years.

"SEC. 4. The amount apportioned to any State or Territory, or to the District of Columbia, and certified as herein provided, shall be paid upon the warrant of the Commissioner of Education, countersigned by the Secretary of the Interior, out of the Treasury of the United States, to the State, Territorial, or District treasurer, or to such officer as shall be designated by the laws of such State, Territory, or District to receive, account for, and pay over the same to the several school-districts entitled thereto under such apportionment, which treasurer or officer shall be required to report, on or before the thirtieth day of June of each year, to the Commissioner of Education, a detailed statement of the payments made and balance in his hands withheld, unclaimed, or for any cause unpaid. The term 'school-district' as used in this

act shall include cities, towns, parishes, or such other corporations as by law are clothed with the power of maintaining schools.

"SEC. 5. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to accept and add to the principal of said fund any sums which may be given to the United States for that purpose by will or otherwise.

"SEC. 6. On or before the first day of September in each year, the Commissioner of Education, under direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury, as to each State, Territory, and District, whether it is entitled to receive its share of the apportionment under this act, and the amount of such share, which shall thereupon be entitled to receive the same. If the Commissioner shall withhold a certificate from either, its share of such apportionment shall be kept separate in the Treasury until the close of the next Congress, in order that it may, if it see fit, appeal to Congress from the determination of the Commissioner. If the next Congress shall not direct such share to be paid, it shall be added to the general educational fund.

"SEC. 7. That the first apportionment under this act shall be made on or before the thirtieth day of June, eighteen hundred and seventy-nine, and each of said States and Territories shall be entitled to receive the income of its distributive share of each apportionment, to be paid by the Secretary of the Treasury to its treasurer or other officer authorized by its law to receive the same, whenever thereafter it shall file with the Secretary of the Treasury a certified copy of the law of such State or Territory accepting the provisions of this act, and undertaking that the funds provided by the same, whenever paid over to it as above provided, shall be faithfully applied to the free and impartial education in public schools of all its children between the ages of six and sixteen years, and to the endowment and support of such colleges as have been, or may be hereafter, established in accordance with the aforesaid act of Congress approved July second, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, and as provided for in this act. The distributive share of the District of Columbia shall, from time to time, be paid over to the Commission of said District created by act of Congress approved June twentieth, eighteen hundred and seventy-four, entitled 'An act for the government of the District of Columbia, and for other purposes,' or other officer or officers, as may be provided by law, and shall be applied in the same manner as above provided for the States and Territories.

"SEC. 8. A sum not exceeding fifty per centum of the amount received from the United States by any State or Territory, or by the District of Columbia, the first year of such receipt by it, and not exceeding the amount of ten per centum in any year thereafter, may be applied, at the discretion of the legislature thereof, to the maintenance of one or more schools for the instruction of teachers of common schools; said sum, after the first year, to be apportioned wholly to the payment of teachers of such schools.

"SEC. 9. That to entitle any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia to the benefits of this act, it shall maintain for at least three months in each year until January the first, eighteen hundred and eighty-five, and, thereafter, four months in each year, a system of free public schools for all the children within its limits between the ages of six and sixteen, and shall, through the proper officer thereof, for the year ending the thirtieth day of June last preceding such apportionment, make full report to the Commissioner of Education of the number of public free schools, the number of teachers employed, the number of school-houses owned and the number of school houses hired, the total number of children taught during the year, the actual daily attendance, and the actual number of months of the year schools have been maintained in each of the several school districts or divisions of said State, Territory, or District, and the amounts appropriated by the legislature, or otherwise received for the purpose of maintaining a system of free public schools. And if any State or Territory shall misapply, or allow to be misappropriated, or in any manner appropriated or used other than for the purposes herein required, the funds, or any part thereof, received under the provisions of this act,

or shall fail to comply with the conditions herein prescribed, or to report, as herein provided, through its proper officers, the disposition thereof, such State or Territory shall forfeit its right to any subsequent apportionment by virtue hereof, until the full amount so misappropriated, lost or misappropriated shall have been replaced by such State or Territory, and applied as herein required, and until such report shall have been made; and all apportionments so forfeited and withheld shall be added to, and become part of, the principal of the educational fund hereby created: *Provided*, That if the public schools in any State admit children not within the ages herein specified, such State shall not be deemed to have failed to comply with the conditions of this act by reason that such children share in the benefits thereof.

SEC. 10. Nothing contained in this act shall be so construed as to affect in any manner the existing laws and regulations in regard to the adjustment and payment to States, upon their admission into the Union, the per centum of the net proceeds of the sales of the public lands within their respective limits, or to repeal, impair or suspend any law now authorizing the pre-emption of public lands, or the entry of public lands for homesteads, or under the timber culture act, or limit the power of Congress over the public domain, or interfere with granting bounty-lands to soldiers and sailors. And the power to amend or repeal this act is hereby reserved."

The only votes in the negative, upon the passage of this bill in the Senate, were Democratic votes.

Nothing more was heard of this Senate bill after it reached the House until Feb. 21, 1881, when, upon a motion to suspend the rules and pass it, the *Democratic House of Representatives refused to second the motion and no further action was taken.*

Bills of Senators Logan and Blair—Sherwin's free-school bill killed by Democrats.

During the Forty-Seventh Congress bills were introduced in the Senate by the Republican Senators Logan and Blair appropriating respectively \$90,000,000, and \$15,000,000 to aid the free schools, but nothing came of them during that Congress. It must have been in derision of these fruitless efforts of Republicans to help the great cause of public education, that during the same Congress a Democratic Senator from North Carolina introduced a bill to take off all the federal whiskey tax *so that the several States may if they see fit, tax it for school purposes.* In the House, too, the record of the first session of that Congress is equally discreditable to Democracy. Republican Representative Sherwin introduced a bill appropriating \$10,000,000 a year for five years (being \$50,000,000 in all) to sustain the free public schools, to be distributed on the basis of illiteracy — putting it where it was most needed—and the Republican Committee on Elections reported the bill favorably to the Republican House. But under the rules it required unanimous consent to take it up out of its order and pass it. Who refused to give that consent and thus obstructed its passage? The distinguished Democratic leaders, Randall and Holman. The ark of Democratic safety is ignorance. And when Republican statesmen tender free schools to all freemen the Democratic-Bourbon leaders

naturally oppose it, because they are as much the enemies as the Republicans are the friends of the enlightenment and elevation of the laboring many.

The Free-School bill of 1884—It passes the Republican Senate despite Democratic attacks—Significant votes.

The present (forty-eighth) Congress comprises a Republican Senate and a Democratic House. On the 31st January, 1884, the Senate Committee on Education and Labor reported through Mr. Blair his bill with an amendment on this subject. After amending it the bill was passed by the Republican Senate, April 7, 1884, in such shape that it appropriated from the treasury a total of \$77,000,000 in varying annual amounts during the ensuing eight years, to wit: \$7,000,000 for the first year, \$10,000,000 for the second, \$15,000,000 for the third, \$13,000,000 for the fourth, \$11,000,000 for the fifth, \$9,000,000 for the sixth, \$7,000,000 for the seventh, and \$5,000,000 for the eighth, to be "expended to secure the benefits of common school education to all the children of the school age mentioned hereafter, living in the United States," it being specially provided "That the moneys distributed under the provisions of this act shall be used only for common schools, not sectarian schools, in the school districts of the several States and Territories."

A fundamental principle of this bill—as of all other bills on the subject offered by Republicans—is that this National aid to the common schools of the land shall stimulate local aid to the same. It is the very gist of the policy. Upon the section touching this principle then, it was to be expected that parties would exhibit their tendencies. Accordingly we find that, on the adoption of that section, which was agreed to by 28 yeas to 15 nays, 24 of the 28 yeas were Republican, while every one of the 15 nays was Democratic.

Following is the section as thus agreed on:

"SEC. 3. That no State or Territory shall receive any of the benefits of this act until the Governor thereof shall file with the Secretary of the Interior a statement, certified to by him, showing the character of the common-school system in force in such State or Territory; the amount of money expended therein during the last preceding school year in the support of common-schools, not including expenditures for the rent, repair, or erection of school-houses; whether any discrimination is made in the raising or distributing of the common-school revenues or in the common-school facilities afforded between the white and colored children therein, and, so far as is practicable, the sources from which such revenues were derived; the manner in which the same were apportioned to the use of the common schools; the number of white and the number of colored schools; the average attendance in each class, and the length of the school term. *No money shall be paid out under this act to any State or Territory that shall not have provided by law a system of free common schools for all of its children of school age; without distinction of race or color either in the raising or distributing of school revenues or in the school facilities afforded:* *Provided*, That separate schools for white and colored school children shall not be considered a violation of this

condition. The Secretary of the Interior shall thereupon certify to the Secretary of the Treasury the names of the States and Territories which he finds to be entitled to share in the benefits of this act; and also the amount due to each."

And the very significant detailed vote upon its adoption was as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Blair, Cameron of Wisconsin, Conger, Culion, Dawes, Dolph, Edmunds, *Garland, George, Harrison, Hawley, Hill, Hoar, Jackson, Logan, McMillan, Manderson, Miller of California, Miller of New York, Morrill, Pike, Platt, Pugh, Riddleberger, Sawyer, Sherman, and Wilson*—29.

NAYS—Messrs. Bayard, Broen, Butler, Call, Camden, Coke, Colquitt, *Groome, Jonas, Kenn, Maxey, Ransom, Saulsbury, Vance, and Williams*—15.

Another vital point in the bill as passed is that which aims to secure a faithful application of, and to prevent "misappropriation or unjust discrimination in the use of the funds" thus provided for education. Two significant votes were cast in the Senate on this point also. The provision having this object is in Sec. 13, as follows:

"If it shall appear to the Secretary of the Interior that the funds received under this act for the preceding year by the State or Territory have been faithfully applied for the purposes contemplated by this act, and that the conditions thereof have been observed, then the Secretary of the Interior shall distribute the next year's appropriation as hereinbefore provided. The Secretary of the Interior shall have power to *hear and examine* any complaints of misappropriation or unjust discrimination in the use of the funds herein provided, and shall report to Congress the results thereof."

In the last clause of this provision Mr. Garland moved to strike out the words "hear and examine," and insert in place thereof the word "receive." His motion was lost by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Bayard, Broen, Butler, Call, Camden, Coke, Colquitt, *Garland, George, Gorman, Groome, Harris, Jackson, Jonas, Kenn, Maxey, Morgan, Pendleton, Pike, Pugh, Ransom, Saulsbury, and Williams*—23.

NAYS—Messrs. Aldrich, Blair, Cameron of Wisconsin, Conger, Culion, Dawes, Dolph, Edmunds, Frye, Harrison, Hawley, Hoar, Logan, McMillan, Manderson, Miller of California, Miller of New York, Morrill, Platt, Riddleberger, Sawyer, Sherman, and Wilson—23.

And the entire provision above quoted was subsequently agreed to by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Aldrich, Allison, Blair, Cameron of Wisconsin, Conger, Culion, Dawes, Dolph, Edmunds, Frye, Harrison, Hawley, Hoar, Logan, McMillan, Manderson, Miller of California, Miller of New York, Morrill, Platt, Riddleberger, Sawyer, Sherman, and Wilson—24.

NAYS—Messrs. Bayard, Broen, Butler, Call, Coke, Colquitt, *Garland, George, Gorman, Groome, Harris, Jackson, Jonas, Kenn, Maxey, Morgan, Pendleton, Pike, Pugh, Ransom, Saulsbury, and Williams*—22.

Full text of the Free-School bill of 1884.

Following is the full text of the Free School bill of 1884, as passed by the Republican Senate:

"An Act to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for eight years next after the

passage of this act there shall be annually appropriated from the money in the Treasury the following sums, to wit: The first year the sum of seven million dollars, the second year the sum of ten million dollars, the third year the sum of fifteen million dollars, the fourth year the sum of thirteen million dollars, the fifth year the sum of eleven million dollars, the sixth year the sum of nine million dollars, the seventh year the sum of seven million dollars, the eighth year the sum of five million dollars; which several sums shall be expended to secure the benefits of common-school education to all the children of the school age mentioned hereafter living in the United States.

"Sec. 2. That such money shall annually be divided among and paid out in the several States and Territories in that proportion which the whole number of persons in each who, being of the age of ten years and over, cannot write, bears to the whole number of such persons in the United States; such computation shall be made according to the census of eighteen hundred and eighty.

"Sec. 3. That no State or Territory shall receive any of the benefits of this act until the Governor thereof shall file with the Secretary of the Interior a statement, certified by him, showing the character of the common-school system in force in such State or Territory; the amount of money expended therein during the last preceding school year in the support of common schools, not including expenditures for the rent, repair, or erection of school-houses; whether any discrimination is made in the raising or distributing of the common-school revenues or in the common-school facilities afforded between the white and colored children therein, and, so far as is practicable, the sources from which such revenues were derived; the manner in which the same was apportioned to the use of the common schools; the number of white and the number of colored common schools; the average attendance in each class and the length of the school term. No money shall be paid out under this act to any State or Territory that shall not have provided by law a system of free common schools for all of its children of school age, without distinction of race or color, either in the raising or distributing of school revenues or in the school facilities afforded: Provided, That separate schools for white and colored children shall not be considered a violation of this condition. The Secretary of the Interior shall thereupon certify to the Secretary of the Treasury the names of the States and Territories which he finds to be entitled to share in the benefits of this act, and also the amount due to each.

"Sec. 4. That the amount so apportioned to each State and Territory shall be drawn from the Treasury by warrant of the Secretary of the Treasury, upon the monthly estimates and requisitions of the Secretary of the Interior as the same may be needed, and shall be paid over to such officers as shall be authorized by the laws of the respective States and Territories to receive the same.

"Sec. 5. That the instruction in the common schools whereto these moneys shall be expended shall include the art of reading, writing, and speaking the English language, arithmetic, geography, history of the United States, and such other branches of useful knowledge as may be taught under local laws.

"Sec. 6. The money appropriated and apportioned under the provisions of this act to the use of any Territory shall be applied to the use of common and industrial schools therein by the Secretary of the Interior.

"Sec. 7. That the design of this act not being to establish an independent system of schools, but rather to aid for the time being in the development and maintenance of the school system established by local government, and which must eventually be wholly maintained by the States and Territories wherein they exist, it is hereby provided that no greater part of the money appropriated under this act shall be paid out to any State or Territory in any one year than the sum expended out of its own revenues or out of moneys raised under its authority in the preceding year for the maintenance of common schools, not including the sums expended in the erection of school-buildings.

"Sec. 8. That a part of the money apportioned to each State or Territory, not exceeding one tenth

thereof, may yearly be applied to the education of teachers for the common schools therein, which sum may be expended in maintaining institutes or temporary training-schools or in extending opportunities for normal or other instruction to competent and suitable persons, of any color, who are without necessary means to qualify themselves for teaching, and who shall agree in writing to devote themselves exclusively, for at least one year after leaving such training-schools, to teach in the common schools, for such compensation as may be paid other teachers therein.

"SEC. 9. That no part of the educational fund allotted to any State or Territory shall be used for the erection of school-houses or school-buildings of any description, nor for rent of the same.

"SEC. 10. That the moneys distributed under the provisions of this act shall be used only for common schools, not sectarian in character, in the school-districts of the several States and Territories, in such a way as to provide, as near as may be, for the equalization of school privileges to all the children of the school age prescribed by the law of the State or Territory wherein the expenditure shall be made, thereby giving to each child, without distinction of race or color, an equal opportunity for education. The term 'school-district' shall include all cities, towns, parishes, and other territorial subdivisions, for school purposes, and all corporations clothed by law with the power of maintaining common schools.

"SEC. 11. That no second or subsequent allotment shall be made under this act to any State or Territory unless the Governor of such State or Territory shall first file with the Secretary of the Interior a statement, certified by him, giving a detailed account of the payments or disbursements made of the school fund apportioned to his State or Territory and received by the State or Territorial treasurer or officer under this act, and of the balance in the hands of such treasurer or officer withheld, unclaimed, or for any cause unpaid or unexpended, and also the amount expended in such State or Territory as required by section eight of this act, and also of the number of public, common, and industrial schools, the number of teachers employed, the total number of children taught during the year, and in what branches instructed, the average daily attendance, and the relative number of white and colored children, and the number of months in each year schools have been maintained in each school-district. And if any State or Territory shall misapply or allow to be misapplied, or in any manner appropriated or used other than for the purposes herein required, the funds, or any part thereof, received under the provisions of this act, or shall fail to comply with the conditions herein prescribed, or to report as herein provided, through its proper officers, the disposition thereof, and the other matters herein prescribed to be so reported, such State or Territory shall forfeit its right to any subsequent apportionment by virtue hereof until the full amount so misapplied, lost, or misappropriated shall have been replaced by such State or Territory and applied as herein required, and until such report shall have been made: *Provided*, That if the public schools in any State admit pupils not within the ages herein specified, it shall not be deemed a failure to comply with the conditions herein. If it shall appear to the Secretary of the Interior that the funds received under this act for the preceding year by the State or Territory have been faithfully applied to the purposes contemplated by this act, and that the conditions thereof have been observed, then the Secretary of the Interior shall distribute the next year's appropriation as is hereinbefore provided. The Secretary of the Interior shall have power to hear and examine any complaints of misappropriation or unjust discrimination in the use of the funds herein provided, and shall report to Congress the results thereof.

"SEC. 12. That on or before the first day of September of each year the Secretary of the Interior shall report to the President of the United States whether any State or Territory has forfeited its right to receive its apportionment under this act, and how forfeited, and whether he has withheld such allotment on account of such forfeiture; and each State and Territory from which such apportionment shall be withheld shall have the right to appeal from such decision of the Secretary of the Interior to Congress.

"SEC. 13. That the Secretary of the Interior shall be charged with the practical administration of this act in the Territories through the Commissioner of Education, who shall report annually to Congress its practical operation, and briefly the condition of common and industrial education as affected thereby throughout the country, which report shall be transmitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Interior, accompanying the report of his Department. And the power to alter, amend, or repeal this act is hereby reserved.

"SEC. 14. That no State or Territory that does not distribute the moneys raised for common school purposes equally for the education of all the children, without distinction of race or color, shall be entitled to any of the benefits of this act.

"Passed the Senate April 7, 1884.

"Attest: ANSON G. McCOOK,
"Secretary."

The vote on final passage in Senate—An analysis of same—Its fate at the hands of a labor-hating and education-hating Democratic House of Representatives.

Upon the passage of the bill in the Senate as above the vote was:

YEAS—Messrs. Blair, Brown, Call, Cameron of Wisconsin, Colquitt, Conger, Culom, Dawes, Dolph, Edmunds, Frye, Garland, George, Hampton, Harrison, Hoar, Jackson, Jonas, Jones of Florida, Kenna, Logan, McMillan, Manderson, Miller of New York, Morrill, Pike, Platt, Pugh, Ransom, Riddleberger, Sawyer, Williams, and Wilson—33.

NAYS—Messrs. Bayard, Butler, Coke, Groome, Harris, Hawley, Maxey, Miller of California, Morgan, Pendleton, and Saulsbury—11.

It will thus be seen that the final passage of the bill by the Senate was secured by the affirmative votes of twenty Republicans and thirteen Democrats, and of the eleven votes in the negative nine were cast by Democrats and two by Republicans. As there are thirty-six Democrats in the Senate, and only thirteen of them voted "yea," while nine voted "nay," there were fourteen Democrats who did not vote at all. Furthermore, two of the thirteen Democrats who voted in the affirmative did so because of instructions from their State Legislatures. So Mr. Ransom announced as a reason for his own vote and his colleague's (Mr. Vance's) pair. And Mr. Hampton declared that his affirmative vote was actuated by "the same motives."

And yet, in the face of these facts, some of the Southern Democratic papers, finding that this bill is a popular one with the Southern masses, are trying to make it appear, because thirteen of the thirty-six Democratic Senators voted for it and only nine against it, that a majority of the Democratic Senators voted for it on its final passage!

In giving the legislative history of this Republican Senate bill (S. 398), it remains only to state, as the record shows, that it went to the Democratic House of Representatives—in which the Democrats have seventy-seven majority over all others—and there it lingered for three months until the last session expired, the Democrats persistently defeating all efforts even to bring it up for discussion and consideration.

A word to the laboring man as to his own and his fellow-workman's children.

What says the laboring man to this incontestable proof, by the record, of Democratic hatred of those free schools which alone can give to that laborer's children a chance for elevation in the social and political systems? What reliance can he place on the promises of a party that in 1880 declared in its platform for "common schools fostered and protected," and yet in 1881 refused to suspend the rules in the Democratic House of Representatives to pass a Republican bill to foster, aid, and protect those same common schools? Should he not spit upon that Democratic Party which, in 1884, has the brazen effrontery to declare in its National Platform that "We favor . . . the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship," when the echoes of adverse and obstructive Democratic votes in the Senate to a Republican measure having for its sole object "the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship," were still vexing the air, and the sullen indifference of a Democratic House had not even paid it the poor compliment of consideration and discussion?

In General Butler's letter of acceptance he tells how, in behalf of laboring men and women of the country he, as a member of the Committee on Resolutions of the Democratic National Convention of 1884, offered the following resolution for its adoption:

"That the future of the country unites with the laboring man in demanding a liberal support by the United States of common-school education in the States, so that all citizens shall be sufficiently instructed in their duties as freemen and electors."

He tells also that it was "voted down."

Instead of it the committee reported and the convention adopted the transparently lying declaration: "We favor . . . the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship."

And then, becoming aware perhaps of the inconsistency of its loud professions in behalf of free education with its uniform practical opposition to the same, it adopted in another part of the platform this paltry excuse for its action:

"We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, would convert the General Government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States or the citizens thereof."

Is it not plain that every vote cast by the laboring man for the Democratic Party is a vote to deny to his own and to his fellow-workman's children the equal right which the Republican Party declares them entitled to, of equal common-school education with the children of the rich?

National aid to education in France, Belgium, Italy, England, Scotland, Ireland, Prussia, Russia, Austria, and the Province of Ontario—A humiliating fact.

It may be well for purposes of comparison, before closing this chapter, to give the following data prepared for the Senate committee on Education and Labor by the Commissioner of Education touching National aid to Education in other countries than this—as showing not alone the sudden awaking of the world outside of us to the prime necessity for education and of abundant national provision for it, but the rapid strides which other nations have in the past few years already taken in this direction.

1. France.

The population of France is 36,995,788. The liberality of the Government of the French Republic in providing for the education of the masses is without precedent in its history. At the close of the Franco-Prussian war, in 1871, popular education was in a backward state. According to the census of 1872 the total population was 36,102,921. Of this number 13,324,801, or 36.9 per cent (including 3,540,101 children under six years of age), were unable to read or write; 3,772,603, or 10.5 per cent, could read only; and 19,05,517, or 52.6 per cent, could read and write.

This lamentable condition of affairs was due to optional attendance at school, and to the neglect on the part of the Government to provide ample accommodation for a school population of nearly 6,000,000.

Many communes were too poor and some were unwilling to establish new schools or enlarge the existing ones. After some delay a law was passed March 28, 1882, making education obligatory for all children between the ages of six and thirteen; and authorizing poor communes to apply for Government aid whenever their means are not sufficient to establish and maintain public schools. The Government, however, does not always wait for departments or communes to apply for aid; it invites them to apply, and assures them of hearty co-operation. Letters were sent on the 31 of April, 1882, by the minister of public instruction to the prefects of the departments of Morbihan and Vendée (on the western coast of France), on the condition of education in these two very backward districts.

In Morbihan 60 per cent of the conscripts for the army, and the same proportion of persons who present themselves at the mairies (city halls) for marriages, cannot read or write. A number of communes have already voted sums amounting to 600,000 francs for the purpose of increasing the number of schools, and the minister of public instruction now offers them a further subsidy of 1,000,000 francs for the same purpose.

In Vendée, owing to similar causes, there also prevails a lamentable state of ignorance. Here 40 per cent of the conscripts cannot read or write. In order to attend school hundreds of children would have to walk daily from eight to ten miles. The minister offers the department a subsidy of 600,000 francs for the purpose of increasing the number of schools.

Government aid to primary education.—In 1860 the Government aid to primary education amounted to 5,124,000 francs; in 1870 (under the empire), 9,817,513 francs; in 1877 (under the republic), 22,035,760 francs. In 1882 the Government aid will be about 50,000,000 francs, in order to enable all the communes to enforce the obligatory school law. In addition to the above amount the departments spend this year 25,000,000 francs and the communes 60,000,000 francs for primary education. During the two weeks from April 15 to April 30, 1882, the Government has spent 1,244,885 francs for new school-houses. The total amount spent by the

Government alone in 1881-82 for all phases of instruction amounts to 114,353,941 francs, or \$22,717,880.

2. Belgium.

The following table shows the Government grants to education from 1831 to 1882:

	Francs.		Francs.
1831.....	217,000	1864.....	3,707,000
1843.....	466,000	1870.....	6,125,000
1845.....	711,000	1878.....	11,500,000
1852.....	1,230,000	1882.....	20,400,000
1857.....	1,669,000		

The population of Belgium is 5,403,006.

In 1830, when Belgium separated from Holland, there were only 1146 public primary schools. In 1875, there were 4152 public primary schools and 2615 adult schools. In 1847, 41.06 per cent of the conscripts were illiterate; in 1850, 35.35 per cent; and in 1878, only 19.59 per cent.

3. Italy.

Italy has a population of 23,309,620, and a school population (6-12) of 4,527,582. Of this number 2,057,977 attend school, against 1,604,978 in 1870. The number of public elementary schools has risen from 32,782 in 1870 to 41,108 in 1879. The annual grant to these schools in 1882 is 31,000,000 lire (\$3,200,000). The 7,422 private elementary schools receive no state aid. In 1873 the Government grant was 15,000,000 lire (\$3,000,000); in 1876, 20,000,000 lire (\$4,000,000); and in 1878, 24,000,000 lire (\$4,800,000). This shows an increase of 16,000,000 lire, or \$3,200,000 since 1873.

The above grants are made in addition to large buildings and gardens given for educational purposes in nearly every city and town of the kingdom.

According to the census of 1861, out of a population of 21,777,334, there were 16,999,701 who could neither read nor write—7,889,238 males and 9,110,463 females.

In 1871, out of a population of 26,801,154, there were 19,333,732 who could neither read nor write.

The present minister of public instruction has taken energetic steps to provide accommodations for all the children of school age, and to enforce the law which makes attendance at school obligatory for all children between the ages of six and twelve.

4. England.

The annual parliamentary grants to elementary schools in England and Wales was: In 1840, £30,000; in 1850, £180,110; in 1858, £668,873; in 1862, £774,743; in 1863, £721,386; in 1866, £649,006; in 1867, £682,901; in 1868, £680,429; in 1869, £840,711; in 1870, £914,721; in 1873, £1,313,078; in 1875, £1,566,271; in 1877, £2,127,730; in 1879, £2,733,404; in 1882, £2,749,863.

The number of schools has risen from 10,731 in 1872 to 17,614 in 1880; the number of seats from 2,397,745 in 1872, to 3,240,753 in 1880; and the average number of children in attendance from 1,445,826 in 1872, to 2,750,916 in 1880.

The population of England and Wales is 23,968,286.

5. Scotland.

Population, 3,734,370. The parliamentary grant to elementary schools amounts to £468,512 for 1882-83. The number of elementary schools has increased from 1962 in 1872 to 3056 in 1880; the number of seats from 267,412 in 1872 to 602,054 in 1880, and the number of children in average attendance from 206,090 in 1872 to 404,618 in 1880.

6. Ireland.

Population, 5,169,839. Number of elementary schools, 7522. Number of pupils, 1,031,995. The parliamentary grants for popular education in Ireland amounted to a total of £2,948,669 in ten years, 1860-69; in 1868 it was £360,195; in 1872, £480,930; and in 1882-83 it amounts to £729,868.

7. Prussia.

Population, 27,251,067. The government expenditure for education amounts to \$11,458,656 in 1882, against \$10,000,000 in 1881. As nearly all the Prussian schools derive income from endowments, the government grants are chiefly devoted to the establishment of new schools and the improvement of old ones.

8. Russia.

Russia, with a population of 78,500,000 and a school population of 15,000,000, has only 28,357 elementary schools and 1,213,325 pupils. The annual government grant to all grades of schools amounts to \$9,000,000. Of this amount only \$475,000 is devoted to elementary education. The finances of Russia exhibit large annual deficits, caused partly by an enormous expenditure for war, and partly by the construction of railways. According to official returns, the total war outlay incurred by Russia during the four years 1876-79 amounted to \$728,984,635.

The mass of the population of Russia is as yet without education. In 1860 only two out of every hundred recruits levied for the army were able to read and write, but the proportion had largely increased in 1870, when eleven out of every one hundred were found to be possessed of these elements of knowledge.

10. Austria.

Education until recently was in a backward state in Austria, the bulk of the agricultural population, constituting two thirds of the empire, being almost entirely illiterate. During the last twelve years, however, the government has made vigorous efforts to bring about an improvement by founding new schools at the expense of the State wherever the conveniences were too poor. A law was passed in 1868 making education obligatory for all children between the ages of six and fourteen.

The government expenditure for public education has increased from \$2,300,000 in 1870 to \$6,500,000 in 1881.

The committee proceeds to say:

"In this connection, as illustrating the educational impulse moving the whole British Empire, we annex the following data of schools in the province of Ontario:

"The population of Ontario is 1,913,460, and the school population 489,924. In 1841 there were in the province 2305 schools, with 96,756 pupils; in 1875, 5058 schools, with 494,065 pupils; and in 1880, 5245 schools, with 496,855. The total expenses for education were \$275,000 in 1844, \$2,297,694 in 1881, \$3,258,125 in 1873, \$3,433,210 in 1878, and \$3,414,267 in 1880.

"It will be observed that in every instance cited the nation assumes the duty and exercises the power not only of assisting, but of controlling the subdivisions which make up the whole and provides for compulsory attendance of the child. The principle is fully recognized that when the general welfare demands, individuals and subdivisions must submit, if necessary for any cause, to receive compulsory blessings, coupled with which is the duty which implies the right of the whole to provide for the protection and safety of all the parts by the utmost exercise of its powers. True, their governments are not so complex as ours, but the principle is still the same. Self-preservation dictates this policy everywhere.

"It is impossible to dwell upon this branch of the subject, or to spread before the Senate the evidence, coming from almost every Christian and from some pagan people, like the Japanese, for instance, that the human race is arousing itself to the realization of its innate possibilities. The most astounding and humiliating fact of which we have knowledge, bearing upon the relative educational status of our own compared with the people of Europe, is this, that to-day only 14 per cent of the immigration which comes from that continent to our shores is illiterate, being substantially of the same grade of intelligence as our general population. In other words, immigration no longer adds essentially to American illiteracy."

Illiteracy in the United States—Tables of percentages—Public and private school statistics.

The following table, from a speech delivered during the Forty-seventh Congress by Senator Butler of South Carolina, compiled from the census returns of 1880, furnishes a startling exhibit of grown-up illiteracy in the United States. Referring to it, the Senate Committee on Education and Labor in their report on the Blair Bill [Senate Report 101, Part 2, 1st Sess. 48th Cong.] say:

"It is the rule to estimate one voter for every five persons in the community, which makes the voting population of the country 10,000,000 in 1880. The total number over twenty-one years of age who cannot write is 4,204,363, of whom 2,056,463 are whites and 2,147,900 are colored, including about 300,000 Indians and 100,000 Asiatics. Assuming one half of these to be females . . . and making allowance for the unnaturalized citizens, there will remain 2,000,000 of illiterate voters, about equally divided between the white and colored races. One voter in five cannot write his name. He casts a ballot whose contents are to him unknown except from hearsay. He cannot tell the Constitution of his country from the code of Draco. He is the prey of the demagogue or the victim of prejudice, but he holds the balance of power in almost every State and in the nation at large. Follow down these columns so pregnant with the demonstration of danger and dishonor to the Republic. The illiterate voters of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, in short of every Middle, Southern, and most of the Western States, have power, if combined, to decide any political issue that is now, or for years is likely to be, pending between political parties. They represent ten of our fifty millions of people."

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	White.	Col.*	Total
Nevada	1,807	1,678	3,445
New Hampshire	10,604	81	10,775
New Jersey	37,318	7,844	45,192
New Mexico	23,623	5,209	38,832
New York	182,050	10,154	192,154
North Carolina	116,437	174,152	290,589
Ohio	92,616	14,152	106,768
Oregon	4,904	2,387	5,291
Pennsylvania	174,286	15,551	189,837
Rhode Island	18,611	1,139	19,750
South Carolina	34,325	200,063	234,388
Tennessee	118,734	126,939	245,673
Texas	65,117	121,827	186,944
Utah	5,385	515	5,900
Vermont	12,872	129	13,001
Virginia	71,004	214,310	285,344
Washington	1,011	1,884	2,895
West Virginia	45,310	7,589	52,879
Wisconsin	43,798	951	46,779
Wyoming	285	144	429

Now turn to the statistics touching the percentages of the population of this country of ten years old and upwards who can neither read nor write, and of insufficient means appropriated in some of the Southern States to pay for education, and let the laborer's wonder and indignation grow red-hot as he thinks how, with such a condition of ignorance throughout the land, the Democratic House of Representatives dared to refuse to even take up for consideration and discussion the Free Schools bill of the Republican Senate, the prompt passage of which by that House was demanded by every consideration of patriotism and justice and decency—and let him hurl the anathema of his ballot against the Democratic Representatives in the Forty-eighth Congress who have so misrepresented the toiling masses of the people as to fail in passing this great workingman's measure. Some of these Democratic Representatives are college-bred, and look down with all the airy superciliousness of dilettanti alumni upon the common-school system, but the sturdy American laborer knows that it is the very ark of his safety; that the common-school system is the bridge across which both he and his children may stride to place and power and higher planes of usefulness; that the American free school is his Aladdin's cave in which alone can he and his find the great jewels of education which will fit him and them to be sovereigns and rulers indeed in the grandest of all Republics. The laborer has the right to demand free common-school education for all—in all parts of this land. Let him then at this election enforce that demand by his invincible ballot. Let him declare at the polls, as he casts that ballot, that parsimony to the schools is death to all the grand hopes of free labor; that "parsimony to the schools is death to the Republic."

* Including Indians and Asiatics.

Public and private school statistics of the United States in 1880.

[Prepared, 1882, by the Commissioner of Education.]

STATES AND TERRITORIES.		School area.	School population.	Enrolled in public schools.	Average daily attendance.	Expenditure in the year—per capita in public schools.	Average duration of school days.	Number of public schools.	Teachers in public schools.	Pupils in private schools.*	Available school funds (per school).	Permanent school funds not now available.	Interest on permanent funds, including interest on school funds, in millions of dollars.
Alabama	7-21	383,003	179,490	117,978	80.0	\$2,08	4,594	4,615	1,056	448,399	\$2,528,950	\$138,013	
Arkansas	6-21	247,517	70,972	50,722	100.966	146.6	3,100	1,827	1,495	14,953	\$144,875	\$190,156	b 14,299
California	5-21	215,527	158,765	110,666	146.6	80.0	2,803	3,505	1,497	2,006,800	2,014,465	180,900	
Colorado	6-21	35,506	22,119	13,618	6,890	17.80	678	678	502	36,000	36,000	36,000	cc 7,041
Connecticut	4-16	140,325	119,694	76,321	17.92	11.01	1,690	1,160	512	13,900	2,021,346	2,021,346	112,188
Delaware	6-21	35,459	27,823	15,580	8.12	5,901	594	1,085	1,131	246,300	448,399	246,300	26,607
Florida	6-21	323,444	39,315	27,046	146,190	100.0	1,99	5,916	6,000	1,680	48,452	48,452	dd 17,962
Georgia	6-21	236,533	44,626	31,638	150.0	9.61	11,964	22,225	1,497	60,440	9,019,302	9,019,302	593,119
Illinois	6-21	704,041	431,638	306,600	136.0	7,96	9,383	13,558	502	12,112	12,112	12,112	
Indiana	6-21	703,558	511,283	426,057	148.0	11.25	11,084	21,508	474	12,724	3,484,411	3,484,411	282,902
Iowa	5-21	586,556	426,057	259,836	148.0	7.85	5,233	7,780	973	6,206	2,207,330	2,207,330	454,608
Kansas	5-21	310,617	231,434	167,070	107.0	7.85	5,233	6,764	1,494	1,404	1,755,682	1,755,682	114,172
Kentucky	6-21	265,581	183,874	102.0	3,85	1,025	6,74	1,494	217	2,025	1,130,867	1,130,867	30,320
Louisiana	6-18	273,845	68,440	45,626	118.0	6.74	6,334	6,334	1,497	4,404	438,387	438,387	97,995
Maine	4-21	214,056	149,827	108,113	120.0	6.53	3,300	3,125	1,497	502	906,229	906,229	52,116
Maryland	5-20	276,120	162,431	85,778	m 210.0	8.64	5,570	8,556	1,497	1,497	2,086,886	2,086,886	
Massachusetts	5-15	307,321	306,231	232,127	177.0	14.93	13,910	13,910	1,497	2,025	3,323,217	3,323,217	134,016
Michigan	5-20	310,231	302,556	213,898	141.0	6.695	7,08	18,854	1,497	1,497	2,080,000	2,080,000	226,925
Minnesota	5-21	180,248	127,428	117,161	94.0	6.842	5,215	5,215	1,497	4,404	4,419,728	4,419,728	126,485
Mississippi	5-21	429,089	226,704	156,761	77.5	2,70	5,530	5,530	1,497	502	8,151,229	8,151,229	
Missouri	6-20	223,484	476,370	219,132	b 100.0	100.0	8,641	1,447	1,400	1,400	8,950,806	8,950,806	126,345
Nebraska	5-21	142,348	92,549	60,156	100.0	12.20	2,932	1,400	1,400	1,400	3,323,217	3,323,217	134,025
Nevada	6-18	610,295	b 7,590	6,510,08	6,010.5	1,08	2,628	6,184	1,497	1,497	2,025	2,025	
New Hampshire	6-21	672,102	65,048	48,910	115,194	192.0	9.48	3,477	572	3,477	3,477	3,477	6,24,869
New Jersey	5-18	330,885	204,961	156,194	115,194	192.0	9.48	3,477	572	43,530	43,530	43,530	100,000
New York	5-21	1,641,173	1,031,533	735,089	179.0	10.00	20,500	30,730	1,497	1,497	1,497	1,497	170,000
North Carolina	6-21	1,043,320	225,606	147,802	54.0	1.12	5,503	4,130	1,497	1,497	2,200,000	2,200,000	aa 531,535
Ohio	6-21	39,532	747,188	476,370	150.0	8.59	12,043	23,684	1,497	1,497	3,744	3,744	245,745
Oregon	6-21	59,615	39,532	37,435	86.0	8.37	6,865	1,314	1,497	1,497	24,066	24,066	36,910
Pennsylvania	6-21	1,200,000	987,310	60,100	147.0	20,065	b 18,368	21,375	1,497	1,497	24,066	24,066	99,100,000
Rhode Island	6-15	62,273	44,780	20,065	184.0	11.63	924	1,295	1,497	2,025	240,376	240,376	206,950
South Carolina	6-16	228,128	184,072	77.00	2,42	2,42	2,973	3,171	1,497	1,497	41,068	41,068	12,448
Tennessee	6-21	544,862	220,141	191,401	68.0	0.730	5,322	5,954	1,497	1,497	2,512,500	2,512,500	44,633
Texas	8-14	220,527	186,736	186,736	6,127	6,127	4,361	4,361	1,497	1,497	c 3,385,571	c 3,385,571	63,090
Vermont	5-20	62,831	75,238	46,606	125.0	2,016	4,826	4,826	1,497	1,497	6,603,087	6,603,087	

Public and private school statistics of the United States in 1880—Continued.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.		SCHOOL AGE.	SCHOOL POPULATION.	ENROLLED IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.	AVERAGE TENURE.	AVERAGE DURATION OF SCHOOL IN DAYS.	NUMBER OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS.	TEACHERS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.	PUPILS IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS.	AVAILABLE SCHOOLS (PERCENTAGE).	NET FUND, IN CENTS.	NET RENTS OF SCHOOL LANDS.
Virginia.....	5-21	535,807	290,736	188,404	118.0	3.82	4,864	4,873	1,009	25,092	1,468,765	15,830
West Virginia.....	6-21	210,113	142,830	91,704	99.0	4.43	6,375	4,134	804	25,988	423,980	2,995,112
Wisconsin.....	4-30	483,229	259,258	197,510	162.5	7.51	5,984	10,115	804	25,988	2,747,844	154,409
Total.....		15,128,078	9,679,635	5,743,830	.....	.....	187,006	280,148	12,993	560,239	.....	6,382,048
Arizona.....	6-21	7,148	4,919	2,847	100.0	.....	101	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	5-21	12,000	8,042	3,170	88.0	.....	286	433	.....	.....	.....	.....
District of Columbia.....	6-17	43,535	26,439	20,037	193.0	14.87	P 325	7160	.....	60,388	.....	2,225
Idaho.....	5-21	.....	6,758	.....	.....	.....	155	212	.....	.....	.....	.....
Indiana.....	5-11,444	111,444	67,098	J 3.94	.....	.....	101	161	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	4-21	7,070	5,970	2,000	36.0	.....	133	132	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	5-18	d 29,312	c 5,151	.....	c 182.0	.....	147	c 138	.....	.....	.....	186,359
Utah.....	6-18	40,672	34,326	17,178	129.0	.....	b 373	b 317	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington.....	5-21	b 34,223	b 14,032	b 9,585	b 87.5	.....	b 310	b 560	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	6-21	2,060	1,296	1,060	126.0	.....	b 49	b 49	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....		175,457	101,118	61,154	.....	.....	1,090	2,610	112	6,021	.....	1,88,584
Grand Total.....		15,863,530	9,780,773	5,804,963	.....	.....	188,701	282,753	13,105	567,160	.....	6,580,632

a For whites; for colored 6-16.

b In 1879.

c In 1875.

d Census of 1870.

e In 1878.

f Estimated.

g In 1873.

h In 1877.

i In the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek Nations.

j In the five civilized tribes.

k For the winter.

l In white schools only.

m In cities; 176 in counties.

n In everyting schools, 61.

o In the counties; 156 in cities and towns.

p Approximately.

q Similar necessary to supply the schools.

r Private schools in public buildings.

s In 1879; exclusive of New Orleans private schools.

t In 1879; exclusive of Philadelphia.

u In academies and private schools.

v Estimated average number of pupils.

w Includes the United States deposit fund, as reported in 1878, amounting to \$4,014,521.

x State appropriation in lieu of interest on permanent fund.

y State appropriation in lieu of interest on permanent fund.

z In State and United States 4 per cents, ordered to be sold by the last legislature.

aa Exclusive of 1,000,000 acres of swamp land made subject to entry sale by last legislature.

bb Funds in the five civilized tribes, whole or part interest of which is used for school purposes.

cc From rents in 1879.

dd State apportionment.

ee Includes revenue from other funds.

ff Apparently does not include interest on the United States deposit funds.

gg State appropriation in lieu of interest on permanent fund.

hh As far as reported by State superintendents; accompanying is a more specific report on this point, which approximates the number of private institutions, with teachers and pupils in them, giving secondary or superior instruction in each State and Territory. [For this there is no room, however, in this Text-Book.]

* Illiteracy in the United States.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Total population.		Total white population.		Total colored population.		Total colored population who cannot write.		
	Total population.	Percentage of total population who cannot read.	Total population who cannot write.	Percentage of total white population who cannot write.	Total white population who cannot write, ten years of age and over.	Percentage of total white population who cannot write.			
The United States.	50,155,783	9.82	12.44	43,402,970	3,019,080	6.96	46,752,813	3,220,878	47.70
Alabama.	1,262,505	29.33	34.33	662,185	111,767	16.88	600,320	321,650	53.58
Arizona.	40,440	13.59	14.45	35,160	4,834	13.72	5,380	1,018	10.28
Arkansas.	802,525	19.09	25.17	591,531	98,542	16.66	210,994	103,473	49.04
California.	864,694	5.62	6.18	767,181	26,090	3.40	97,513	27,340	28.04
Colorado.	194,327	4.80	5.39	191,126	9,906	5.18	3,201	568	17.74
Connecticut.	622,700	3.37	4.56	610,769	26,763	4.38	11,931	1,661	13.92
Dakota.	135,177	2.29	3.57	133,147	4,157	3.13	2,030	664	32.71
Delaware.	146,608	11.54	13.24	120,160	8,346	6.95	26,448	11,068	41.85
District of Columbia.	177,624	12.13	14.51	118,006	3,988	3.88	59,618	21,790	36.55
Florida.	269,493	26.06	29.75	142,605	19,763	13.86	126,888	60,420	47.62
Georgia.	1,542,180	28.96	33.75	816,906	128,934	15.78	725,274	391,482	58.98
Idaho.	32,610	4.24	5.45	29,013	784	2.70	3,597	994	27.63
Illinois.	3,077,871	3.15	4.72	3,031,151	132,426	4.37	46,720	12,971	27.76
Indiana.	1,978,301	3.54	5.60	1,938,798	100,398	5.18	39,503	10,363	26.23
Iowa.	1,624,615	1.73	2.87	1,614,600	44,337	2.75	10,015	2,272	22.69
Kansas.	996,096	2.56	3.96	952,155	24,888	2.61	43,941	14,588	33.20
Kentucky.	1,648,690	15.66	21.13	1,377,179	214,497	15.58	271,511	133,895	49.31
Louisiana.	939,946	31.63	33.87	454,954	58,951	12.96	484,992	259,429	53.49
Maine.	648,936	2.80	3.42	616,852	21,758	3.36	2,084	412	19.77
Maryland.	834,943	11.91	14.38	724,693	44,316	6.12	210,250	90,172	42.89
Massachusetts.	1,783,085	4.24	5.21	1,703,782	90,658	5.14	19,303	2,322	12.03
Michigan.	1,636,937	2.88	3.89	1,614,560	58,932	3.65	22,377	4,791	21.41
Minnesota.	780,773	2.63	4.42	776,884	33,506	4.31	3,889	1,040	26.74
Mississippi.	1,131,597	27.89	32.98	479,398	53,448	11.15	652,199	319,753	49.03
Missouri.	2,168,380	6.40	9.63	2,022,826	152,510	7.54	145,554	56,244	38.64
Montana.	39,156	3.91	4.36	35,885	631	1.78	3,774	1,076	28.51
Nebraska.	452,406	1.76	5.55	449,764	10,926	2.43	2,688	602	22.82
Nevada.	62,266	5.95	6.53	53,556	1,915	3.58	8,710	2,154	24.73
New Hampshire.	346,991	3.45	4.12	346,229	14,208	4.10	762	94	12.34
New Jersey.	1,131,116	3.46	4.71	1,092,017	44,049	4.03	89,099	9,200	23.53
New Mexico.	119,565	44.32	47.80	105,721	49,597	45.62	10,844	7,559	69.71
New York.	5,082,871	3.28	4.32	5,016,022	208,175	4.15	66,849	11,425	17.09
North Carolina.	1,399,750	26.28	33.15	867,249	192,032	22.14	532,508	271,943	51.07
Ohio.	3,198,062	2.71	4.12	3,117,920	115,491	3.70	80,142	16,356	20.41
Oregon.	174,763	3.08	4.25	163,075	4,343	2.66	11,693	3,080	26.34
Pennsylvania.	4,282,891	3.41	5.32	4,197,016	209,981	5.00	85,875	18,033	21.00
Rhode Island.	276,531	6.31	8.97	269,939	23,544	8.72	6,592	1,349	18.95
South Carolina.	995,577	32.32	37.15	391,105	59,777	15.28	604,472	310,071	51.30
Tennessee.	1,542,359	19.09	26.65	1,338,831	216,227	18.99	403,528	194,495	48.20
Texas.	1,591,749	16.10	19.88	1,197,237	123,912	10.35	394,512	192,520	48.80
Utah.	143,963	3.37	6.13	142,423	8,137	5.71	1,540	689	44.74
Vermont.	332,386	3.91	4.77	331,218	15,681	4.73	1,068	156	14.61
Virginia.	1,512,565	23.83	28.45	880,858	114,692	13.02	631,707	315,660	49.97
Washington.	75,116	4.25	5.18	67,199	1,429	2.13	7,917	2,460	31.07
West Virginia.	618,457	8.41	13.80	592,537	75,237	12.70	25,920	10,139	39.12
Wisconsin.	1,315,497	2.94	4.22	1,309,618	54,233	4.14	5,379	1,325	22.54
Wyoming.	20,789	2.05	2.67	19,437	374	1.92	1,352	182	13.46

* Official preliminary report of census, 1880.

† Including Indians, Chinese, Japanese, etc.

CHAPTER IX.

The Homestead Question.

"Public land for actual settlers."—National Democratic Platform, 1880.

"We believe that the public lands ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers."—National Democratic Platform, 1884.

PART I.

The Great Question of 1858—The Public Domain.

In 1858 it was estimated that there were within the States and Territories 1,000,000,000 acres of the public lands unentered. The great question of the day was: "What shall be done with this immense domain? Shall it be open to monopoly by speculators, be used to build up a landed aristocracy, or shall it be reserved to actual settlers at a nominal price, or without price?" The Republicans proposed to solve the problem by practical legislation in favor of our landless people.

The Republican attempt to secure to the poor settler ten years to pay for his farm from proceeds of soil is defeated by the Democracy.

At the first session of Thirty-fifth Congress Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, a member of the House, introduced into that body the following bill for the protection of actual settlers on the public domains:

The Grow bill—The vote defeating it.

"Be it enacted, etc. That from and after the first day of September, A. D. 1858, no public lands shall be exposed to sale by proclamation of the President until the same shall have been surveyed, and the return thereof in the land office for at least ten years."

This bill gave to the settler ten years precedence over the speculator, but it was defeated by the following vote (Republicans in roman, Democrats in italics, South Americans in small caps):

YEAS—Messrs. Abbott, Adrian, Andrews, Bennett, Bingham, Blair, Bliss, Brayton, Buffinton, Burlingame, Case, E. Clark, H. F. Clark, Clawson, Colfax, Conins, Cox, Cragin, James Craig, Fueton, Craige, Curtis, Darmrell, Davis (Mass.), Davis (Iowa), Dean, Dick, Dodd, Durfee, Foster, Gedlings, Goodwin, Granger, Grow, R. B. Hall, Harlan, T. L. Harris, Hickman, Hoard, Horton, Howard, G. W. Jones, Kellogg, Kelly, Kelsey, Kilgore, Knapp, Leach, Lovejoy, Mason, Morgan, Isaac N. Morris, F. H. Morse, Palmer, Parker, Pettit, Pike, Potter, Ritchie, Royce, A. Shaw, J. Sherman, J. W. Sherman, Spilmer, W. Stewart, Tappan, G. Taylor, Tompkins, Wade, Walbridge, Walton, C. C. Washburn, E. B. Washburne, Israel Washburn—73.

NAYS—Messrs. Anderson, Atkins, Avery, Banks, date, Bishop, Rockwood, Boyce, Branch, Bryant, Burnett, Burns, Caruthers, J. H. Clark, Clay, Clemens, Clingman, Cobb, John Cochrane, Cockrell, Crawford, Davidson, Davis (Ind.), Dehart, Dovedell, Edmonson, English, Foley, Garnett, Garrell, Gillis, Goode, Greenwood, Gregg, L. W. Hall, Hawkins, Houston, Hughes, Jackson, Jewett, J. G. Jones, Owen Jones, Lawrence, Leidy, Leiter, Litcher, McQuena, H. Marshall, Maynard, Millson, Niblock, Nichols, Peyton, Phelps, Powell, READY, Reayan, Reilly, Rufus, Russell, Sandige, Savage, Seales, Seward, Shartzer, Sickles, Singleton, S. A. Smith, Shalloworth, Stephens, Tripp, Underwood, Watkins, White, Woodrow, Worteudyke, A. R. Wright, J. F. Wright, Zollcoffer—75.

Pre-emption bill of 1859—Grow's amendment carried.

Again, on the 20th of January, 1859, in the House, a bill reported from the Committee on Public Lands, relating to pre-emptions, Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, moved to amend by adding the following section:

"Be it further enacted, That from and after the passage of this act no public land shall be exposed to sale, by proclamation of the President, unless the same shall have been surveyed and the return of such survey duly filed in the Land Office for ten years or more before such sale."

The practical effect of this amendment, like that of the bill of the previous session, was to give to the pre-emptor, the actual settler, ten years' precedence of the speculator, and to protect him from the enormous usury of the money sharks, in borrowing from whom he was frequently compelled to heavily mortgage his land. The amendment was opposed by the Southern landed Democracy, the slaveholding aristocracy, which, prior to 1861 as now, dominated the Democratic Party. It was moved that the bill and amendment be consigned to "the tomb of the Capulets," as the Committee of the Whole was familiarly and aptly termed. That motion was defeated by a vote of 92 to 90, and the House was forced to a direct vote on Mr. Grow's amendment. The amendment was carried by yeas 97, nays 81, as follows:

YEAS—Andrews, Atkins, Avery, Bennett, Bingham, Blair, Bliss, Brayton, Buffinton, Burlingame, Burroughs, Cavanaugh, Chaffee, Chap-

man, Clark, John Cochrane, Cockerill, Colfax, Comans, Covode, Cragin, Curtis, Davis, of Mass., Davis, of Iowa, Dawes, Dean, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Farnsworth, Fenton, Florence, Foster, Giddings, Gilman, Gooch, Granger, Grow, Hall, Harlan, Hoard, Horton, Howard, Jervett, Jones, Keim, Kellogg, Kelsey, Kilgore, Knapp, Lawrence, Leach, Leiter, Lovejoy, Matteson, Miller, Morgan, Morrill, Morris, F. H. Morse, O. A. Morse, Mott, Murray, Olin, Palmer, Parker, Pettit, Phelps, Phillips, Pike, Potter, Purviance, Ritchie, Robbins, Royce, Savage, John Sherman, Jno. W. Sherman, Spinner, Stanton, Stevenson, Stewart, Talbot, Tappan, Thayer, Thompson, Tompkins, Wade, Walbridge, Waldron, Walton, C. C. Washburn, E. B. Washburne, I. Washburn, Jr., Wilson, Wood—97.

NAYS—Ahl, ANDERSON, Arnold, Bocock, Bonham, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Burnett, Burns, Caruthers, Caskie, Clark, Cobb, Cox, James Craig, Burton Craige, Crawford, Curry, J. G. Davis, Reuben Davis, Dewart, Dodell, Eustis, Faulkner, Foley, Garnett, Gartrell, GILMOR, Goode, Gregg, Hall, Hawkins, Hodges, Hopkins, Houston, Hughes, Huyle, Jackson, Leidy, McQueen, McRae, Marshall, Maynard, Miles, Millson, Montgomery, Moore, Pendleton, Phelps, Powell, READY, Reagan, Rufin, Russell, Sandidge, Scales, Scott, Searing, Seward, A. Shaw, H. M. Shaw, Shorter, Singleton, R. Smith, S. A. Smith, Stalforth, Stephens, Stewart, Taylor, TRIPPE, UNDERWOOD, Vandaligham, VANCE, Watkins, Whately, Winslow, Woodson, Wortendyke, Wright, Zollicoffer—81.

The bill as amended defeated by the Democrats.

But the bill as amended was defeated by a vote of 95 nays to 91 yeas, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Andrews, Bennett, Bingham, Blair, Bliss, Brayton, Buffinton, Burlingame, Burroughs, Cavanaugh, Chaffee, E. Clark, Jr., H. F. Clarke, Clauson, C. B. Cochrane, John Cochrane, Colfax, Comins, Covode, Cox, Cragin, Curtis, HENRY W. Davis, T. Davis, of Mass., T. Davis, of Iowa, Dawes, Dean, Dick, Dodd, Durfee, Edie, Farnsworth, Fenton, Foster, Giddings, Gooch, Granger, Grow, L. W. Hall, R. B. Hall, Harlan, Hatch, Hoard, Horton, Howard, Keim, Kellogg, Kelsey, Kilgore, Knapp, Leach, Leiter, Lovejoy, Matteson, Miller, Morgan, Morrill, Ed. J. Morris, I. N. Morris, F. H. Morse, O. A. Morse, Mott, Murray, Olin, Palmer, Parker, Pettit, Phelps, Pike, Potter, Purviance, Ritchie, Robbins, Royce, John Sherman, Spinner, Stanton, Stewart, Tappan, Thayer, Thompson, Tompkins, Wade, Walbridge, Waldron, Walton, C. C. Washburn, E. B. Washburne, I. Washburn, Jr., Wilson, Wood—91.

NAYS—Messrs. Ahl, ANDERSON, Arnold, Atkins, Avery, Barksdale, Bocock, Bonham, Bowie, Boyce, Bryan, Burnett, Burns, Caruthers, Caskie, Chapman, J. B. Clark, Clay, Cobb, Cockerill, Corning, James Craig, Burton Craige, Crawford, J. G. Davis, Reuben Davis, Dewart, Doudell, Edmundson, Elliott, Florence, Foley, Garnett, Gartrell, GILMER, Goode, Greenwood, Gregg, Groesbeck, Hawkins, Hopper, Houston, Hughes, Huyle, Jackson, Jervett, G. W. Jones, O. Jones, Leidy, McQueen, McRae, H. MARSHALL, S. S. Marshall, Mason, MAYNARD, Millson, Montgomery, Moore, Pendleton, Peyton, Phelps, Phillips, Powell, READY, Reagan, RICARD, Rufin, Russell, Sandidge, Savage, Scales, Searing, A. Shaw, H. M. Shaw, Shorter, Singleton, Smith, Stalforth, Stephens, Stevenson, Stewart, Talbot, G. Taylor, M. Taylor, TRIPPE, UNDERWOOD, Vandaligham, VANCE, Watkins, White, Whately, Winslow, Woodson, Wright, ZOLLCOFFER—95.

The Republicans voted unanimously for the amendment, as they did for the bill as amended. Every Southern member except two, Mr. Blair, of Missouri, and Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, voted solidly against the bill as amended. Only eight Democrats, Northern Democrats of the Douglas school, dared to support the bill as amended, with their votes; and the char-

acter of the opposition is exposed in the indignant criticism of Mr. Cavanaugh, of Minnesota, a Douglass Democrat. He said:

"I say it frankly—I say it in sorrow—that it was to the Republican side of this House to whom we were compelled to look for support of this just and honorable measure. Gentlemen from the South, gentlemen who have broad acres and white plantations, aided here to-day by their votes more to make Republican States in the North than by any vote which has been cast within the last two years. These gentlemen come here and ask us to support the South; yet they, to a man almost, vote against the free, independent labor of the North and West."

Mr. Cavanaugh declared that he had "inherited his Democracy;" that he had been a "Democrat from his boyhood;" that he "believed in the great truths as enunciated by the 'fathers of the faith,'" and "cherished them religiously." He added:

"But, sir, when I see Southern gentlemen come up as they did to-day, and refuse by their votes to aid my constituents—refuse to place the actual tiller of the soil, the honest, industrious laborer beyond the grasp and avarice of the speculator, I tell you, sir, I falter—I hesitate!"

PART II.

The Republicans Demand "Free Homesteads for Actual Settlers"—The Vote by which they Carried it.

On the 1st of February 1859, H. R. 72, "to secure homesteads to actual settlers," which had been referred to the Committee on Agriculture, and reported from that Committee January 26, 1859, by Mr. Kelsey, came up for action. The Democracy attempted to defeat it, even to prohibit all discussion of its merits, by parliamentary strategy. A motion to lay on the table was lost by a vote of nays 113, to yeas 71, and the House was forced to a direct vote. The bill was then passed—yeas 120, nays 76, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Abbott, Adrian, Andrews, Barr, Billingshurst, Bingham, Bishop, Bliss, Brayton, Buffinton, Burlingame, Burns, Burroughs, Case, Cavanaugh, Chaffee, E. Clark, Clawson, C. B. Cochrane, John Cochrane, Cockerill, Colfax, Comins, Corning, Covode, Cox, Cragin, James Craig, Curtis, John G. Davis, T. Davis, of Mass., T. Davis, of Iowa, Dawes, Dean, Dick, Dodd, Durfee, Farnsworth, Fenton, Florence, Foley, Foster, Giddings, Gillman, Gooch, Goodwin, Granger, Gregg, Groesbeck, Grow, L. W. Hall, R. B. Hall, Harlan, Haskin, Hatch, Hickman, Hoard, Hodges, Horton, Howard, Jervett, G. W. Jones, Keim, Kellogg, Kelsey, Kilgore, Knapp, Kunkell, Lawrence, Leach, Leiter, Lovejoy, MacLean, McKibben, Matteson, Miller, Morgan, Morrill, Ed. J. Morris, I. N. Morris, F. H. Morse, O. A. Morse, Murray, Olin, Palmer, Parker, Pendleton, Pettit, Phelps, Phillips, Pike, Potter, Pottle, Purviance, Reilly, Robbins, Roberts, Royce, Russell, Scott, John Sherman, Smith, Spinner, Stanton, William Stewart, Tappan, Taylor, Thayer, Tompkins, Vandaligham, Wade, Walbridge, Waldron, Walton, Ward, C. C. Washburn, E. B. Washburne, I. Washburn, Wilson, Wortendyke—120.

NAYS—Messrs. ANDERSON, Atkins, Avery, Barksdale, Bocock, Bonham, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Burnett, Caskie, J. B. Clark, Cobb, Burton Craige, Crawford, Curry, DAVIS, Doudell, Edmundson, William H. English, Eustis, Faulkner, Garnett,

Gartrell, Gilmer, Goode, Greenwood, Harris, Hill, Hopkins, Houston, Hughes, Jackson, Jenkins, Keitt, Kunkel, Lamar, Leidy, Letcher, McQueen, McRae, H. Marshall, S. S. Marshall, Mason, Maynard, Miles, Millson, Moore, Niblack, Nichols, Peyton, Ready, Reagan, Ricaldi, Rughlin, Scales, Seward, A. Shaw, H. M. Shaw, Shorter, Singletan, S. A. Smith, W. Smith, Stallworth, Stephens, Jas. A. Stewart, Tripp, Underwood, Vance, Watkins, Whitley, Winston, Woodson, A. R. Wright, J. V. Wright, Zollicoffer—26.

The Republicans, every man of them but one, voted solidly for the bill—voted to guarantee the public lands to actual settlers—to donate land to the landless. The great body of the Democracy—60 out of 98—all the South Americans—the whole Southern landed aristocracy—voted solidly against the bill.

PART III.

Homesteads in the Democratic Senate—Democratic Hostility.

On the 17th of February, in the Senate, Ben. Wade, of Ohio, moved to postpone all prior orders, and take up the homestead bill, which had thus passed the House. A characteristic debate ensued. The slave-holding aristocracy, the Southern landed Democracy, antagonized the homestead with the appropriation bills. Said R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia: "I hope there will be no effort to press this homestead bill so as to displace the appropriation bills." Only a few weeks of the session remained, and an "extended debate" and the loss of the appropriation bills were threatened if the homestead bill was passed. Ben. Wade rejoined that the friends of the bill—the Republicans—wanted no debate. The measure for years had been before the country, had been discussed in all its bearings, and there was no measure in which the people were more deeply interested. But a vote was what the Southern landed Democracy maneuvered to avoid or defeat. Said Mr. Hunter: "I do not conceal the fact that I am much opposed to it," that is, to giving "land to the landless;" and his colleague, Mr. Mason, declared that he intended "to go into it pretty largely, because he had not yet known a bill so fraught with mischief, and mischief of the most demoralizing kind."

Mr. Wade's motion was carried by a vote of yeas 25, nays 23, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Bright, Broderick, Chandler, Clark, Collamer, Dixon, Doolittle, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Grinn, Hale, Hamlin, Harlan, Johnson, of Tennessee, King, Pugh, Rice, Seward, Shields, Simmons, Smith, Stuart, Trumbull, Wade, and Wilson—25.

NAYS—Messrs. Allen, Bayard, Benjamin, Bigler, Brown, Chestnut, Clay, Clingman, Davis, Fitch, Fitzpatrick, Green, Hammond, Hunter, Iverson, Lane, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Reid, Slidell, Toombs, and Ward—23.

The Republicans voted unanimously to take up the homestead bill, but every Southern Democrat—a "solid South," with the

exception of Mr. Johnson of Tennessee—voted against the motion. Instantly upon the announcement of this vote, which brought the homestead bill before the Senate, Mr. Hunter again moved to lay it aside and take up another bill. An opposition so puerile was fittingly called "child's play." During the debate which followed, the morning hour expired, and Vice-President Breckinridge decided that the bill for the purchase of Cuba in the interest of the slave-holding oligarchy was the subject pending before the Senate. Whereupon Mr. Wade moved to postpone the Cuba and continue the consideration of the homestead bill. That motion was also carried—yeas 27, nays 26; all the Republicans voting for it; all the Southern Democrats, except Senators Bell and Johnson, of Tennessee, voting against it. Again the homestead was before the Senate; again Mr. Hunter moved to lay it aside. Senators Wade and Seward, in energetic terms, exhorted the friends of the bill to stand firm, but Hunter's motion prevailed—yeas 28, nays 28, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allen, Bates, Bayard, Benjamin, Bigler, Brown, Clay, Clingman, Davis, Fitch, Fitzpatrick, Green, Grinn, Hammond, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson, of Arkansas, Kennedy, Lane, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Reid, Sebastian, Slidell, Toombs, Ward, and Yule—28.

NAYS—Messrs. Bell, Bright, Broderick, Chandler, Clark, Collamer, Dixon, Doolittle, Douglas, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Hale, Hamlin, Harlan, Houston, Johnson, of Tennessee, King, Pugh, Rice, Seward, Simmons, Smith, Stuart, Trumbull, Wade, and Wilson—28.

The Senate being equally divided, Vice-President Breckinridge gave the casting vote against the homestead bill. Every vote for Hunter's motion to postpone was Democratic, and all but five were from the South. Only three of the twenty-eight votes against Hunter's motion and in favor of considering the homestead bill were from the South—Bell and Johnson, of Tennessee, and Houston, of Texas.

PART IV.

"The Great Question of the Day and the Age"—Shall we give "Lands and Homes to the Landless Freemen, or Slaves to the Slave-holders?"

On the 19th of February, two days afterward, Senator Wade again moved to set aside all prior orders and take up the homestead bill. The motion was defeated. Yeas (all Republicans but seven) 24, nays (all Democrats) 31. On the 25th of February the motion to take up the homestead bill was again antagonized by the Cuba bill. The Cuba bill prevailed. Yeas (all Democrats) 35, nays (all Republicans but five) 24. After a debate—"an idle debate"—protracted far into the night, and resorted to only as a means of killing the homestead

bill, the Republicans, at ten o'clock P.M., made an effort to bring the latter bill before the Senate. In the debate which ensued, Mr. Seward said:

"After nine hours' yielding to the discussion of the Cuba question, it is time to come back to the great question of the day and the age. The Senate may as well meet face to face the issue which is before them. It is an issue presented by the competition between these two questions. One, the homestead bill, is a question of homes, of lands for the landless freemen of the United States. The Cuba bill is a question of slaves to the slaveholders of the United States."

Said Mr. Wade:

"I am very glad that this question has at length come up. I am glad, too, that it has been antagonized with this nigger question. I have been trying here for nearly a month to get a straightforward vote upon this great question of land for the landless. I glory in that measure. It is the greatest that has ever come before the American Senate, and it has now come so that there is no dodging it. The question will be, *Shall we give niggers to the niggeless, or land to the landless?*"

The motion to take up the homestead bill was again lost. Yeas (all Republicans but two)—Broderick, of Cal., and Johnson, of Tenn., 19; nays (all Democrats), 29. No further attempt at that session was made to get it before the Senate.

PART V.

The Republican Homestead Principle again Triumphs in the House—The Grow Homestead Bill Adopted.

At the next session, on the 6th of March, 1860, in the House, Mr. Lovejoy, from the Committee on Public Lands, reported the Grow bill "to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain." The bill was referred to the Committee of the Whole. On March 12, on motion of Mr. Lovejoy, the bill was taken out of the Committee of the Whole by a vote of yeas 106, to nays 67 (the nays being all Democrats and South Americans, and among the former WILLIAM H. ENGLISH, of Indiana). And when Mr. Branch, of North Carolina, ineffectually moved to lay the bill on the table—yeas, 62 (all from the South except Mr. Montgomery, of Pennsylvania), and nays 112. The bill was then passed—yeas 115; nays 66, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Adrian, Aldrich, Ashley, Babbitt, Barr, Bingham, Blake, BRIGGS, Buffinton, Burch, Burham, Campbell, Carey, Carter, Case, John Cochrane, Colfax, Conkling, Cooper, Corwin, Covode, Cox, Craig, Curtis, J. G. Davis, Daws, Dolano, Duell, Dunn, Edgerton, Eliot, English, Ferry, Fenton, Foster, Florence, Fouke, Frank, French, Gooch, Graham, Grow, Gurley, Hale, Hall, Haskin, Helmick, Hickman, Hoard, Holman, Howard, Humphrey, Hutchins, Junkin, F. W. Kellogg, W. Kellogg, Kilgore, Killinger, Larrabee, Leach, Lee, Logan, Loomis, Lovejoy, MacLay, Marston, Martin, McClelland, McKean, McKnight, McPherson, Millward, Morris, Morse, Niblock, Olin, Pendleton, Perry, Porter, Potter, Pottle, Rice, Riggs, C. Robinson, J. C. Robinson, Royce, Schwartz, Scott, Scranton, Sherman, Sickles, Somes,

Spinner, Stanton, Stout, Stratton, Tappan, Thayer, Tompkins, Train, Trimble, Vallandigham, Vanderwer, Van Wyck, Verre, Waldron, Wallow, C. C. Washburne, E. B. Washburne, I. Washburn, Jr., Wells, Wilson, Windom, Woodruff—115.

NAYS—ADAMS, T. L. Anderson, W. C. Anderson, Avery, Barksdale, Bocock, Bonham, Brabson, Branch, Bristow, Burnett, Clapton, Cobb, Curry, W. H. Davis, R. Davis, De Jarnette, Edmundson, Etheridge, Garnette, Gatrell, GILMER, Hamilton, HARDEMAN, HARRIS, HATTON, HILL, Hindman, Houston, Hughes, Jackson, Jenkins, Jones, Keitt, Lamar, Landrum, Leake, Love, Mallory, Martin, MAYNARD, McQueen, McRae, Miles, Milson, Montgomery, Moore, NELSON, Noell, Peyton, Pryor, Pugh, Reagan, Rufin, Simms, Singleton, W. Smith, W. N. SMITH, Stevenson, Stokes, Underwood, VANCE, WEBSTER, Whiteley, Woodson, Wright—66.

Again, the Republicans voted unanimously for homesteads, while all voting against them were Democrats, and all from the Slave States, except Mr. Montgomery, of Pennsylvania.

PART VI.

The Democratic Senate's Substitute for the Grow Bill—House Refuses to Concur—A Compromise—President Buchanan Vetoes the Bill.

On the 17th of April, in the Senate, Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, reported from the Committee on Public Lands, as a substitute for the Grow homestead bill which had passed the House, a bill granting homesteads to actual settlers at twenty-five cents per acre, but not including pre-emptors then occupying public lands. When this bill came before the Senate for action Mr. Wade moved to substitute the Grow bill for it, which motion was lost—yeas 26, nays 31. Yeas all Republicans but three—Douglas, Rice, and Toombs. Nays all Democrats. On the 10th of May the Johnson bill passed—yeas 44, nays 8. The nays are Bragg, Clingman, Hamlin, Hunter, Mason, Pearce, Powell, and Toombs. The House refused to concur, the Senate to recede, and the result was a protracted conference on the part of the committees of the two houses.

On June 19th the committees came to an agreement by the House accepting the Senate bill with some amendments. Said Mr. Colfax, in reporting the compromise to the House:

"We struggled of course . . . to adopt the free homestead principle of the House bill, but on these points the Senate was inflexible, and we took what we did because it was the best we could get." But "this we have agreed to merely as an *avant-courier*. We shall demand the free homestead principle at the next session of Congress, and until it is granted—until all the public lands shall be opened to the people of the United States."

This report of the Conference Committee the House agreed to—yeas 116, nays 51. All

the nays were from the South. The Senate also agreed to the report—yeas 36, nays 2—Bragg of North Carolina and Pearce of Michigan.

But even so scanty a measure of justice to our landless people—"half a loaf"—was, June 22, vetoed by President Buchanan. He in effect denounced it as unconstitutional, unjust to the old States, unequal in its operations and pretended benefits—as a measure which "will go far to demoralize the people," or, in the language of Mason of Virginia, "fraught with mischief of the most demoralizing kind."

PART VII.

The President's Veto Sustained by the Senate Democracy.

In the Senate, in which the bill originated, this veto was sustained by a vote of 19 to 9, the question was: Shall this bill pass notwithstanding the objections of the President?

YEAS—Messrs. Anthony, Brown, Chandler, Clark, Doolittle, Durke, Fessenden, Fitch, Foot, Foster, Gwin, Hale, Hamlin, Harlan, King, Lane, Latham, Nicholson, Polk, Prugh, Rice, Simmons, Sumner, Ten Eyck, Trumbull, Wade, Wilkinson, and Wilson—20.

NAYS—Messrs. Bragg, Chestnut, Crittenden, Davis, Fitzpatrick, Green, Hemphill, Hunter, Irreron, Johnson of Tennessee, Johnson of Arkansas, Mallory, Mason, Pearce, Powell, Sebastian, Wigfall, and Yule—18.

All the nays from the South, and all Democrats except Mr. Crittenden of Kentucky. So the bill failed, not having received the requisite two-thirds vote to pass it over the President's veto. All the Republicans present not paired with Democrats on the question voted solidly for the bill, but were not strong enough to effect its passage. It was defeated by the Democratic slave-holding vote.

PART VIII.

The Sceptre Falls from Democratic Hands—The Poor Man's Homestead Triumphs in Republican Success.

On the 4th of March, 1861, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President of the United States. A little later the Democracy, the landed aristocratic slave-holding Democracy, seceded, and through four years of unparalleled slaughter and crime warred to build up a Southern confederacy with "slavery as its corner-stone," in which free labor, the free white labor, would have been forever excluded from its lands whether public or private.

In their platform at Chicago, in 1860, the

Republicans had adopted the following plank:

"Resolved, That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy, which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure, which has already passed the House."

Accordingly the Republicans, now in control of both Houses of Congress and of the Executive, hastened to redeem this pledge early in 1862 by the enactment of the Homestead Act, which has been such a blessing to our people and our country. It grants 160 acres to every actual settler 21 years or more of age, or head of a family who is, or has declared his intention to become a citizen. That is its main feature, independent of the grant of 160 acres to every person, whether naturalized or not, and whether of age or not who enlisted in the military service to crush the rebellion.

This noble Republican provision for actual settlers met with considerable Democratic opposition in 1862 before it could be put upon the statute book.

The vote by which it passed the House, February 28, 1862, was 114 yeas to 18 nays. Of the yeas there were 92 Republicans and 22 Democrats, a proportion of over 4 Republicans to 1 Democrat in favor of the bill; of the nays there were 3 Republicans and 15 Democrats, a proportion of 5 Democrats to 1 Republican against the bill.

The vote by which it passed the Senate, May 6, 1862, was even more significant.

It stood, yeas 33 to nays 7. Of the yeas 30 were Republican to 3 Democratic; of the nays 6 were Democratic to 1 Republican. Thus the vote showed a proportion of 10 Republicans to 1 Democrat in favor of the Homestead Bill, and 6 Democrats to 1 Republican opposed to it.

Had they the power of numbers, it is hardly necessary to say the Democrats would have killed the Homestead Act of 1862, as they had treated similar measures in previous years.

PART IX.

Extending the Republican Homestead Act—Democratic Opposition and Votes.

In the House, February 8, 1866, a bill was passed extending the provisions of the Homestead Act to the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida. The vote by which it passed was 112 yeas to 29 nays—all the nays being Democrats except two. The names of these Democrats are:

T. G. Bergen, B. M. Boyer, James Brooks, John W. Chandler, John D. Dawson, Chas. A. Elbridge, Wm. E. Flink, A. J. Glassbrenner, Charles Blood-gear, Henry Grider, Aaron Harding, B. G. Harris,

John Hogan, Jas. M. Humphrey, Michael C. Kerr, F. C. LeBlond, Samuel S. Marshall, John A. Nicholson, Samuel J. Randall, A. J. Rogers, George S. Shanklin, Chas. Sitgreaves, Myer Strouse, Stephen Saber, Nelson Taylor, Anthony Thornton, and Daniel W. Voorhees.

Continued Democratic hostility.

That the Democracy since the Rebellion have been as hostile to the homestead principle as they were before "the war" is demonstrated by their persistent and systematic efforts to cripple if not to wholly destroy the efficiency of the General Land Office. Appeals made again and again by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, supported by the Secretary of the Interior, to Congress for larger appropriations with which to secure more room and an increased clerical force absolutely demanded by the prompt and efficient execution of its increasing business, have been denied by the Democratic majority of the two Houses, while but recently, during reconstruction, in the reports of the generals commanding the several military districts, this hostility was developed in the violent expulsion of settlers, who, under the Homestead Act, attempted to locate the lands of the South.

The homestead principle a characteristically Republican measure.

The donation of the public lands to actual settlers—the homestead principle—the "great beneficent measure of the day and the age"—is a characteristically Republican measure, and no impudent or fraudulent attempt or claim of the Democracy can rob the Republicans of its authorship or of the credit of the beneficent results which through it have accrued to the nation and the people.

PART X.

The Beneficent Effects of the Homestead Act Demonstrated in the Increased Population, Wealth, and Power of the Nation.

Instead of being "fraught with mischief of the most demoralizing kind," as de-

nounced by the Democracy, the wisdom and justice of the Homestead Act, its beneficent results, alike to the States and nation, may be seen by the following tables brought down to 1882:

Number of homestead entries made under the act up to date.....	547,447
Number living upon such homesteads (at the low average of 4.35 per family).....	2,381,394
Number of acres entered under the act up to date.....	65,808,987

Equalling the area of the following nine States:

	ACRES.
New Hampshire	5,939,200
Massachusetts	4,992,000
Rhode Island	835,840
Connecticut	3,040,000
New York	30,080,000
New Jersey	5,324,500
Delaware	1,356,800
Maryland	7,814,400
Vermont	6,121,600

Plus nearly half the area of the State of Rhode Island

304,347

65,808,987

The 2,381,394 souls thus added to the Union equals the population of the following six States, viz.:

	POPULATION.
California	864,694
Minnesota	780,773
Oregon	174,788
Nevada	62,266
Colorado	194,327
Florida	269,493

2,346,321

Plus more than the population of Idaho Territory

35,073

2,381,394

Thus adding a hardy, intelligent, industrious, and patriotic population to the States in which these homesteads were located, enhancing greatly the value of the lands of those States, enlarging their productive industries, creating profitable markets for those industries, and thus increasing the wealth and power of the States and nation to a degree immeasurably greater than the value of the lands to the Government when thus donated.

CHAPTER X.

The Chinese Question.

THE DEMOCRATIC RECORD FOR THIRTY YEARS, SHOWING THE FRIENDSHIP OF DEMOCRATIC LEADERS FOR THE CHEAP LABOR OF THE ASIATIC COOLIE.

PART I.

Koopmanschap Servile-Labor Contracts—The Morey Letter—The Early History in California of Democratic Love for the Chinese Coolie Laborer.

Of late years the Democratic Party has made strenuous efforts to have it appear that

their is the party that favors the free laborer and in his interest is opposed to coolie labor. The reverse is the case. Democratic statements are notoriously unworthy of credence. It is not many years ago that certain Democrats of the South made contracts through Koopmanschap & Co. for Chinese labor. Hundreds of Chinese coolies were imported for them, and, but for the fact that

the Chinese ran away and they could not hold them to their servile-labor contracts, the Southern States would to-day be overrun by the Mongolian cheap laborers, and no cordon could have kept them out of the Northern States. Nor is it long ago since the following base forgery was indorsed by Democratic leaders as true, although "its stupid and brutal sentiments" were denounced as a "bold forgery" by the lamented Garfield:

"[Personal and Confidential.]

"**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,**
"WASHINGTON, D. C., January 23, 1850.

"DEAR SIR: Yours in relation to the Chinese problem came duly to hand.

"I take it that the question of employees is only a question of private and corporate economy, and individuals or companies have the right to buy labor where they can get it cheapest.

"We have a treaty with the Chinese Government, which should be religiously kept until its provisions are abrogated by the action of the General Government, and I am not prepared to say that it should be abrogated until our great manufacturing and corporate interests are conserved in the matter of labor.

Very truly yours,

"J. A. GARFIELD,

"H. L. MORSE, Employers' Union, Lynn, Mass."

**Democratic record in California in 1852—
Democracy enforcing and encouraging
Chinese labor contracts and opposing Chinese taxation.**

To understand the true relations of Democracy to the Chinese question a period of thirty years must be traversed. It was in California in 1852 that the Chinese problem first obtruded itself, and a brief review of its history from that time down will show clearly that the Democratic Party was always the open friend of Chinese cheap labor until quite recently, when it finds itself forced to disguise its real love for the Asiatic. Here are some "facts and figures"—crystallized into history—for the American workingman to ponder over, and see who is his friend and who is his enemy:

In March, 1852, a bill was introduced in the California Legislature (Democratic) to legalize contracts for labor made in China, which provided that such contracts should be good for five years and might be made assignable. Any laborer brought under contract who should attempt to leave his master could be arrested and then compelled to work out his term of service. This measure, known as the Peachy bill, passed the lower House. It was supported by the author, Mr. Peachy, and by Mr. Roach and Mr. Hagar, all distinguished Democrats.

Shortly after this a bill was introduced into the California legislature taxing Chinamen: This the Democratic majority refused to pass.

Mr. Hagar also introduced the following resolution:

"Whereas, California is nearer China than any other State, and a valuable commerce has been opened up;

"Resolved, That a commission be appointed to go to China."

An amendment to substitute South America was defeated, and the Hagar resolution passed by 16 to 3.

In 1852 a Whig member of the California legislature offered a bill known as the miner's tax, imposing a head-tax on all aliens working mining claims. It was laid on the table by the Democratic majority. At that time there were 25,000 Chinese in the State.

In 1856 Democracy rebukes white labor and pats John Chinaman on the back.

In 1856 there were 30,000 Chinese in California. Labor demanded their exclusion. The Democratic legislature appointed a Democratic committee of inquiry, which reported as follows:

"We say the tendency is not toward corruption. WE THINK THEY HAVE DONE US NO HARM."

In 1859 Mr. Weller, a Democratic governor of California, declared that—

"We have cause to rejoice that this great nation (China) has been subjected to the law of nations."

The cause of this rejoicing was the treaty with China, concluded a year previous by Mr. Reed, a Democratic minister to China, ratified by a Democratic Senate, and proclaimed by Buchanan, a Democratic President.

In 1862 and 1869 Democracy refuses to protect white labor, embraces the Celestial Embassy, but is blind to white distress.

In 1862 the first Republican governor of California, in his first annual message, said:

"Asia, with her immense population, is sending her people here, and I will be glad to co-operate with any movement having for its object the prohibition of Chinese immigration."

Mr. W. H. Sears, a leading Republican, offered a bill to protect white labor. A bill was substituted to levy a miner's tax. This measure a Democratic supreme court subsequently declared unconstitutional.

A bill to levy a tax on all Chinese in the State was also defeated by Democratic votes.

The Burlingame treaty was negotiated during Andrew Johnson's term, and a Democratic governor of California (Haight) welcomed the embassy to our shores in terms of extravagant eulogy.

In 1869, when labor in California was distressed, there was pending before the Democratic legislature of the State a bill granting a large body of tide lands to a railroad corporation. To this an amendment was offered prohibiting the employment of Chinese by the beneficiary. Of the forty-two votes recorded against that amendment thirty-two were cast by Democrats.

PART II.

In Congress—Republican anti-Coolie Legislation of 1861, 1867, 1868, and 1870—Democratic Obstruction in 1871—Subsequent Republican Legislation—President Grant's anti-Coolie Message—Democracy Deaf to an anti-Coolie Appeal.

In 1861 (December) Mr. Thomas D. Elliott, of Massachusetts (Republican), offered in the House of Representatives a bill *prohibiting the importation of coolies*, Mr. A. A. Sargent (Republican) speaking at length against Chinese immigration. The bill passed both Houses (Republican), and was approved by President Lincoln February 15, 1862.

On January 16, 1867, Mr. Charles Sumner (Republican) secured the passage of a resolution asking other nations to join us in *attempts to suppress the coolie traffic*, and in May, 1868, he secured the passage of a bill *extending the provisions of the Elliott act to all Oriental nations*.

In 1870 Mr. Henry Wilson (Republican) introduced into the Senate a bill to *prohibit the introduction of coolie labor*.

In July, 1870, Senator Stewart, of Nevada (Republican), secured the passage of a resolution *calling for further information on the coolie traffic*.

In the House, the same year, Mr. Sargent offered a bill *aimed at contracts for servile labor*.

In 1871 Mr. Coglan (Republican) offered a bill *prohibiting the migration and employment of coolies, which was defeated by the action of Mr. Beck, of Kentucky, then a Democratic member of the House*.

Republican legislation from 1873 to 1875—President Grant's message on the Coolie traffic.

In December, 1873, Mr. Page, of California (Republican), offered a bill *prohibiting the importation of Chinese coolies and prostitutes, which bill passed a Republican House and Senate, and became a law March 3, 1875*.

In 1874 Mr. Page offered a resolution of *inquiry*, following the President's message on the subject. In that paper (December 7, 1874) President Grant urged the passage of measures to suppress the importation of coolies. He said:

"I call the attention of Congress to a generally conceded fact, that the greater proportion of Chinese immigrants . . . do not come voluntarily, . . . but come under contracts with head-men who own them almost absolutely. In a worse form does this apply to Chinese women. . . . If this evil practice can be legislated against,

it will be my pleasure as well as duty to enforce any regulations to secure so desirable an end."

In the following year President Grant again referred to the subject.

On January 16, 1874, Mr. Page, of California, offered a joint resolution *abrogating the Burlingame treaty*.

January 13, 1874, Senator Sargent offered a bill *excluding the Chinese from naturalization*; and in April, 1876, offered a resolution providing for a *modification of the treaty with China*. In 1878, through the exertions of Senator Sargent, aided by others of the Pacific coast delegations in Congress, a resolution was passed *calling upon the Executive to open negotiations at once for such modifications of the Burlingame treaty as would exclude Chinese immigrants*.

Mr. Sargent offered bills in 1876 to *check Chinese immigration*; Mr. Page also, in 1874, to protect persons against forcible restraint and *involuntary servitude*. He also offered bills in 1878 *forbidding the carrying of Chinese passengers on vessels paid for carrying the United States mails; also levying a per capita tax on each passenger of an amount sufficient to be prohibitory*.

Representative Davis, of California (Republican), in 1878, offered a bill *restricting the Chinese immigrant traffic, by not allowing more than ten persons on any one vessel*.

On July 6, 1876, Mr. Sargent offered a resolution calling for the opening of negotiations for the *modification of the Burlingame treaty*, and Mr. Morton (Republican) offered a substitute providing for sending a committee of inquiry to the Pacific coast. This was accepted by Mr. Sargent and adopted.

A Democratic Congress deaf to a legislative appeal!

The first memorial to Congress from California was a resolution of its legislature sent in May, 1879, asking that the State be granted the right to tax Chinese immigrants. Congress was strongly Democratic and paid no attention to it whatever.

PART III.

In National Polities in 1876—Republican Declaration Against the Importation of Mongolians—The Democracy Forced to Follow—Republican Investigation.

June 15, 1876, owing to the efforts of Senators Jones of Nevada, Sargent of California, Representative Page, and other influential Pacific Coast Republicans, the Republican National Convention at Cincinnati adopted as a *plank in the National Republican platform* the following:

"It is the immediate duty of Congress fully to investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians on the moral and material interests of the country."

This was the first declaration ever made on the subject of Chinese immigration in a national platform of either of the two great political parties.

Subsequently, when the Democratic National Convention of 1876 met it adopted (June 28) the following plank, which was at the time thoroughly understood as a mere demagogical bid for votes—"seeing the Republican hand and going one better, so to speak."

"Reform is necessary to correct the omissions of a Republican Congress and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy, which . . . have exposed our brethren of the Pacific Coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and, in fact, now by law denied citizenship through naturalization as being neither accustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization nor exercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus . . . tolerates a revival of the coolie trade in Mongolian women imported for immoral purposes, and Mongolian men held to perform servile-labor contracts, and demand such modification of the treaty with the Chinese Empire or such legislation within constitutional limitations as shall prevent further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race."

The brazen effrontery of Democratic assertion was never more palpable than in this plank. From 1852 down to 1876, a period of twenty-four years, as the above record shows, the Republican Party had done all that had been done, both in State and National legislation, to abate the Chinese evil, while the Democratic Party had, in the State legislature of California, favored Chinese immigration, and in Congress had treated the memorial of a California legislature praying relief from the Chinese curse with the contempt of tabling it.

A Republican Committee of Investigation.

But the Republican Party was acting upon principle. It wanted, first, an investigation of the facts; and, second, action upon the facts thus brought out. That plank in its platform had been adopted by a convention vote of 532 to 215—more than two to one—on June 15, 1876. The Republican Party in Congress immediately responded, and a joint special committee to investigate Chinese immigration, consisting of three Senators and three Representatives, was immediately formed, and at once proceeded to the Pacific Coast to investigate. How thoroughly and well it performed its labors the able and voluminous report (Sen. Rep. 689, second session, Forty-fourth Congress) presented to the Senate February, 1877, by Mr. Sargent, can tell.

PART IV.

The "Fifteen-Passenger Act"—Presidential Veto—The Second National Republican Declaration—Democracy again Follows—The Treaty Commission and Treaty.

In 1879, Mr. Sargent in the Senate and Mr. Page in the House succeeded in securing the passage of a bill prohibiting the owner or master of any vessel from landing in the United States more than fifteen Chinese passengers on one voyage. This bill was vetoed by President Hayes on the ground that Congress had no authority to abrogate at will a treaty entered into with a foreign nation; that the proposed law would contravene the sixth article of the Burlingame treaty, "by whose reciprocal engagements the citizens and subjects of the two governments, respectively visiting or residing in the country of the other, are secured the same privileges, immunities, or exemptions there enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nations;" that the denunciation of one part of the treaty necessarily liberates the other party from the whole treaty, and that, consequently, the immediate withdrawal of our treaty protection of the Chinese already in this country would expose our citizens in China, merchants, missionaries, and visitors, to the tender mercies of the people of China, with no treaty obligations to afford them any protection whatever to person or property.

The second national Republican declaration—The Pecksniffian Democracy again boldly follow.

June 5, 1880, the Republican National Convention—now thoroughly enlightened by the investigation which its convention of 1876 had demanded, and the views of Congress and the Executive thereon—adopted the following plank in its platform:

"Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, the Republican Party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of Chinese as a matter of grave concernment under the exercise of both of these powers, would limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result."

The Republicans of the nation therein declared for the enactment of treaties and laws to "limit and restrict" Chinese immigration—but they must be "just, humane, and reasonable."

Thereupon—after waiting as usual to "see how the cat jumped"—the Democratic National Convention of 1880 subsequently (June 23) adopted the following plank:

"Amendment of the Burlingame treaty. No more Chinese immigration, except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and therein carefully guarded."

The Republican Treaty Commission and the treaty with China making effective legislation possible.

With the Republicans, promise and performance are never far apart. In 1880, therefore, a joint resolution was passed by Congress authorizing such action, and President Hayes appointed a commission, consisting of James B. Angell, of Michigan, John F. Swift, of California, and William H. Trescott, of South Carolina (all Republicans), with full powers to negotiate a treaty with China in modification of the Burlingame treaty; and November 5, 1880, a treaty was agreed upon, as follows:

"ARTICLE I. Whenever in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, or their residence therein, affects or threatens to affect the interests of that country, or to endanger the good order of the said country, or of any locality within the territory thereof, the government of China agrees that the government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it. The limitation or suspension shall be reasonable and shall apply only to Chinese who may go to the United States as laborers, other classes not being included in the limitations. Legislation taken in regard to Chinese laborers will be of such a character only as is necessary to enforce the regulation, limitation, or suspension of immigration, and immigrants shall not be subjected to personal maltreatment or abuse.

"ART. II. Chinese subjects, whether proceeding to the United States as teachers, students, merchants, or from curiosity, together with their body and household servants, and Chinese laborers who are now in the United States, shall be allowed to go and come of their own free will and accord, and shall be accorded all the rights, privileges, and immunities and exemptions which are accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation.

"ART. III. If Chinese laborers or Chinese of any other class, now either permanently or temporarily residing in the territory of the United States, meet with ill-treatment at the hands of any other persons, the Government of the United States will exert all its power to devise measures for their protection and to secure to them the same rights, privileges, immunities and exemptions as may be enjoyed by the citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, and to which they are entitled by treaty.

"ART. IV. The high contracting powers having agreed upon the foregoing articles, whenever the Government of the United States shall adopt legislative measures in accordance therewith, such measures will be communicated to the Government of China. If the measures as enacted are found to work hardships upon the subjects of China, the Chinese Minister at Washington may bring the matter to the notice of the Secretary of State of the United States, who will consider the subject with him, and the Chinese Foreign Office may also bring the matter to the notice of the United States Minister at Peking, and consider the subject with him, to the end that mutual and unqualified benefit may result."

This was duly ratified by both powers, together with another treaty which prohibited the opium traffic between the two countries, regulated the tonnage dues and duties for imports on the basis of similar dues or duties imposed on the vessels and goods of other nations, and provided that controversies arising in China between citizens of the United States and Chinese subjects should be tried by the proper official of the nationality of the defendant.

PART V.

Chinese-Exclusion Legislation of 1882

—The Twenty-Year Bill Passes both Houses—President Arthur's Veto—The Ten-Year Bill Passes and is Approved.

March 9, 1882, the Senate, after amending it, passed a bill introduced by Mr. Miller (Republican), of California, and reported by a Republican committee, suspending for twenty years the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States, construing the words "Chinese laborers" to mean "both skilled and unskilled laborers," and prohibiting the admission of Chinese to citizenship. The unanswerable speeches of Senator Jones, of Nevada, and Miller, of California, secured the passage of this bill in the Senate. In the House Mr. Page managed the bill through a long debate to success, the main opposition springing from a repugnance to the twenty-year term of exclusion, when ten years, in the opinion of many Republicans, was within the definition of a "just, humane, and reasonable law." The Democrats, learning that the President thought twenty years an "unreasonable" term for an experimental law of this character, voted strongly for it in both Houses. They thus voted to pass a bill likely to be vetoed, in the hope that political capital for their party might be made out of the probable veto, but without the slightest idea that any other bill could be put through at this session, and that is why they voted almost solidly in both houses against inserting "ten" years for "twenty," and for the passage of the bill.

Main provisions of the bill as passed.

The preamble and first section of this bill as it was passed read as follows:

"Whereas, in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof; Therefore,

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and until the expiration of twenty years next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is hereby, suspended; and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come, or, having so come after the expiration of said ninety days, to remain within the United States."

Sections 16 and 17 were as follows:

"Sec. 16. That hereafter no State court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship; and all laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

"Sec. 17. That the words 'Chinese laborers,' wherever used in this act, shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining."

The other sections relate to the proper execution of the provisions of the first section, and the imposition of penalties for its violation, one section providing for the registration of such Chinese as are entitled to enter,

or remain in the United States, by the terms of the bill.

The President's veto—His principal objection the twenty-year clause.

The bill, which passed the House March 23, was vetoed by President Arthur, as anticipated. His principal objection to the bill was as follows:

"The examination which I have made of the treaty, and of the declarations which its negotiators have left on record of the meaning of its language, leaves no doubt in my mind that neither contracting party in concluding the treaty of 1880 contemplated the passage of an act prohibiting immigration for twenty years, which is nearly a generation, or thought that such a period would be a reasonable suspension or limitation, or intended to change the provisions of the Burlingame treaty to that extent. I regard this provision of the act as a breach of our national faith; and being unable to bring myself in harmony with the views of Congress on this vital point, the honor of the country constrains me to return the act with this objection to its passage."

Republican ten-years' Chinese exclusion bill passes both houses and signed by a Republican President.

Mr. Page immediately introduced another bill in the House to obviate the objections of the President and other Republicans, and it was reported back by him at once favorably by the Republican Committee on Education and Labor. On April 17 he moved to suspend the rules and pass the bill. The Democrats at first talked of voting it down, if possible, so as to leave the *onus* of no anti-Chinese legislation upon the Republicans; but they soon perceived that the people would not swallow any whale of that size, and the Democratic chicanery had again gotten itself into a trap of its own making. So they concluded to vote almost solidly for it, and accordingly the rules were suspended and the bill passed by a two-thirds vote—the Republican vote being nearly two to one for this bill, while upon the other it was equally divided. The Senate subsequently amended and passed the bill. The amendments were concurred in in the House May 2d without division, and the bill was *approved by the President at once.*

Chief provisions of this Republican anti-coolie importation act.

The chief provisions of this Republican anti-coolie act are as follows:

"An Act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese.

"Whereas, in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof; Therefore,

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and until the expiration of ten years next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is hereby suspended; and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come, or, having so come after the expiration of said ninety days, to remain within the United States.

"Sec. 4. That for the purpose of properly identifying Chinese laborers who were in the United States on the seventeenth day of November, eighteen hundred and eighty, or who shall have come into the same before the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of this act, and in order to furnish them with the proper evidence of their right to go from and come to the United States of their free will and accord, as provided by the treaty between the United States and China, dated November seventeenth, eighteen hundred and eighty, the collector of customs of the districts from which any such Chinese laborer shall depart from the United States shall, in person or by deputy, go on board each vessel having on board any such Chinese laborer and cleared or about to sail from his district for a foreign port, and on such vessel make a list of all such Chinese laborers, which shall be entered in registry-books to be kept for that purpose, in which shall be stated the name, age, occupation, last place of residence, physical marks or peculiarities, and all facts necessary for the identification of each of such Chinese laborers, which books shall be safely kept in the custom-house; and every such Chinese laborer so departing from the United States shall be entitled to, and shall receive, free of any charge or cost upon application therefor, from the collector or his deputy, at the time such list is taken, a certificate, signed by the collector or his deputy and attested by his seal of office in such form as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe, which certificate shall contain a statement of the name, age, occupation, last place of residence, personal description, and facts of identification of the Chinese laborer to whom the certificate is issued, corresponding with the said list and registry in all particulars. In case any Chinese laborer after having received such certificate shall leave such vessel before her departure, he shall deliver his certificate to the master of the vessel, and if such Chinese laborer shall fail to return to such vessel before her departure from port the certificate shall be delivered by the master to the collector of customs for cancellation. The certificate herein provided for shall entitle the Chinese laborer to whom the same is issued to return to and re-enter the United States upon producing and delivering the same to the collector of customs of the district at which such Chinese laborer shall seek to re-enter; and upon delivery of such certificate by such Chinese laborer to the collector of customs at the time of re-entry in the United States, said collector shall cause the same to be filed in the custom-house and duly cancelled.

"Sec. 5. That any Chinese laborer mentioned in section four of this act being in the United States, and desiring to depart from the United States by land, shall have the right to demand and receive, free of charge or cost, a certificate of identification similar to that provided for in section four of this act to be issued to such Chinese laborers as may desire to leave the United States by water; and it is hereby made the duty of the collector of customs of the district next adjoining the foreign country to which said Chinese laborer desires to go to issue such certificate, free of charge or cost, upon application by such Chinese laborer, and to enter the same upon registry-books to be kept by him for the purpose, as provided for in section four of this act.

"Sec. 6. That in order to the faithful execution of articles one and two of the treaty in this act before mentioned, every Chinese person other than a laborer, who may be entitled by said treaty and this act to come within the United States, and who shall be about to come to the United States, shall be identified as so entitled by the Chinese government in each case, such identity to be evidenced by a certificate issued under the authority of said government, which certificate shall be in the English language or (if not in the English language) accompanied by a translation into English, stating such right to come and which certificate shall state the name, title, or official rank, if any, the age, height, and all physical peculiarities, former and present occupation or profession, and place of residence in China of the person to whom the certificate is issued and that such person is entitled conformably to the treaty in this act mentioned to come within the United States. Such certificate shall be *prima facie* evidence of the facts set forth therein, and shall be produced to the

collector of customs, or his deputy, of the port in the district in the United States at which the person named therein shall arrive.

"SEC. 14. That hereafter no State court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship; and all laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

"SEC. 15. That the words 'Chinese laborers,' wherever used in this act, shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining."

"Approved May 6, 1882."

A Democratic Supreme Court Justice's partiality for the Chinese.

It was but a few months after the approval of this law that the *San Francisco Post* charged that United States Supreme Justice Field (Democrat) found it "convenient to come out here on circuit duty purposely to 'interpret' the Chinese restriction law;" that there is "not one instance in which, when a case concerning the Chinese has been before him, *Field has not shown a marked partiality for the Chinese;*" and that the exclusion law will be repealed in less than five years, "when we have a Democratic majority in Congress and Field in the Presidential chair." It also asked and challenged a square answer to this significant question:

"If there are not more prominent Democratic politicians who employ and patronize Chinese than there are Republicans who do the same and if there are not several candidates on the Democratic ticket who have for years been employers of Chinese, to the exclusion of white labor, at even the same rate of wages."

Text of the supplementary Chinese Immigration Act of 1884—Votes in Senate and House on its passage—Approved by President Arthur.

On the 3d of May, 1884, the House bill (H. R. 1798) which had previously been agreed on by the Pacific Coast delegations in both Houses, and had come up in the House for consideration, was passed by 184 yeas to 13 nays. It is in these words:

"An Act to amend an act entitled 'An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese,' approved May sixth, eighteen hundred and eighty-two.

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That section one of the act entitled 'An act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese,' approved May sixth, eighteen hundred and eighty-two, is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"Whereas in the opinion of the Government of the United States the coming of Chinese laborers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof; therefore,

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.* That from and after the passage of this act, and until the expiration of ten years next after the passage of this act, the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States be, and the same is hereby suspended, and during such suspension it shall not be lawful for any Chinese laborer to come from any foreign port or place, or having so come to remain within the United States."

"Section two of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 2. That the master of any vessel who shall knowingly bring within the United States on such vessel, and land, or attempt to land, or permit to be landed any Chinese laborer, from any foreign port or place, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor,

and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars for each and every such Chinese laborer so brought, and may also be imprisoned for a term not exceeding one year."

"Section three of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 3. That the two foregoing sections shall not apply to Chinese laborers who were in the United States on the seventeenth day of November, eighteen hundred and eighty, or who shall have come into the same before the expiration of ninety days after the passage of the act to which this act is amendatory, nor shall said sections apply to Chinese laborers, who shall produce to such master before going on board such vessel, and shall produce to the collector of the port in the United States at which such vessel shall arrive, the evidence hereinafter in this act required of his being one of the laborers in this section mentioned; nor shall the two foregoing sections apply to the case of any master whose vessel, being bound to a port not within the United States, shall come within the jurisdiction of the United States by reason of being in distress or in stress of weather, or touching at any port of the United States on its voyage to any foreign port or place: *Provided*, That all Chinese laborers brought on said vessel shall not be permitted to land except in case of absolute necessity, and must depart with the vessel on leaving port."

"Section four of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 4. That for the purpose of properly identifying Chinese laborers who were in the United States on the seventeenth day of November, eighteen hundred and eighty, or shall have come into the same before the expiration of ninety days next after the passage of the act to which this act is amendatory, and in order to furnish them with the proper evidence of their right to go from and come to the United States as provided by the said act and the treaty between the United States and China dated November seventeenth, eighteen hundred and eighty-two, the collector of customs of the district from which any such Chinese laborer shall depart from the United States, shall, in person or by deputy, go on board each vessel having on board any such Chinese laborer, and cleared or about to sail from his district for a foreign port, and on such vessel make a list of all such Chinese laborers, which shall be entered in registry-books, to be kept for that purpose, in which shall be stated the individual, family, and tribal name in full, the age, occupation, when and where followed, last place of residence, physical marks or peculiarities, and all facts necessary for the identification of each of such Chinese laborers, which books shall be safely kept in the custom house; and every such Chinese laborer so departing from the United States shall be entitled to and shall receive, free of any charge or cost, upon application therefor, from the collector or his deputy, in the name of said collector and attested by said collector's seal of office, at the time such list is taken, a certificate, signed by the collector or his deputy and attested by his seal of office, in such form as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe, which certificate shall contain a statement of the individual, family, and tribal name in full, age, occupation, when and where followed, of the Chinese laborer to whom the certificate is issued, corresponding with the said list and registry in all particulars. In case any Chinese laborer, after having received such certificate, shall leave such vessel before her departure, he shall deliver such certificate to the master of the vessel; and if such Chinese laborer shall fail to return to such vessel before her departure from port, the certificate shall be delivered by the master to the collector of customs for cancellation. The certificate herein provided for shall entitle the Chinese laborer to whom the same is issued to return to and re-enter the United States upon producing and delivering the same to the collector of customs of the district at which such Chinese laborer shall seek to re-enter, and said certificate shall be the only evidence permissible to establish his right of re-entry; and upon delivering of such certificate by such Chinese laborer to the collector of customs at the time of re-entry in the United States, said collector shall cause the same to be filed in the custom house and duly cancelled."

"Section six of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 6. That in order to the faithful execution of the provisions of this act, every Chinese person, other than a laborer, who may be entitled by said treaty or this act to come within the United States, and who shall be about to come to the United States, shall obtain the permission of and be identified as so entitled by the Chinese Government, or of such other foreign government of which at the time such Chinese person shall be a subject, in each case to be evidenced by a certificate issued by such Government, which certificate shall be in the English language, and shall show such permission, with the name of the permitted person in his or her proper signature, and which certificate shall state the individual, family, and tribal name in full, title or official rank, if any, the age, height, and all physical peculiarities, former and present occupation or profession, when and where and how long pursued, and place of residence of the person to whom the certificate is issued, and that such person is entitled by this act to come within the United States. If the person so applying for a certificate shall be a merchant, said certificate shall, in addition to above requirements, state the nature, character, and estimated value of the business carried on by him prior to and at the time of his application as aforesaid: *Provided*, That nothing in this act nor in said treaty shall be construed as embracing within the meaning of the word 'merchant,' bucksters, peddlers, or those engaged in taking, drying, or otherwise preserving shell or other fish for home consumption or exportation. If the certificate be sought for the purposes of travel for curiosity, it shall also state whether the applicant intends to pass through or travel within the United States, together with his financial standing in the country from which such certificate is desired. The certificate provided for in this act, and the identity of the person named therein, shall, before such person goes on board any vessel to proceed to the United States, be vized by the indorsement of the diplomatic representatives of the United States in the foreign country from which said certificate issues, or of the consular representative of the United States at the port or place from which the person named in the certificate is about to depart; and such diplomatic representative or consular representative whose indorsement is so required is hereby empowered, and it shall be his duty, before indorsing such certificate as aforesaid, to examine into the truth of the statements set forth in said certificate, and if he shall find upon examination that said or any of the statements therein contained are untrue it shall be his duty to refuse to indorse the same. Such certificate vized as aforesaid shall be prima facie evidence of the facts set forth therein, and shall be produced to the collector of customs of the port in the district in the United States at which the person named therein shall arrive, and afterward produced to the proper authorities of the United States whenever lawfully demanded, and shall be the sole evidence permissible on the part of the person so producing the same to establish a right of entry into the United States; but said certificate may be controverted and the facts therein stated disproved by the United States authorities."

"Section eight of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 8. That the master of any vessel arriving in the United States from any foreign port or place shall, at the same time he delivers a manifest of the cargo, and if there be no cargo, then at the time of making a report of the entry of the vessel pursuant to law, in addition to the other matter required to be reported, and before landing, or permitting to land, any Chinese passengers, deliver and report to the collector of customs of the district in which such vessel shall have arrived a separate list of all Chinese passengers taken on board his vessel at any foreign port or place, and all such passengers on board the vessel at that time. Such list shall show the names of such passengers (and if accredited officers of the Chinese or of any other foreign government, travelling on the business of that government, or their servants, with a note of such facts), and the names and other particulars as shown by their respective certificates; and

such list shall be sworn to by the master in the manner required by law in relation to the manifest of the cargo. Any refusal or wilful neglect of any such master to comply with the provisions of this section shall incur the same penalties and forfeiture as are provided for a refusal or neglect to report and deliver a manifest of the cargo.

"Section ten of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 10. That every vessel whose master shall knowingly violate any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed forfeited to the United States, and shall be liable to seizure and condemnation in any district of the United States into which such vessel may enter or in which she may be found."

"Section eleven of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 11. That any person who shall knowingly bring into or cause to be brought into the United States by land, or who shall aid or abet the same, or aid or abet the landing in the United States from any vessel, of any Chinese person not lawfully entitled to enter the United States, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisoned for a term not exceeding one year."

"Section twelve of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 12. That no Chinese person shall be permitted to enter the United States by land without producing to the proper officer of customs the certificate in this act required of Chinese persons seeking to land from a vessel. And any Chinese person found unlawfully within the United States shall be caused to be removed therefrom to the country from whence he came, and at the cost of the United States, after being brought before some justice, judge, or commissioner of a court of the United States and found to be one not lawfully entitled to be or to remain in the United States; and in all such cases the person who brought or aided in bringing such person to the United States shall be liable to the Government of the United States for all necessary expenses incurred in such investigation and removal; and all peace officers of the several States and Territories of the United States are hereby invested with the same authority as a marshal or United States marshal in reference to carrying out the provisions of this act or the act of which this is amendatory, as a marshal or deputy marshal of the United States, and shall be entitled to like compensation, to be audited and paid by the same officers. And the United States shall pay all costs and charges for the maintenance and return of any Chinese person having the certificate prescribed by law as entitling such Chinese person to come into the United States, who may not have been permitted to land from any vessel by reason of any of the provisions of this act."

"Section thirteen of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 13. That this act shall not apply to diplomatic and other officers of the Chinese or other Governments travelling upon the business of that Government, whose credentials shall be taken as equivalent to the certificate in this act mentioned, and shall exempt them and their body and household servants from the provisions of this act as to other Chinese persons."

"Section fifteen of said act is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"SEC. 15. That the provisions of this act shall apply to all subjects of China, and Chinese, whether subjects of China or any other foreign power; and the words "Chinese laborers," wherever used in this act, shall be construed to mean both skilled and unskilled laborers and Chinese employed in mining."

"SEC. 16. That any violation of any of the provisions of this act, or of the act of which this act is amendatory, the punishment of which is not otherwise herein provided for, shall be deemed a misdemeanor, and shall be punishable by fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or by imprisonment for not more than one year, or both such fine and imprisonment."

"SEC. 17. That nothing contained in this act shall be construed to effect any prosecution or other proceeding, criminal or civil, begun under the act of which this is amendatory; but such prosecution or

other proceeding, criminal or civil, shall proceed as if this act had not been passed."

Following is the detailed vote on the passage of the bill:

YEAS—Messrs. Aiken, Alexander, Atkinson, Bayley, Barksdale, Bayne, Beach, Blanchard, Bland, Boyle, Brainerd, Breckinridge, W. W. Brown, Brumm, Buchanan, Buckner, Budd, Barnes, A. J. Caldwell, J. M. Campbell, A. D. Candler, Carleton, Cassidy, Clardy, Clay, Clements, Cobb, Collins, Connolly, Converse, J. C. Cook, Cosgrove, S. S. Cox, Crisp, D. B. Culberson, Cullen, Cutcheeon, Dargan, G. R. Davis, Deuster, Dibble, Dibrell, Dockery, Dowd, Dunham, Dunn, Eaton, Elliott, Ellwood, Ermentrout, J. H. Erins, Ferrell, Fiedler, Finerty, Follett, Foran, Forney, Fyau, Garrison, George, E. Gibson, Glascock, Goff, Graves, Green, Greenleaf, Guenther, Halsell, N. J. Hammond, Hancock, Hardeman, W. H. Hatch, D. B. Henderson, Henley, Hepburn, Herbert, G. W. Hewitt, W. D. Hill, Hiscock, Holman, Holmes, Hopkins, Horr, Houk, Houseman, Hurd, Jeffords, B. W. Jones, J. H. Jones, King, Lacey, Lamb, Lanham, Lawrence, Le Ferre, J. H. Lewis, Lovering, Lowry, McAdoo, McCoid, McComas, McCormick, McKinley, McMillin, Matson, Maybury, J. F. Miller, S. H. Miller, Millikin, Mitchell, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Murphy, Murray, Neese, Nutting, Outes, J. J. O'Neill, D. R. Paige, Patton, R. A. Pierce, S. W. Peel, S. J. Peele, Pettibone, Post, Pryor, Pusey, Randall, Rankin, Reese, T. A. Robertson, J. S. Robinson, J. H. Rogers, W. F. Rogers, Rosecrans, Rowell, Scales, Seney, Seymour, Shaw, Shelley, O. R. Singleton, T. G. Skinner, Slocum, A. H. Smith, Springer, Steele, Stephenson, C. Stewart, Stockslager, Strait, Struble, C. A. Sumner, D. H. Sumner, J. M. Taylor, Throckmorton, Tillman, Tully, H. G. Turner, O. Turner, Van Alstyne,

Vance, Van Eaton, Wakefield, T. B. Ward, R. Warner, Weaver, Wellborn, Weller, Wemple, M. White, Whiting, Wilkins, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, J. Wilson, W. L. Wilson, E. B. Winans, John Winans, G. D. Wise, Wolford, Worthington, Yapple—184.

NAYS—Messrs. G. E. Adams, F. B. Brewer, T. M. Browne, Everhart, T. J. Henderson, Hitt, Kean, LYMAN, Price, W. W. Rice, C. R. Skinner, Smalls, Spooner—13.

On the 3d of July, 1884, this bill also passed the Senate without amendment, by 43 yeas to 12 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Bayard, Beck, Blair, Butler, Call, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Cockrell, Coke, Conger, Culom, Dolph, Fair, Furley, Garland, Groome, Hale, Hampton, Harris, Hill, Ingalls, Jones of Florida, Jones of Nevada, Logan, Manderson, Maxey, Miller of California, Miller of New York, Morgan, Palmer, Pendleton, Pike, Plumb, Pugh, Ransom, Sawyer, Sherman, Slater, Vance, Van Wyck, Vest, Voorhees—43.

NAYS—Messrs. Aldrich, Brown, Dawes, Edmunds, Hawley, Hoar, Lapham, McMillan, Mitchell, Morill, Platt, Wilson—12.

It was subsequently approved by President Arthur, and undoubtedly will satisfy the Pacific coast, unless some Democratic Supreme Court Justice undertakes to interpret its provisions in favor of the Chinese and of the real sentiments of Democratic leaders on the subject, as exhibited in the earlier part of this chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

Polygamy—"The Twin-Relic of Barbarism."

PART I.

Platform Declarations—The Republican Anti-Polygamy Law of 1862—Adverse Democratic Votes—President Grant's Messages.

Twenty years ago there existed in this land two monstrous evils, slavery and polygamy, which from its birth have been filthily characterized by the Republican Party as "twin-relics of barbarism." The Democratic Party upheld and defended slavery, while the Republican Party grappled and overthrew it in the red carnage of war. The Democratic Party winked at and permitted polygamy—if they did not absolutely encourage it—while the Republican Party seized it by the throat and is now engaged in extirpating that heinous crime against civilization. A glance at the record of both parties on polygamy will prove instructive.

Republican and Democratic national platform declarations against polygamy.

In 1856—The Republican national platform contained this plank:

"2. That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin-relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery."

In 1856—The Democratic national platform contained, on the subject of polygamy, NOT ONE WORD!

In 1876—The Republican national platform contained this plank:

"13. The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate, in the Territories, that relic of barbarism—polygamy; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all the Territories."

In 1876—The Democratic national platform contained, on the subject of polygamy, NOT ONE WORD!

In 1880—The Republican national platform contained the following:

"5. We reaffirm the belief avowed in 1876 that . . . slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the Territories."

In 1880—The Democratic national platform contained, on the subject of polygamy, NOT ONE WORD!

In 1884—The Republican national platform contained the following:

"Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territory, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities if possible, and by the military if need be."

In 1884—The Democratic national platform contained, on the subject of polygamy, NOT ONE WORD!

True to its character as the PARTY OF NEGATION, the Democratic Party has not only never said one word* in any of its national platforms as to polygamy, but it has never done one thing in Congress to root it out.

The anti-polygamy law of 1862—Democratic votes.

In 1862 a Republican Congress enacted a law "to punish and prevent polygamy" and "annulling certain acts of the Territorial legislature of Utah," and the only votes against its passage in either House were Democratic votes.

The workings of the infamous Mormon hierarchy were not then as well understood as now, and it was many years before the country awoke to the fact that this law failed to reach the case, and was evaded, if not disregarded. The terrible distractions of a civil war, brought on by Southern Democratic leaders and encouraged by the wiles of Northern Democratic copperheads, gave to the administration and to Congress all the work that they could do in the effort to save the Union and destroy the other "twin-relic"—slavery—and the subsequent problem of reconstruction, with economic and other questions of primary magnitude and importance growing out of the Southern Democratic rebellion, for many years absorbed the minds and time of our ablest Republican statesmen.

* In its platforms of 1876, 1880, and 1884, the Democratic Party declares itself in favor of the separation of Church and State; but whether that is meant to apply to this country, where "Church and State" are already separate, or to England or Russia is not stated. Possibly it may mean the so-called Mormon "Church." If so, they admit that the polygamous Mormon hierarchy is a church, and its infamous teachings those of religion, which cannot be interfered with.

President Grant's messages recommending legislation.

In 1871, however, President Grant, in his annual message to Congress, drew the attention of Congress to the subject in these words:

"In Utah there still exists a remnant of barbarism repugnant to civilization, to decency, and to the laws of the United States. . . . Neither polygamy nor any other violation of existing statutes will be permitted within the territory of the United States. It is not with the religion of the self-styled saints that we are now dealing, but with their practices. They will be protected in the worship of God according to the dictates of their consciences, but they will not be permitted to violate the law under the cloak of religion."

"It may be advisable for Congress to consider what, in the execution of the laws against polygamy, is to be the status of plural wives and their offspring. The propriety of Congress passing an enabling act authorizing the Territorial legislature of Utah to legitimize all children born prior to a time fixed in the act might be justified by its humanity to those innocent children. This is a suggestion only, and not a recommendation."

Again, in his fourth annual address, December 2, 1872, President Grant said:

"It has seemed to be the policy of the legislature of Utah to evade all responsibility to the Government of the United States, and even to hold a position in hostility to it. I recommend a careful revision of the present laws of the Territory by Congress, and the enactment of such a law (the one proposed in Congress at its last session, for instance, or something similar to it) as will secure peace, the equality of all citizens before the law, and the ultimate extinguishment of polygamy."

PART II.

The Poland Bill and Vote showing Democratic Pro-Polygamous Sympathy—Message of President Hayes—President Garfield's Views.

Acting upon the suggestions contained in the messages of President Grant, what was known as "The Poland Bill" in 1874 passed the House of Representatives. In the Senate its provisions were somewhat modified and weakened, and with these modifications the bill became a law. On its passage through the Senate there are no recorded yeas and nays, but in the House the vote on its passage exhibits 140 Republicans voting for it, to only 5 Republicans against it; and only 19 Democrats voting for it, to 49 Democrats voting against it.

President Hayes on the Mormon Question.

In his annual message, December 6, 1880, after the Poland law had been fairly tried and found inadequate to cope with the crafty Mormon priesthood, President Hayes again drew the attention of Congress to the subject in these words:

"It is the recognized duty and purpose of the people of the United States to suppress polygamy where it now exists in our Territories, and to pre-

vent its extension. Faithful and zealous efforts have been made by the United States authorities in Utah to enforce the laws against it. Experience has shown that the legislation upon this subject, to be effective, requires extensive modification and amendment. The longer action is delayed the more difficult it will be to accomplish what is desired. Prompt and decided measures are necessary. The Mormon sectarian organization which upholds polygamy has the whole power of making and executing the local legislation of the Territory. By its control of the grand and petit juries it possesses large influence over the administration of justice. Exercising, as the heads of this sect do, the local political power of the Territory, they are able to make effective their hostility to the law of Congress on the subject of polygamy, and, in fact, do prevent its enforcement. Polygamy will not be abolished if the enforcement of the law depends on those who practise and uphold the crime. It can only be suppressed by taking away the political power of the sect which encourages and sustains it.

"The power of Congress to enact suitable laws to protect the Territories is ample. It is not a case for half-way measures. The political power of the Mormon sect is increasing; it controls now one of our wealthiest and most populous Territories. It is extending steadily into other Territories. Wherever it goes it establishes polygamy and sectarian political power. The sanctity of marriage and the family relation are the corner-stone of our American society and civilization. Religious liberty and the separation of church and state are among the elementary ideas of free institutions. To re-establish the interests and principles which polygamy and Mormonism have imperilled, and to fully reopen to intelligent and virtuous immigrants of all creeds that part of our domain which has been in a great degree closed to general immigration by intolerant and immoral institutions, it is recommended that the government of the Territory of Utah be reorganized.

"I recommend that Congress provide for the government of Utah by a governor and judges, or commissioners, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate—a government analogous to the provisional government established for the territory northwest of the Ohio by the ordinance of 1787. If, however, it is deemed best to continue the existing form of local government, I recommend that the right to vote, hold office, and sit on juries in the Territory of Utah, be confined to those who neither practise nor uphold polygamy. If thorough measures are adopted, it is believed that within a few years the evils which now afflict Utah will be eradicated, and that this Territory will in good time become one of the most prosperous and attractive of the new States of the Union."

President Garfield on the Mormon Church and the Duty of Congress.

In his inaugural address, March 4, 1881, President Garfield said:

"The Constitution guarantees absolute religious freedom. Congress is prohibited from making any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. The Territories of the United States are subject to the direct legislative authority of Congress; and hence the general government is responsible for any violation of the Constitution in any of them. It is, therefore, a reproach to the government that in the most populous of the Territories the constitutional guarantee is not enjoyed by the people, and the authority of Congress is set at naught. The Mormon Church not only offends the moral sense of manhood by sanctioning polygamy, but prevents the administration of justice through ordinary instrumentalities of law.

"In my judgment, it is the duty of Congress, while respecting to the uttermost the conscientious convictions and religious scruples of every citizen, to prohibit within its jurisdiction all criminal practices, especially of that class which destroy the family relations and endanger social order. Nor

can any ecclesiastical organization be safely permitted to usurp in the smallest degree the functions and powers of the national Government."

PART III.

President Arthur's Message—The Edmunds Bill—Democratic Hostility to it in the Senate—The House Democrats "fight it under cover"—Significant Democratic Votes.

In his first annual message to Congress, December 6, 1881—the House now being Republican and the Senate nominally so—President Arthur said:

"For many years the Executive, in his annual message to Congress, has urged the necessity of stringent legislation for the suppression of polygamy in the Territories, and especially in the Territory of Utah. The existing statute for the punishment of this odious crime, so revolting to the moral and religious sense of Christendom, has been persistently and contemptuously violated ever since its enactment. Indeed, in spite of commendable efforts on the part of the authorities who represent the United States in that Territory, the law has in very rare instances been enforced, and, for a cause to which reference will presently be made, is practically a dead letter.

"The fact that adherents of the Mormon Church, which rests upon polygamy as its corner-stone, have recently been peopling in large numbers Idaho, Arizona, and other of our Western Territories, is well calculated to excite the liveliest interest and apprehension. It imposes upon Congress and the Executive the duty of arraying against this barbarous system all the power which, under the Constitution and the law, they can wield for its destruction.

"Reference has been already made to obstacles which the United States officers have encountered in their efforts to punish violations of law. Prominent among these obstacles is the difficulty of procuring legal evidence sufficient to warrant a conviction even in the case of the most notorious offenders.

"Your attention is called to a recent opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, explaining its judgment of reversal in the case of Miles, who had been convicted of bigamy in Utah. The court refers to the fact that the secrecy attending the celebration of marriages in that Territory makes the proof of polygamy very difficult; and the propriety is suggested of modifying the law of evidence which now makes a wife incompetent to testify against her husband.

"This suggestion is approved. I recommend also the passage of an act providing that in the Territories of the United States the fact that a woman has been married to a person charged with bigamy shall not disqualify her as a witness upon his trial for that offence. I further recommend legislation by which any person solemnizing a marriage in any of the Territories shall be required, under stringent penalties for neglect or refusal, to file a certificate of such marriage in the supreme court of the Territory.

"Doubtless Congress may devise other practicable measures for obviating the difficulties which have hitherto attended the efforts to suppress this iniquity. I assure you of my determined purpose to co-operate with you in any lawful and discreet measures which may be proposed to that end."

The Edmunds bill—Democratic obstruction in the Senate—Democratic "spoils."

In pursuance of these executive suggestions, Senator Edmunds introduced in the

Senate what is known as "the Edmunds bill," which was reported by the Judiciary Committee February 16, 1882, and which is substantially the law. Numerous attempts were made and voted for by Democratic Senators to emasculate this bill, but they failed. An amendment practically insisting that only three of the Board of Commissioners created by this bill shall be Republicans, and the other two Democrats went through with a rush when there were but sixteen Republican Senators present who voted against it, and twenty-five Democrats and one Independent present who voted for it! You see when it is a question of "spoils" every Democrat is sure to be on deck! Finally, after long and able debate, the bill reached the House, in the following shape, as it now stands on the statute book:

"An Act to amend section fifty-three hundred and fifty-two of the Revised Statutes of the United States, in reference to bigamy, and for other purposes.

"Be it enacted, etc. That section fifty-three hundred and fifty-two of the Revised Statutes of the United States be, and the same is hereby, amended so as to read as follows, namely:

"Every person who has a husband or wife living who, in a Territory or other place over which the United States have exclusive jurisdiction, hereafter marries another, whether married or single, and any man who hereafter simultaneously, or on the same day, marries more than one woman, in a territory or other place over which the United States have exclusive jurisdiction, is guilty of polygamy, and shall be punished by a fine of not more than five hundred dollars, and by imprisonment for a term of not more than five years; but this section shall not extend to any person by reason of any former marriage whose husband or wife by such marriage shall have been absent for five successive years, and is not known to such person to be living, and is believed by such person to be dead, nor to any person by reason of any former marriage which shall have been dissolved by a valid decree of a competent court, nor to any person by reason of any former marriage which shall have been pronounced void by a valid decree of a competent court, on the ground of a nullity of the marriage contract."

"Sec. 2. That the foregoing provisions shall not affect the prosecution or punishment of any offence already committed against the section amended by the first section of this act.

"Sec. 3. That if any male person in a Territory or other place over which the United States have exclusive jurisdiction, hereafter cohabits with more than one woman, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, on conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not more than three hundred dollars, or by imprisonment for not more than six months, or by both of said punishments, in the discretion of the court.

"Sec. 4. That counts for any or all of the offences named in sections one and three of this act may be joined in the same information or indictment.

"Sec. 5. That in any prosecution for bigamy, polygamy, or unlawful cohabitation under any statute of the United States, it shall be sufficient cause of challenge to any person drawn or summoned as a juror or talesman, first, that he is or has been living in the practice of bigamy, polygamy, or unlawful cohabitation with more than one woman, or that he is or has been guilty of an offence punishable by either of the foregoing sections, or by section fifty-three hundred and fifty-two, of the Revised Statutes of the United States, or the Act of July first, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, entitled, 'An act to punish and prevent the practice of polygamy in the Territories of the United States and other places, and disapproving and annulling certain acts of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah'; or, second, that he believes it

right for a man to have more than one living and undivorced wife at the same time, or to live in the practice of cohabiting with more than one woman; and any person appearing or offered as a juror or talesman, and challenged on either of the foregoing grounds, may be questioned on his oath as to the existence of any such cause of challenge, and other evidence may be introduced bearing upon the question raised by such challenge, and this question shall be tried by the court. But as to the first ground of challenge before-mentioned, the person challenged shall not be bound to answer if he shall say upon his oath that he declines on the ground that his answer may tend to criminate himself; and if he shall answer as to said first ground, his answer shall not be given in evidence in any criminal prosecution against him for any offence named in sections one or three of this act; but if he declines to answer on any ground, he shall be rejected as incompetent.

"Sec. 6. That the President is hereby authorized to grant amnesty to such classes of offenders guilty of bigamy, polygamy, or unlawful cohabitation, before the passage of this act, on such conditions and under such limitations as he shall think proper; but no such amnesty shall have effect unless the conditions thereof shall be complied with.

"Sec. 7. That the issue of bigamous or polygamous marriages, known as Mormon marriages, in cases in which such marriages have been solemnized according to the ceremonies of the Mormon sect, in any Territory of the United States, and such issue shall have been born before the first day of January, anno Domini eighteen hundred and eighty-three, are hereby legitimated.

"Sec. 8. That no polygamist, bigamist, or any person cohabiting with more than one woman, and no woman cohabiting with any of the persons described as aforesaid in this section, in any Territory or other place over which the United States have exclusive jurisdiction, shall be entitled to vote at any election held in any such Territory or other place, or be eligible for election or appointment to, or be entitled to hold, any office, or place of public trust, honor, or emolument in, under, or for any such Territory or place, or under the United States.

"Sec. 9. That all the registration and election officers of every description in the Territory of Utah are hereby declared vacant; and each and every duty relating to the registration of voters, the conduct of elections, the receiving or rejection of votes, and the canvassing and returning of the same, and the issuing of certificates or other evidence of election, in said Territory, shall, until other provisions be made by the legislative assembly of said Territory as is hereinafter by this section provided, be performed, under the existing laws of the United States and of said Territory, by proper persons who shall be appointed to execute such offices and perform such duties by a board of five persons to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, not more than three of whom shall be members of one political party, and a majority of whom shall be a quorum. The members of said board so appointed by the President shall each receive a salary at the rate of three thousand dollars per annum, and shall continue in office until the legislative assembly of said Territory shall make provision for filling said offices as herein authorized.

The secretary of the Territory shall be the secretary of said board, and keep a journal of its proceedings, and attest the action of said board under this section. The canvass and return of all the votes at elections in said Territory for members of the legislative assembly thereof shall also be returned to said board, which shall canvass all such returns and issue certificates of election to those persons who, being eligible for such election, shall appear to have been lawfully elected, which certificate shall be the only evidence of the right of such persons to sit in such assembly: *Provided*, That said board of five persons shall not exclude any person otherwise eligible to vote from the polls on account of any opinion such person may entertain on the subject of bigamy or polygamy, nor shall they refuse to count any such vote on account of the opinion of the person casting it on the subject of bigamy or polygamy; but each house of such assembly, after its organization, shall have power to decide upon the elections and qualifications of its members. And at or after the first

meeting of said legislative assembly whose members shall have been elected and returned according to the provisions of this act, said legislative assembly may make such laws, conformable to the organic act of said Territory, and not inconsistent with other laws of the United States, as it shall deem proper concerning the filling of the offices in said Territory declared vacant by this act."

The Edmunds bill in the House—The Democrats "fighting it under cover"—Obstruction again.

On the 8th of March, 1882, the Edmunds anti-polygamy bill was reached on the Speaker's table and was read twice. Thereupon Democratic obstruction commenced again, and the House adjourned with a point of order pending against the bill. The matter came up again March 13, and the Democrats fought hard against the bill on the point of order, "preferring," as was said in the debate, "to fight it under cover rather than to fight it openly," and finally, when the point was not sustained, seventy-nine Democrats voted against the decision of the Speaker. Then followed "motions to adjourn," to "commit the bill to the Judiciary Committee," and so on, upon all of which the Democratic vote was strong, and the point of "no quorum" was raised, and a "call of the House" ordered, until at last a recess was taken. On the following day they offered a number of amendments of an emasculating nature, which were voted down by the Republicans. The debate was lengthy and lively, and the obstructing Democrats were shown up badly.

Democrats "against polygamy and against putting it down."

Said Mr. Robeson:

" . . . We stand here now, Mr. Speaker, just exactly where we would have stood if the vote for the previous question had been taken. The gentlemen on the other side have wasted all the time we gave them because they intended, if possible, to defeat our bill by specious amendments, and go to the country under the cover of smooth resolves and specious pretences. But the real feeling could not be concealed, as they have occupied all their time in direct attacks upon and direct votes against the effective measures of the bill. The gentlemen on the other side are all against polygamy, but many of them are also against the measures provided to put it down. It was a condition of mind which affected many gentlemen at the North from 1861 to 1865. They were in favor of the war, but opposed to carrying it on. . . ."

Haskell's warning—Democratic processes of eighteen years for killing off anti-polygamy bills.

Said Mr. Haskell:

" . . . I would like to call the attention of the great Democratic Party to this fact: that the people of the United States will not hold them guiltless for their actions this day. . . . Every bill that has been brought before Congress during the last eighteen years for this purpose has been killed by the processes that you try to institute upon this bill: stalling them in committees or loading them down with amendments to die between the two Houses in the cloisters of a conference committee. This is the way the Poland bill was defeated. This is the way the Frelinghuysen bill was defeated. This is the way the Logan bill was defeated. This is the way all these bills have gone, and were it not for the Republican side of this great House you would have

sent the Edmunds bill to its grave between these two Houses of Congress. [Applause on the Republican side.]"

Some instructive Democratic votes—Ultra pro-polygamists.

On the proposition to strike out the eighth section of the bill, *which disfranchises polygamists, 44 Democrats, and no Republicans, voted "yea."* On the proposition to strike out the ninth section, vacating offices held by polygamists, and creating the present commission—the *vital point in the bill*—there were 87 Democrats voted "yea" and only 10 voting "nay" while 126 Republicans voted "nay" and not one Republican voted "yea." And, in spite of all denunciations and warnings from the Republicans, there were as many as 42 Democrats who still had the courage of their pro-Mormon convictions and held out to the last, *voting against the passage of the bill.*

The bill was approved, March 22, 1882, by a Republican President.

PART IV.

The Work of the Commission—The Edmunds Law Defied—The "Organized Libertinism" of Utah still "Master of the Situation"—Terrible Blasphemies of Brigham Young, Jr.

Ex-Senator Ramsey, the head of the United States Commission, created by the Edmunds bill aforesaid, in an interview October 1, 1882, succinctly detailed the work done by the commission. He said that the commission had "completely the registration of the voters in Utah Territory; had registered 35,000 men and women, and disfranchised 10,000 polygamists of both sexes. Of the 35,000 registered voters, the 'Mormons' claim that not to exceed 5000 to 7000 are non-Mormons, while the Gentiles assert that their voting strength is from 7000 to 10,000." Said he: "We have, besides completing the registration, appointed a county register in each of the twenty-four counties of Utah, and selected a register for each voting precinct, so that there are about 200 of them. We now have to appoint three judges in each election precinct, making about 600 judges. With regard to these appointments there has been a good deal of nonsense in the papers about the commission favoring the Mormons, while the fact is that there are whole counties where none but Mormons reside, and, as the law is intended to make polygamy odious, and does not disfranchise a non-polygamist Mormon, we could not do otherwise than do just what the law does—recognize that class. So far as the elections are concerned, they will, of course, be carried by the Mormons. Of course, the Mormon vote, which is at

least two and a half to one Gentile, will elect the delegate to Congress, and the polygamists, knowing that their man and officers generally will be chosen, can well afford to acquiesce in their own disfranchisement. . . . It will take pretty near all the wealthiest men of the Mormon Church out of politics and make polygamy odious, especially to the rising generation, who will dislike to be disfranchised on arriving at their majority. The old fellows now thrown out will be looked upon by many as martyrs, and in fact so consider themselves already. So far as the general effect of the law is concerned it cannot now be determined what that will be, for, of course, it is an experiment."

Necessity for a more stringent law.

The Salt Lake *Tribune* early in October of 1882 declared its belief that to prevent the recurrence of such acts as those given below it will be necessary to amend the Edmunds law; and then it proceeds to give the following seven items:

The Mormon police aid the escape of a murderer—He becomes a presiding bishop.

A sergeant of the United States Army was shot down in the streets of Salt Lake City without the slightest warning, and the murderer was secreted and aided in his escape by the Mormon police, and afterward rewarded by the church by being made presiding bishop of the Orderly Community, Kane County, Utah.

A United States judge threatened with death.

When Brigham Young was indicted for murder the Mormon police threatened to shoot Judge McKean on the bench if he held the court.

Another Judge yields to threats in open court.

Brigham Young's assistant, Ferguson, told Judge Stiles openly in court that if his rulings were not in accordance with Young's demands he would be dragged from the bench then and there and chastised until he did so rule. That time the Judge yielded.

Arrested Mormons can always escape.

Whenever a prominent Mormon has been arrested for any crime, he could always count on a body-guard of police ready to do his commands, even to a rescue from the officers.

Mormon police oppose the governor's appointees under the Edmunds law.

When the governor's appointees went last week to take possession of the offices to which he had appointed them in pursuance of a law enacted by the last Congress, they found there a guard of Mormon police, posted to prevent their taking possession. A free lunch was provided for these officers at the county's expense, and they stayed there all day.

Territorial legislative obstruction to the United States laws.

The Territorial legislature has put unusual and extraordinary powers in the hands of counties and municipalities, and the laws are carefully framed so as to afford the most effective resistance possible to any effort on the part of the United States to introduce a loyal administration of the laws.

Treasonable organizations ready for armed resistance to the Government.

Every local government in Utah is a treasonable organization, framed as much with a view to resist United States authority as for civil administration. The only authority the civil officers recognize is the Mormon church, and its demands they will blindly obey, even to armed resistance of national authority.

The registration—Mormon leaders defiant.

A telegram from Salt Lake City, October 9, 1882, said: "The conference which adjourned yesterday was well attended. The talk was more bitter than usual. Mr. Cannon said that no power on earth nor in hell could check or prevent the onward march of the kingdom of God. He did not feel defiant, but that he must obey the Lord and be faithful to his commands, whatever penalties men might inflict. President Taylor said: 'Any man or set of men who curtail or deprive us of our constitutional rights are tyrants and oppressors. We intend to lawfully contend for our rights, inch by inch.' The board of education was restrained by an injunction from contracting for school-books for the public schools, which contain forty per cent of Mormon sectarian matter. The returns of the registration have been published, showing 34,000 names, four out of nine being of men, and three out of four Mormons."

One county and one town loyal—All the rest rebellious.

A telegram from Salt Lake City, October 17, 1882, said: "The county officers of Piute County have turned over their offices to the appointees of the governor under the Hoar amendment. The county has a large Gentile element. The municipal officers of Corinne, a Gentile town on the railroad, have also turned over their offices to the governor's appointees, but in all other cases the incumbents, although largely polygamists, have refused to give up possession. Applications for writs of mandamus have been argued in the first and third district courts, and the judges have the matter under advisement."

An arrest for polygamy—Probably a test case.

Another telegram from Salt Lake City, October 17, 1882, said: "Last night a man named Hintze was arrested on complaint of his neighbors for violation of the Edmunds law in cohabiting with more than one woman.

He was about to start on a mission. The case was heard to-day before a commissioner."

Talmage on the overthrow of polygamy—The coming "bloody encounter"—Democrats to blame for its survival.

In his Friday night's talk at the Brooklyn Tabernacle, at this time, the Rev. T. De Witt Talmage said:

"Among the marvellous topics of this week is the great effort of Mormonism to defeat the overthrow of polygamy. Governor Murray, whom I personally know as an upright man and a man of integrity, has performed his whole duty in attempting to execute the law of Congress for the driving out of that old hog of the mountains—polygamy. But he is now threatened with impeachment. The attempt is being made through a skilful handling of technicalities by acute counsel to defeat the sentiment of all the decent people of America. What an amazing thing that a man like Jeremiah Black, in no need of counsel-fees, would undertake this filthy business. Mormonism will resist through the courts as long as possible, and then it will go into bloody encounter. I am more and more persuaded of the truth of what I said two years ago in this place, that polygamy will never be driven out of Utah except by the bayonet. It is well to try peaceful legislation at first, but it is well enough to know that Mormonism is so thoroughly entrenched, so contemptuous of the law, so infuriate to the United States' Government, that nothing that Congress has yet done will move the abomination the thousandth part of an inch. If President Buchanan had allowed Colonel A. S. Johnston to go ahead with his army in 1857, after he had arrived in Utah, polygamy would have been dead a quarter of a century ago; but the over-married Mormons cut off three of our supply-trains and captured 800 oxen, and forthwith the United States Government went into treaty, the Mormons promising to behave well if the United States Government would fall back and let them alone. Our Government fell back, and up to this hour the organized libertinism of Utah is master of the situation. Jeremiah S. Black, who was James Buchanan's Cabinet officer—first as Attorney-General and then as Secretary of State—will, law-book in hand, argue the unconstitutionality of Governor Murray's attempt to stay this plague. Let your heartiest patriotic sympathy go out toward Governor Murray in Utah Territory, and all who with him are trying to fight down this monstrosity of the American Nation. It requires no small courage for men to do their whole duty when surrounded by cut-throats and debauchees, their venom and their rottenness organized into a religion."

The kind of a saint Brigham Young, Jr., is—Better his child in hell than in a Christian school!

It was in this same month also that Brigham Young, Jr., in a speech at Salt Lake City denouncing the Gentile free-school system, said:

"I have not a son or a daughter that I would not rather see carried to their graves than to have one of them listen to Christian teachings. I would rather take my child and throw it into hell than send it to an outside school. That's the kind of a *Latter-Day Saint I am*. I want our children taught by a teacher who understands the Word of God as I understand it. They should be taught the Book of Mormon and the revelations of God to the prophet Joseph Smith. *I look upon these people who come out here among us as robbers, who come to take away our children as wolves among the children of Israel.* To-day we are struggling against 50,000,000 people; to-morrow we may be struggling against 100,000,000. How are we going to succeed? Not by our own strength. *There's a bit of faith in my own strength. If I had, I should have hurt some-*

body long ago. I would not have stood what I have. But God is with us, and in this fight one shall prevail against a thousand, and two against ten thousand."

PART V.

President Arthur's Subsequent Recommendations to Congress—"Stout" Weapons Needed to Attack Polygamy—Senator Hoar's Bill—More Democratic Obstruction in Senate—Vote on Passage—The Bill not Considered by the Democratic House.

In his second annual message to Congress, Dec. 4, 1882, President Arthur said on this subject:

"The results which have thus far attended the enforcement of the recent statute for the suppression of polygamy in the Territories are reported by the Secretary of the Interior. It is not probable that any additional legislation in this regard will be deemed desirable until the effect of existing laws shall be more closely observed and studied.

"I congratulate you that the commissioners, under whose supervision those laws have been put in operation, are encouraged to believe that the evil at which they are aimed may be suppressed without resort to such radical measures as in some quarters have been thought indispensable for success."

It was probably in view of this suggestion and of the general belief that sufficient time had not been given to test the value of the Edmunds law, that no further legislation was had at the ensuing second session Forty-seventh Congress, although Senator Edmunds reported a bill from the Judiciary Committee, Jan. 11, 1883, which was briefly considered Feb. 21 and 23 and laid over.

In his third annual message, however, President Arthur said:

"The Utah commission has submitted to the Secretary of the Interior its second annual report. As a result of its labors in supervising the recent election in that Territory pursuant to the act of March 22, 1882, it appears that persons by that act disqualified, to the number of 12,000, were excluded from the polls. This fact, however, affords little cause for congratulation, and I fear that it is far from indicating any real and substantial progress toward the extirpation of polygamy. All the members-elect of the Legislature are Mormons. There is grave reason to believe that they are in sympathy with the practices that this Government is seeking to suppress, and that its efforts in that regard will be more likely to encounter their opposition than to receive their encouragement and support. Even if this view should happily be erroneous, the law under which the commissioners have been acting should be made more effective by the incorporation of some such stringent amendments as they recommend, and as were included in bill No. 2238 (Mr. Edmunds') on the calendar of the Senate at its last session.

"I am convinced, however, that polygamy has become so strongly entrenched in the Territory of Utah that it is profitless to attack it with any but the stoutest weapons which constitutional legislation can fashion. I favor, therefore, the repeal of the act upon which the existing government depends, the assumption by the National Legislature of the entire political control of the Territory, and

the establishment of a commission with such powers and duties as shall be delegated to it by law. . . ."

The language of this message and the facts presented in the report of the Utah commission showed the necessity for an early and stringent measure to suppress the "twin relic." Accordingly at the first session Forty-eighth Congress, Mr. Hoar, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported to the Senate his bill on the subject, the first seven sections of which are almost identical with those of the Edmunds bill of the previous Congress (Section 2238), referred to in the President's message, while its seventeenth section is the same as the eighth section of the Edmunds bill aforesaid, the balance of Mr. Hoar's bill being new. Mr. Hoar's bill, after a three days' fight in the Senate, in which the Democrats voted solidly in almost each instance to strike out vital points or to load it down with obnoxious amendments, finally passed June 18, 1884, without amendment—save the insertion of the proviso at the end of the tenth section—by a vote of 33 yeas to 15 Democratic nays, in the following shape:

Full Text of Mr. Hoar's bill as it passed the Republican Senate.

"AN ACT to amend an act entitled 'An act to amend section fifty-three hundred and fifty-two of the Revised Statutes of the United States, in reference to bigamy, and for other purposes,' approved March twenty-second, eighteen hundred and eighty-two.

"Be it enacted, etc., That in any proceeding and examination before a grand jury, a judge, justice, or a United States commissioner, or a court in any prosecution for bigamy, polygamy, or unlawful cohabitation, under any statute of the United States, the lawful husband or wife of the person accused shall be a competent witness, and may be called and may be compelled to testify in such proceeding, examination, or prosecution, without the consent of the husband or wife, as the case may be; but such witness shall not be permitted to testify as to any confidential statement or communication made by either husband or wife to each other during the existence of the marriage relation.

"Sec. 2. That in any prosecution for bigamy, polygamy, or unlawful cohabitation, under any statute of the United States, whether before a United States commissioner, justice, judge, a grand jury, or any court, an attachment for any witness may be issued by the court, judge, or commissioner, without a previous subpoena, compelling the immediate attendance of such witness when it shall appear to the commissioner, justice, judge, or court, as the case may be, that there is reasonable ground to believe that such witness will unlawfully fail to obey a subpoena issued and served in the usual course in such cases; and in such case the usual witness fees shall be paid to such witness so attached: *Provided*, That no person shall be held in custody under any attachment issued as provided by this section for a longer time than ten days; and the person attached may at any time secure his or her discharge from custody by executing a recognizance, with sufficient sureties, conditioned for the appearance of such person at the proper time as a witness in the cause or proceeding wherein the attachment may be issued.

"Sec. 3. That any prosecution under any statute of the United States for bigamy, polygamy, or unlawful cohabitation may be commenced at any time within five years next after the commission of the offence; but this provision shall not be construed to apply to any offence already barred by any existing statute of limitation.

"Sec. 4. That every ceremony of marriage, or in the nature of a marriage ceremony, of any kind, in any of the Territories of the United States, whether either or both or more of the parties to such ceremony be lawfully competent to be the subjects of such marriage or ceremony or not, shall be certified in writing by a certificate stating the fact and nature of such ceremony, the full names of each of the parties concerned, and the full name of every officer, priest, and person, by whatever style or designation called or known, in any way taking part in the performance of such ceremony, which certificate shall be drawn up and signed by the parties to such ceremony, and by every officer, priest, and person taking part in the performance of such ceremony, and shall be by the officer, priest, or other person solemnizing such marriage or ceremony filed in the office of the probate court, or, if there be none, in the office of the court having probate powers in the county or district in which such ceremony shall take place, for record, and shall be immediately recorded. Such certificates shall be *prima facie* evidence of the facts required by this act to be stated therein, in any proceeding, civil or criminal, in which the matter shall be drawn in question. Any person who shall violate any of the provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than one thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not longer than two years, or by both said punishments in the discretion of the court.

"Sec. 5. That every certificate, record, and entry of any kind concerning any ceremony of marriage, or in the nature of a marriage ceremony of any kind, made or kept by any officer, clergyman, priest, or person performing civil or ecclesiastical functions, whether lawful or not, in any Territory of the United States, and any record thereof in any office or place, shall be subject to inspection at all reasonable times by any judge, magistrate, or officer of justice appointed under the authority of the United States, and shall, on request, be produced and shown to such judge, magistrate, or officer by any person in whose possession or control the same may be. Every person who shall violate the provisions of this section shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than one thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not longer than two years, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court. And it shall be lawful for any United States commissioner, justice, judge, or court before whom any proceeding shall be pending in which such certificate, record, or entry may be material, by proper warrant, to cause such certificate, record, or entry, and the book, document, or paper containing the same, to be taken and brought before him or it for the purposes of such proceeding.

"Sec. 6. That nothing in this act shall be held to cause the proof of marriage, whether lawful or unlawful, by any evidence now legally admissible for that purpose.

"Sec. 7. That it shall not be lawful for any female to vote at any election hereafter held in the Territory of Utah for any public purpose whatever, and no such vote shall be received or counted or given effect in any manner whatever; and any and every act of the governor and legislative assembly of the Territory of Utah providing for or allowing the registration or voting by females is hereby annulled.

"Sec. 8. That all laws of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Utah which provide for numbering or identifying the votes of the electors at any election in said Territory are hereby disapproved and annulled; but the foregoing provision shall not preclude the lawful registration of votes, or any other provisions for securing fair elections which do not involve the disclosure of the candidates for whom any particular elector shall have voted.

"Sec. 9. That the laws enacted by the legislative assembly of the Territory of Utah conferring jurisdiction upon probate courts, or the judges thereof, or any of them, in said Territory, other than in respect of the estates of deceased persons and in respect of the guardianship of the persons and property of infants, and in respect of the persons and property of persons not of sound mind, are hereby

disapproved and annulled; and no probate court or judge of probate shall exercise any jurisdiction other than in respect of the matters aforesaid; and every such jurisdiction so by force of this act withdrawn from the said probate courts or judges shall be had and exercised by the district courts of said Territory, respectively.

"SEC. 10. That the laws enacted by the legislative assembly of the Territory of Utah which provide for or recognize the capacity of illegitimate children to inherit or to be entitled to any distributive share in the estate of the father of such illegitimate child are hereby disapproved and annulled; and no illegitimate child shall hereafter be entitled to inherit from his or her father, or to receive any distributive share in the estate of his or her father: *Provided*, That this section shall not apply to any illegitimate child born previous to the passage of this act.

"SEC. 11. That all laws of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Utah which provide that prosecution for adultery can only be commenced on the complaint of the husband or wife are hereby disapproved and annulled; and all prosecutions for adultery may hereafter be instituted in the same way that prosecutions for other crimes are.

"SEC. 12. That the acts of the legislative assembly of Utah incorporating, continuing, or providing for the corporation known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and the ordinance of the so-called general assembly of the State of Deseret incorporating the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, so far as the same may now have legal force and validity, are hereby disapproved and annulled, so far as the same may preclude the appointment by the United States of certain trustees of said corporation as is hereinafter provided. The President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint fourteen trustees of the said corporation, who shall have and exercise all the powers and functions of trustees and assistant trustees provided for in the laws creating, amending, or continuing the said corporation, which trustees so appointed shall hold their respective offices for the term of two years; and the trustees of said corporation shall annually or oftener make a full report to the Secretary of the Interior embracing all the property, business affairs, and operations of the said corporation; and the legislative assembly of the Territory of Utah shall not have power to change the laws respecting said corporation without the approval of Congress. Said trustees shall each give bond, payable to the United States, with good and sufficient security, for the faithful discharge of the duties incumbent upon him as trustee, in such sum as may be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior.

"SEC. 13. That it shall be the duty of the Attorney-General of the United States to institute and prosecute proceedings to forfeit and escheat to the United States the property of corporations obtained or held in violation of section three of the act of Congress approved the first day of July, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, entitled 'An act to punish and prevent the practice of polygamy in the Territories of the United States and other places, and disapproving and annulling certain acts of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Utah,' or in violation of section eighteen hundred and ninety of the Revised Statutes of the United States: and all such property so forfeited and escheated to the United States shall be disposed of by the Secretary of the Interior and the proceeds thereof applied to the use and benefit of the common schools in the Territory in which such property may be: *Provided*, That no building shall be forfeited which is held and occupied exclusively for purposes of religious worship.

"SEC. 14. That in any proceeding for the enforcement of the provisions of law against corporations or associations acquiring or holding property in any Territory of the United States in excess of the amount limited by law, the court before which such proceeding may be instituted shall have power in a summary way to compel the production of all books, records, papers, and documents of or belonging to any trustee or person holding or controlling or managing property in which such corporation may have any right, title, or interest whatever.

"SEC. 15. That all laws of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Utah, or of the so-called government of the State of Deseret, creating, organizing,

amending, or continuing the corporation or association called the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, are hereby disapproved and annulled; and it shall not be lawful for the legislative assembly of the Territory of Utah to create, organize, or in any manner recognize any corporation or association for the purpose of or operating to accomplish the bringing of persons into the said Territory for any purpose whatsoever.

"SEC. 16. That it shall be the duty of the Attorney-General of the United States to cause such proceedings to be taken in the supreme court of the Territory of Utah as shall be proper to dissolve the said corporation and pay the debts and to dispose of the property and assets thereof according to law. Said property and assets, in excess of the debts and the amount of any lawful claims established by the court against the same, shall escheat to the United States, and shall be taken, invested, and disposed of by the Secretary of the Interior, under the direction of the President of the United States for the benefit of common schools in said Territory.

"SEC. 17. That the existing election districts and apportionments of representation concerning the members of the legislative assembly of the Territory of Utah are hereby abolished; and it shall be the duty of the governor, Territorial secretary, and the United States judges in said Territory forthwith to redistrict said Territory, and apportion representation in the same in such manner as to provide, as nearly as may be, for an equal representation of the people (excepting Indians not taxed), being citizens of the United States, according to numbers, in said legislative assembly, and to the number of members of the Council and House of Representatives, respectively, as now established by law; and a record of the establishment of such new districts and the apportionment of representation thereto shall be made in the office of the secretary of said Territory, and such establishment and representation shall continue until Congress shall otherwise provide; and no person other than citizens of the United States otherwise qualified shall be entitled to vote at any election in said Territory.

"SEC. 18. That the provisions of section nine of said act approved March twenty-second, eighteen hundred and eighty-two, in regard to registration and election offices, and the registration of voters, and the conduct of elections, and the powers and duties of the board therein mentioned, shall continue and remain operative until the provision and laws therein referred to be made and enacted by the legislative assembly of said Territory of Utah shall have been made and enacted by said assembly and shall have been approved by Congress.

"SEC. 19. That whoever commits adultery shall be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary not exceeding three years; and when the act is committed between a married woman and a man who is unmarried, both parties to such act shall be deemed guilty of adultery; and when such act is committed between a married man and a woman who is unmarried, the man shall be deemed guilty of adultery.

"SEC. 20. That if an unmarried man or woman commits fornication, each of them shall be punished by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or by a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars.

"SEC. 21. That commissioners appointed by the supreme court and district courts in the Territory of Utah shall possess and may exercise all the powers and jurisdiction that are or may be possessed or exercised by justices of the peace in said Territory under the laws thereof, and the same powers conferred by law on commissioners appointed by circuit courts of the United States.

"SEC. 22. That the marshal of said Territory of Utah, and his deputies, shall possess and may exercise all the powers in executing the laws of the United States, possessed and exercised by sheriffs and their deputies as peace officers; and each of them shall cause all offenders against the law, in his view, to enter into recognizance to keep the peace and to appear at the next term of the court having jurisdiction of the case, and to commit to jail in case of failure to give such recognizance. They shall quell and suppress assaults and batteries, riots, routs, affrays, and insurrections, and shall apprehend and commit to jail all felons.

"SEC. 23. That the office of Territorial superintendent of district schools created by the laws of Utah

is hereby declared vacant; and it shall be the duty of the supreme court of said Territory to appoint a Territorial superintendent of district schools, who shall possess and exercise all the powers and duties imposed by the laws of said Territory upon the Territorial superintendent of district schools, and who shall receive the same salary and compensation, which shall be paid out of the treasury of said Territory; and the laws of the Territory of Utah providing for the method of election and appointment of such Territorial superintendent of district schools are hereby suspended until the further action of Congress shall be had in respect thereto. The said superintendent shall have power to prohibit the use in any district school of any book of a sectarian character or otherwise unsuitable. Said superintendent shall collect and classify statistics and other information respecting the district schools in said Territory, showing their progress, the whole number of children of school age, the number who attend school in each year in the respective counties, and average length of time of their attendance, the number of teachers and the compensation paid to the same, the number of teachers who are Mormons, the number who are so-called Gentiles, the number of children of Mormon parents and the number of children of so-called Gentile parents, and their respective average attendance at school. All of which statistics and information shall be annually reported to Congress, through the governor of said Territory and the Department of the Interior.

"SEC. 24. (a) A widow shall be endowed of the third part of all the lands whereof her husband was seized of an estate of inheritance at any time during the marriage.

"(b) The widow of any alien who at the time of his death shall be entitled by law to hold any real estate, if she be an inhabitant of the Territory at the time of such death, shall be entitled to dower of such estate in the same manner as if such alien had been a native citizen.

"(c) If a husband seized of an estate of inheritance in lands exchanges them for other lands, his widow shall not have dower of both, but shall make her election to be endowed of the lands given or of those taken in exchange; and if such election be not evinced by the commencement of proceedings to recover her dower of the lands given in exchange within one year after the death of her husband, she shall be deemed to have elected to take her dower of the lands received in exchange.

"(d) When a person seized of an estate of inheritance in lands shall have executed a mortgage on such estate before marriage, his widow shall nevertheless be entitled to dower out of the lands mortgaged, as against every person except the mortgagee and those claiming under him.

"(e) Where a husband shall purchase lands during coverture, and shall at the same time mortgage his estate in such lands to secure the payment of the purchase-money, his widow shall not be entitled to dower out of such lands, as against the mortgagee

or those claiming under him, although she shall not have united in such mortgage; but she shall be entitled to her dower as against all other persons.

(f) Where in such case the mortgagee, or those claiming under him, shall, after the death of the husband of such widow, cause the land mortgaged to be sold, either under a power of sale contained in the mortgage or by virtue of the decree of a court of equity, and if any surplus shall remain after payment of the moneys due on such mortgage and the costs and charges of the sale, such widow shall nevertheless be entitled to the interest or income of the one third part of such surplus, for her life, as her dower.

(g) A widow shall not be endowed of lands conveyed to her husband by way of mortgage unless he acquire an absolute estate therein during the marriage period.

(h) In case of divorce dissolving the marriage contract for the misconduct of the wife, she shall not be endowed.

The detailed vote by which this Republican measure passed the Republican Senate was as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Beck, Bowen, Cameron of Wis., Colquitt, Conger, Cullom, Dawes, Dolph, Edmunds, Fair, Frye, Garland, Harrison, Ingalls, Jackson, Jones of Fla., Jones of Nev., Lapham, McMillan, McPherson, Mahone, Manderson, Miller of Cal., Mitchell, Morrill, Palmer, Pike, Pugh, Ridleberger, Sawyer, Voorhees, and Wilson—33.

NAYS—Messrs. Bayard, Broen, Coke, George, Hampton, Jonas, Kenna, Lamar, Maxey, Morgan, Pendleton, Ransom, Vance, Vest, and Walker—15.

An analysis of this vote shows that eight Democrats voted for the passage of the bill, to fifteen Democrats who voted against it, and that twenty-four Republicans voted for it and not one Republican against it. Every vote against the bill was a Democratic vote, as almost every vote in favor of emasculating amendments to it was a Democratic vote.

In the Democratic House of Representatives, with its majority of seventy-seven Democrats, the bill was not even allowed to come up for discussion and consideration!

If the "moral sentiment" of this country, to which the "I-am-holler-than-thou" Pharisees appeal, does not condemn the Democratic ticket headed by Cleveland upon other grounds, it cannot fail to condemn it in view of the Democracy's polygamy-protecting legislative record.

CHAPTER XII.

Pensions and Bounties.

"The system of direct taxation known as 'internal revenue' is a war tax, and so long as THE LAW CONTINUES, the money derived therefrom should be . . . made a fund to defray the expenses of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in the line of duty in the wars of the republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers. . . ."—Democratic National Platform, 1884.

"The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the union soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican Party stands pledged to suitable pensions to all who were disabled, and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican Party pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the Arrears Act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions shall begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of the application."—Republican National Platform, 1884.

"IT IS BETTER TO TRUST THOSE WHO ARE TRIED THAN THOSE WHO PRETEND."—General Logan's speech at Clinton, Ill., 1878.

PART I.

**The Republican Pension Act of 1862—
Subsequent Legislation for the Union
Soldier—Republican Gratitude in Ac-
tion—Hundreds of Millions for Pen-
sioners.**

Democratic cant and insincerity were never more evident than in the impudent claim recently set forth that "the Democrats in Congress have done more for the soldiers than the Republicans have." Let us examine the record:

The fundamental law under which pensions are granted was passed by the Republicans July 14, 1862, when the majority of Democratic leaders were either in arms against the Government or plotting treason at the Capitol.

It bestowed with a lavish hand pensions upon all those who should become disabled, in whole or in part, in the service of their country, and to the dependent relatives of those who should die from causes originating in such service, including widows, children, mothers, and sisters.

It was the first comprehensive provision in that behalf, and laid the foundation for the generous allowances now made by law.

The acts of April 9, 1864, July 4, 1864, March 3, 1865, June 6, 1866, July 25, 1868, July 27, 1868, July 7, 1870, July 8, 1870, February 14, 1871, June 8, 1872, March 3, 1873, June 6, 1874, June 18, 1874 (2), as will

be observed, rapidly followed, under the Republican control of Congress.

They all liberalize the provisions of the fundamental law, either by enlarging the classes benefited, or by increasing the amounts payable to classes theretofore established.

Among other important provisions the following are most prominent.

I. The extension of the limitation within which claims should be filed—to commence the pension from the date of discharge in the case of a soldier, and from his death in the case of a widow or dependent relative.

The fundamental law made the limit one year. The act of June 6, 1866, extended it to three years, and the act of July 27, 1868, to five years, and under both these laws arrears of pensions were allowed and paid in thousands of cases.

II. The act of July 4, 1864, increased pensions for loss of both feet from \$8 to \$20 per month, and for loss of both hands or both eyes, from \$8 to \$25 per month. It also included non-enlisted men disabled while serving as pensionable, and granted the accrued pension due a pensioner to his relatives.

The act of March 3, 1865, increased pensions for loss of foot and hand from \$8 to \$20 per month. The act of June 6, 1866, increased invalid pensions as follows:

Loss of both hands or both feet to \$25 per month.

Loss of both feet or hand and foot to \$20 per month.

Loss of one hand or one foot, or equivalent disability, \$15 per month.

These provisions benefited 19,000 pensioners.

That act also enlarged the provisions of the act of July 4, 1864, by giving to the relatives of a claimant all he (the soldier) would have received had he lived to complete his claim, and was the first provision of law granting pensions to dependent fathers and orphan brothers.

In 1866 the Republicans passed what was known as the "additional bounty act," under which the soldiers have been paid \$71,154-529.81.

The act of July 25, 1866, granted increase to widow pensioners of \$2 a month for each child, by the soldier, under sixteen years of age, and if there was no widow, increased the pensions of minor children to an amount equal to that the widow would have received. Under this provision 18,000 pensions were at once increased, and a large number annually since.

The act of July 27, 1868, gave the \$2 per month increase for children of the soldier by a former wife, increased the pensions of those soldiers who, having only one eye, lost the same because of their service, from \$8 to \$25 per month, &c., &c.

The act of July 8, 1870, provided a new system—substantially that now in use—for paying pensions, making the payments quarterly instead of semi-annually, requiring all checks to be drawn to the order of the pensioner, and otherwise throwing around them safeguards to protect the pensioners from being defrauded by those they employed to collect their pension.

The act of February 14, 1871, was the first provision granting pensions for service in the war of 1812.

The act of June 8, 1872, entitled all who had received \$15, \$18, and \$24, for specific disabilities, to \$20, \$25, and \$31.25 respectively.

The act of March 3, 1873, brought into harmonious relations the laws previously passed relating to pensions, and largely increased those for certain disabilities, &c., to wit: for loss of leg above the knee, under certain conditions, from \$18 to \$25.

For disabilities not permanent it granted, during their continuance, a like pension as if permanent, the latter only having been provided for under previous laws. It also increased the pensions for disabilities entitling to more than \$8 and less than \$18 per month, to a rate intermediate to those grades, viz.: \$12, \$14, \$16, &c.

The act of June 18, 1874, increased the rates of those pensioners entitled to \$31.25 per month, and whose disabilities were permanent, to \$50 per month. Another act of the same date increased from \$18 to \$24 per month the pensions of all who had lost an arm above the elbow or a leg above the knee.

Under these various provisions of law, and

the few minor provisions of law enacted since the Democrats have obtained control of the House of Representatives, exclusive of the Arrears Acts of January and March, 1878, more than 1,500,000 settlements have been made in the Pension Office, and more than \$404,000,000, has been paid thereon.

It will be observed that under Republican auspices the classes of pensioners were made to embrace all now provided for by law, and the rates of pensions were liberalized to a scale largely in excess of that ever before adopted by any government, and they were made to conform to the degrees of disability actually existing, viewed in relation to the incapacity of the pensioner for earning a livelihood, and the classes benefited by increased rates are numbered by tens of thousands; while under Democratic control the provisions of law enacted benefited but a few, and their pensions had already been increased to the higher grades.

PART II.

The Republican Party puts a Guarantee of National Gratitude into the Constitution—The Democracy, Violating Its Canting Promises, tries to keep it out—The Vote of Thomas A. Hendricks and other Copperheads—Equalization of Bounties.

In the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States will be found these words:

"*Sec. 4.—The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. . . .*"

When the Senate, on the 8th June, 1866, passed the Fourteenth Amendment with this practical declaration of gratitude to the Union soldier for suppressing the rebellion and maintaining inviolate not only the platform declarations of the Republican Party but its pension and bounties bills as already enacted, and those thereafter to be placed on the statute-book, the vote by which it passed was 33 yeas to 11 nays—5 not voting—
as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Anthony, Chandler, Clark, Conness, Cragin, Cresswell, Edmunds, Fessenden, Foster, Grimes, Harris, Henderson, Howard, Howe, Kirkwood, Lane of Kansas, Lane of Indiana, Morgan, Morrill, Nye, Poland, Pomeroy, Ramsey, Sherman, Sprague, Stewart, Sumner, Trumbull, Wade, Willey, Williams, Wilson, and Yeates—33.

NAYS—Messrs. Cowan, Davis, Doolittle, Guthrie, Hendricks, Johnson, McDougall, Norton, Riddle, Saulsbury, and Van Winkle—11.

The Senate, as will be seen, at that time, owing to a vacancy, comprised 39 Republicans, and 9 Democrats. Of the 39 Republicans, 4 voted against and 33 voted for the

Amendment; while of the 9 Democrats, 7 voted against the Amendment which contains the provision above mentioned—*Mr. Thomas A. Hendricks, the Democratic nominee for Vice-President, being one of the seven.* Will the old soldiers and sailors and their relatives and friends feel like voting for Hendricks, who thus placed himself on record against pensions and bounties to Union soldiers and sailors, when their especial friend, the father of the arrearages and other pension bills, General Logan, is the Republican nominee for the same exalted place? Hardly!

In the House of Representatives, June 13, 1866, the Amendment passed by 138 yeas to 36 nays, all the yeas being Republicans and all the nays Democrats. There were 6 Republicans and 4 Democrats who did not vote.

The Amendment was ratified by the State Legislatures with the party lines drawn just as strictly—Republicans for, Democrats against.

Equalization of Bounties Bill in 43d and 44th Congresses—Democratic Opposition.

The 43d Congress (Republican) passed a bill for the equalization of bounties which failed to become a law, owing to the fact that it passed too late to receive the President's signature.

Such representative Democrats in the House as Clarkson N. Potter, Thomas Swan, Eppa Hunton, *et al.*, voted against it, and in the Senate only one Democrat voted for it.

The 44th Congress (the House being Democratic) revived the measure passed in the 43d. The Democrats made a movement in its favor—not because they wished it to become a law, but because they knew that to equalize the bounties under it would cost at least \$100,000,000, and, there being no money in the Treasury available for the purpose, the national debt would have to be increased that amount in order to meet it—a measure which they knew would meet with wide-spread denunciation. The Rebel Brigadiers, however, such as Blackburn, Buckner, Forney, Goode, Hooker, Herford, Hunton, Mills, Reagan, Schleicher, Throckmorton, *et al.*, violently opposed it, while only two Republicans voted against it. It was originally a Republican measure, and passed both Houses when they were Republican, and would have passed again in 1876 if the Senate could have reached it in time and there had been money in the Treasury to meet the expense without increasing the national debt.

What the Record thus far Shows.

Hence it is plain to the most ordinary comprehension that, instead of doing "more for the soldiers than the Republicans have," the Democrats fought the most material Republican measures in favor of the soldiers, and would have defeated such measures had

they the power; that the Republicans, not satisfied with legislating for the soldier by their votes in a Republican Congress and in Republican Legislatures, implanted in the Constitution of the country itself, beyond danger of removal or abrogation, the sacred acknowledgment of the nation's gratitude to the Union soldier—the declaration that "*the validity of . . . debts incurred for payment of bounties and pensions for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion shall not be questioned.*" while the copperhead Democrats in Congress, with Hendricks at their head, and in the State Legislatures, sought to defeat the adoption of that acknowledgment in the Constitution, to say nothing of their attempts to defeat various measures of legislation enacted by Republican Congresses for the benefit of the Union soldier, to which reference will hereafter be made. Thus the declaration in the National Republican Platform of 1864, touching Union soldiers, that "the Nation owes to them some *permanent recognition* of their patriotism and their valor, and *ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds* in the service of their country," has been put by the Republican Party into imperishable acts; while the canting, and hypocritical promise in the National Democratic Platform of 1864, that "in the event of its [the Democratic Party's] attaining power, they [the Union soldiers and sailors] will receive all the cure, protection, and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the Republic so nobly earned," was within two years (in 1866) ruthlessly and shamelessly violated.

PART III.

The So-called Democratic Record and What it Amounts to—Re-enactment by Democrats of a few old Republican Measures.

The acts upon which the Democracy base their claim to the title of the "soldiers' friend" are the following:

On May 24, 1878, the House passed a bill to increase the pensions of pensioned soldiers and sailors who had lost either both hands or both feet, or the sight of both eyes, in the service of the country. It provided that the pensions of such soldiers and sailors should be increased to \$72 per month.

This bill, which became an act June 17, 1878, and its supplement of March 3, 1879, affected only those who were previously entitled to \$50 per month under the act of June 18, 1874, and probably embraced less than 200 pensioners.

Another bill passed on May 24, 1873, increased the pensions of all soldiers who had suffered amputation of their leg at the hip-joint to \$37.50 per month.

This bill, which became an act March 3, 1870, increased less than twenty pensions, and they were before in receipt of \$24 per month.

On May 23, 1878, Mr. Riddle, of Tennessee, reported a bill to amend the pension act of 1874 so as to extend its provisions to all persons who had lost an arm below the elbow, or so near the elbow, or a leg below the knee, or so near the knee as to destroy the use of the elbow or knee-joint, and rated such persons in the second class and to receive a pension of \$24 per month.

This bill, had it become a law, would have affected but few, probably not more than one hundred. Those who lost the arm *above* the elbow or the leg *above* the knee were already entitled to \$24 per month, and the law was intended to benefit only those who had suffered amputation just at the elbow or knee, or so near as to destroy its use. As a matter of fact it was not rejected by the Senate, but was referred to its Committee on Pensions, which failed to report it to the Senate.

The only provision which passed the House under Democratic control, except the Republican Arrears Act, that would have affected any very large number of soldiers, was the bill to increase the pensions of those who had lost one limb. The increase proposed was twelve dollars per month, and it would have benefited about 4000 pensioners.

The only additional Democratic measure was that of February 28, 1877, "to allow a pension of \$36 a month to soldiers who have lost both an arm and a leg." This benefited a number not exceeding two hundred pensioners.

Another measure for which the Democracy claim credit was a bill reported in June, 1876, to regulate the issue of artificial limbs.

The first section provided that every person who in the line of his duty in the military or naval service of the United States shall have lost a limb, or sustained bodily injuries, depriving him of the use of any of his limbs, shall receive once every five years an artificial limb or appliance, under such regulations as the surgeon-general of the army may prescribe; and the period of five years shall be held to commence with the filing of the application after the 17th day of January, in the year 1870.

Now, the facts are that the practice of granting artificial limbs to soldiers and sailors who lost their natural limbs in the service has existed since the passage of the act of July 16, 1862; and on July 28, 1866, Congress passed an act "to authorize the Secretary of War to furnish transportation to discharged soldiers to whom artificial limbs are furnished by the Government."

On July 27, 1868, an act was passed placing officers upon the same footing with privates as to artificial limbs. On July 17, 1870, another act was passed authorizing the War Department to furnish a new limb or appa-

ratus to all those previously supplied, and at the expiration of every five years thereafter another. Or if the soldier so elected he could receive money commutation therefor of from fifty to seventy-five dollars; and the act of June 30, 1870, extended the provision to all classes, including transportation. Under these laws advantageous arrangements were made with manufacturers through whom limbs were procured at rates largely reduced from market prices.

The act of August 15, 1876, was simply a re-enactment, with slight and unimportant changes, of previous enactments.

Democratic "aversion" to pension bills—Democrats admit it.

That the Democratic Party in Congress has ever done the least thing in legislation for the Union soldier is surprising in view of its known hostility to him and to the great cause he represents. That party, as the record plainly shows, has fought the Union soldier often enough, and when he most needed help, in the Halls of Congress, and its impudent claim at this late day that it has done "more for the soldiers than the Republicans have" will not avail it in its effort to catch the soldiers' vote at this election. "Whales are not to be caught by gudgeons." The plain truth of the matter is that Democratic Congressmen have, as a rule, inherited a legacy of hate for the Union soldier, and while generally pretending to love him just before a Presidential election, the moment the election is over—and especially would this be the case if Cleveland and Hendricks were elected or fraudulently "counted in"—they would fling him aside like a piece of waste paper. It is the "Confederate" and not the "Union" soldier that they really love.

To show that that legacy of hate continues, it is only necessary to refer reasonable men to the proofs hereafter given in their action upon the Arrears of Pensions bill of 1879 and upon proposed legislation in the present Congress. But for those who need further proof, let them read the *thoroughly pried up* letters written by two Northern Democratic Representatives to their Pennsylvania constituents, in 1880, in which one of them, the Hon. F. E. Beltzhoover, Democratic Congressman from the Nineteenth Congressional District of Pennsylvania, declines (April 23, 1880) to introduce and urge the passage of a Pension bill, because, "with the present Democratic House pension bills do not have much favor . . . and the rebel general who is at the head of the Pension Committee in the Senate is still more averse to allowing any such bills to pass;" while the other, the Hon. J. W. Ryon, Representative in Congress from the Schuylkill District of Pennsylvania, also declares in a letter to the same person that "the present House is averse to allowing claims for services rendered in support of the United States during the late war."

The Beltzhoover letter to Mr. Curriden.

Following is the letter of Representative Beltzhoover:

“**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,**
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 23, 1880.

“**DEAR SIR:** Your favor was received. I would most cheerfully introduce and urge the passage of a bill such as you suggest, but *with the present Democratic House pension bills do not have much favor*. It has become almost impossible to get consideration of such a bill at all, and when considered its chance of passing the House is very remote, and the *rebel general who is at the head of the Pension Committee in the Senate is still more averse to allowing any such bill to pass*. It would not be at all probable, therefore, that the bill will be got through. I will confer with your brother. If he thinks there is anything in the matter, I will very cordially act in the matter. Very truly,

“F. E. BELTZHOOVER.

“E. W. CURRIDEN, Esq.”

Another Beltzhoover letter to Mr. Minnick.

Following is another letter, like unto the first:

“**CARLISLE**, Penn., August 14, 1880.
“Mr. J. A. C. MINNICK, York, Penn.”

“The bill of Mrs. —— is pending before the Committee on Pensions of the House. I do not think the claim has been finally rejected by the Pension Office. The bill will be finally disposed of next session. *The last one was a very bad one for pensions*. Very truly,

“F. E. BELTZHOOVER.”

Representative Ryon's letter to Mr. Minnick.

Following is a letter from Mr. Minnick, addressed to the York (Pa.) *Evening Dispatch* of September 6, 1880:

“Why it is that the publication of letters from the Hon. F. E. Beltzhoover, with reference to the difficulty of obtaining favorable action in Congress on pensions and other military claims in behalf of the late Union soldiers or their representatives, should cause such a stir among Democrats, is a question every loyal veteran should ask before he makes up his mind to vote in favor of the ‘change’ asked by that party.

“The honorable member from that district is not the only one of his party that has admitted those facts. The Hon. J. W. Ryon, from the Schuylkill District, in a communication sent me after his failure to have a meritorious measure in behalf of a soldier passed, admitted that ‘*the present House is averse to allowing claims for services rendered in support of the United States during the late war*,’ although he favored and did all he could in support of the claim, which was substantiated by conclusive evidence of some of the best citizens of his district.

“In a communication I received from Mr. Beltzhoover on the 19th ult., in reference to a claim for pension now pending, he admits ‘that the last session was a very bad one for pensions,’ and such frank admissions, or the publication thereof, are certainly more to the credit of those gentlemen than against them, although not so with the majority of their colleagues on the same side of the House.

“J. A. C. MINNICK, Pension Claim Agent.”

In the New York *Tribune*, September 10, 1880, *fac-similes* and affidavits of the genuineness of these letters places the proof of their authenticity beyond all question.

PART IV.**The Republican Arrears of Pensions Act of 1879—The Fraudulent Democratic Claim to its Paternity and Enactment—The Conclusive Vote in Both Houses.**

On February 13, 1878, A. V. Rice, the Democratic chairman of the House Committee on Pensions, reported a bill granting arrears of pensions: “*also to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to restore to the roll the names of invalid pensioners stricken therefrom on account of disloyalty*,” etc.; this latter provision being the sop thrown to the rebel brigadiers to secure their support of or acquiescence in the measure. This bill was made a special order for February 27, 1878, but Mr. Rice failing to secure its consideration on that day, Mr. Cummings, a Republican member from Kansas, on April 2, 1878, introduced the bill (H. R. No. 4234) which was subsequently passed. It was referred to the Committee on Pensions, from which it was not reported back; and on June 19, 1878—the committee having for two months and more held on to the bill without reporting it—Mr. Haskell, a Republican member from Kansas, moved a suspension of the rules, in order that the Committee on Pensions may be discharged from the further consideration of bill H. R. No. 4234, and that it be passed with an amendment. Thereupon the following colloquy ensued:

“**Mr. BANNING.** I understand that this is the bill reported by the Committee on Pensions and recommended by them.

“**Mr. RIDDLE.** No, sir, it is not the bill.

“**THE SPEAKER pro tempore.** Debate is not in order.

“**Mr. BANNING.** I ask for the reading of that section which was not contained in the bill reported from the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

“**Mr. RICE,** of Ohio. This bill was not reported from the committee at all.

“**Mr. EDEN.** That is in the nature of the debate, and is not in order on a motion to suspend the rules.

“**Mr. CUMMINGS.** I call for the yeas and nays upon the motion to suspend the rules. . . . I withdraw the demand for the yeas and nays for the present.

“The question was put on the motion to suspend the rules—aye, 90; nays, 20; no quorum voting.

“**Mr. HASKELL.** I call for tellers.

“**Mr. BROWNE.** I call for yeas and nays.

“**Mr. WHITE.** Cannot we understand whether this is the bill that was reported from the Committee on Invalid Pensions or not?

“**Mr. RICE,** of Ohio. I will state that it is not the bill. I have been trying to get the bill, reported unanimously from the committee, acted upon, *but have failed to do so*.

“**Mr. CONGER.** I demand the yeas and nays.

“Ordered, and the bill was passed.”

The bill, the passage of which was secured under Mr. Haskell's motion, granted arrears to the date of discharge or death of the soldier without restriction or limitation, and gave to the pensioners, as estimated by the Commissioner of Pensions, the sum of \$34,000,000 in claims settled before the date of the act, while the bill which Mr. Rice

had reported to the House four months before, and which he had "been trying to get acted upon," but had "failed to do so," was a qualified bill in the following respects:

In the first place, it was limited by its fourth section to the pensioners on the roll. A pensioner having deceased, his widow or child, or other relatives, could not get a dollar under its provisions; a widow having remarried, or a minor child having become sixteen years of age could not get a dollar.

Secondly, it divided the pensioners on the roll into three classes, and bestowed arrears upon them unequally. To only widows, minors, mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters, receiving pensions, did it give the benefit which they derive from the present law. To the soldiers themselves it was not so liberal. Those disabled by wounds and injuries were to be paid from date of discharge, provided they filed their original claims within five years; "otherwise the pension shall commence from the time of the development of the disability resulting from such wounds or injuries," etc.

To those soldiers who are pensioned for the effect of diseases—the sick, the bed-ridden—who, while equally incapacitated with the wounded, are, as a class, the greatest sufferers, their pensions were to be made to commence, not from the date of the discharge, but "from the date of the application." In other words, they were to get no arrears except for the period between the filing of their claims in the Pension Office and the date of their allowance—an average time of about three years.

Compare the Rice bill, which was not passed, with the Cummings-Haskell bill, which was passed, in the amount of money it bestowed and the numbers benefited. According to the estimate of the Commissioner of Pensions the Rice bill granted arrears as follows:

To the widows, minors, mothers, etc.....	5,645	\$1,841,152.00
To wounded and injured soldiers.....	16,659	10,813,586.90
To the deceased soldiers.....	3,034	606,800.00
Total.....	25,338	13,761,538.90

The Cummings-Haskell bill granted arrears on claims allowed before January 1, 1879:

To widows, minors, mothers, etc.....	9,040	\$8,758,000.80
To the soldiers.....	36,106	23,114,434.40
Total.....	45,155	33,872,501.20

A difference in favor of the soldiers in the Cummings-Haskell bill over the Rice bill of 16,413 soldiers and \$14,194,047.50, and of 3,404 widows, dependent parents, and orphans, and \$8,916,914.80. Moreover, as the title above quoted shows, the seventh section of the Rice bill proposed the repeal of section 4716 of the Revised Statutes, which provides that no "money on account of pen-

sion shall be paid to any person or to the widow, children, or heirs of any deceased person, who, in any manner, voluntarily engaged in or aided or abetted the late rebellion against the authority of the United States," and to pay all invalid pensioners, mostly of former wars, and who in many instances had served in the rebel army, and in consequence had been stricken from the rolls for disloyalty, arrears of pensions back to December 25, 1858—in nearly every instance for a longer period than the same bill granted to deceased loyal soldiers of the war of the rebellion. While the amount estimated to be payable under the Cummings-Haskell bill, as above stated, was upward of \$33,000,000, it was modified by the act of March 3, 1879, which reduced the estimate of the Pension Office to \$25,000,000, and \$24,728,155 have actually been paid thereunder.

Indeed, Rice's bill was simply a cover under which dropped disloyal pensioners might be restored to the rolls and collect their arrears. It was justly defeated. But the Cummings-Haskell bill, a Republican measure which actually passed, and for which this Democratic Party, with characteristic assurance, claims all the credit for the Democracy, embraces only the loyal soldier.

The Democratic fraud in claiming any credit for the passage of this bill (H. R. 4234) is readily exposed by an analysis of the votes by which it was passed. In the House the vote was 164 yeas to 61 nays. Of these, 48 Democrats voted yea and 61 voted nay, while 116 Republicans voted yea and not one Republican voted nay. It may be worthy of remark, also, that 44 of the Democratic yeas were from the North, while of the 61 Democratic nays 58 were from the South. It may also be noted that as the total vote was 225 the Republican affirmative vote was in a majority over the combined Democratic vote.

In the Senate the vote was taken during the next session, when it passed by 44 yeas to 4 nays. Of the yeas 1 was Independent, 16 were Democrats, and 27 Republicans. The nays were all Democrats. Here again the Republican affirming vote was in a majority over the combined opposition.

Not a single Republican vote was cast against it in either House. The Arrears Act, that great measure of justice to the loyal soldier, is in every sense purely a Republican measure. It was introduced into the House by a Republican (Mr. Cummings), was supported in debate by the Republicans, and finally passed in both Houses in spite of the opposition of the Southern Democracy by Republican votes. In the House the 61 Democratic votes against it were as follows:

NAYS—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, H. P. Bell, Blackburn, Blount, Boone, Bright, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Carlisle, J. R. Clarke, Cook, Cravens, Crittenden, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Durham, Eickhoff, Elam, J. H. Ellis, Evans, Fenton, Forney, Garth, Gause, Gibson, Giddings, Goode, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Herbert,

G. W. Hewitt, Hooker, House, Hunton, J. G. Jones, Knott, Ligon, Mayham, McKenzie, Mills, Muldrow, Phelps, Pridemore, Reagan, Riddle, Robbins, Scales, Schleicher, O. R. Singleton, W. E. Smith Steele, Throckmorton, Vance, Whithorne, J. Williams, A. S. Willis, and Yates—61.

Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, House, Hunton, J. T. Jones, Kelley, Kenna, Kimmel, Knapp, Ligon, Manning, B. F. Martin, Mayham, McKenzie, Mills, Morgan, Morse, T. M. Patterson, Rea, Reagan, Robbins, Roberts, Scales, Shelley, O. R. Singleton, Stemons, W. E. Smith, Sparks, Steele, Swann, Tucker, T. Turner, Vance, Waddell, Whithorne, Wigginton, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, Yeates, J. S. Young—81.

PART V.

Another Republican Arrears of Pensions Bill—The Vote by which the Democrats Defeated it.

On the 3d of February, 1879, another significant vote was had in the Democratic House of Representatives upon a motion made by Mr. Burchard, a Republican, to suspend the rules and pass the following bill:

“A bill to provide ways and means and appropriate the amount necessary for the payment of arrears of pensions.

“*Be it enacted, etc.*, That in order to provide for the prompt payment of the arrears of pensions due to pensioners, or becoming due under the provisions of the act of January 25, 1879, granting and authorizing payment of arrears of pensions, the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to issue, sell, and dispose of, at not less than par, 4 per cent bonds of the United States not exceeding in the aggregate \$40,000,000, of the character, description, and denominations, and with like quality, privileges, and exemptions of the 4 per cent bonds described in the act of Congress approved July 14, 1870, entitled ‘An act to authorize the refunding of the national debt,’ and the proceeds of the sale of such bonds, or so much thereof as may be necessary, shall be applied, and are hereby appropriated, to the payment of claims for arrears of pensions arising under said act of January 25, 1879.”

This motion, requiring a two-thirds affirmative vote, was defeated by the Democrats as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Acklen, W. Aldrich, Bacon, Bagley, Bailey, J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Banks, Banning, Bayne, Beebe, Bicknell, Bisbee, Blair, Bliss, Bouck, Brewer, Bridges, Briggs, Bundy, Burchard, Burdick, Cain, Calkins, Camp, Campbell, Cannon, Caswell, Chalmers, Chittenden, Claffin, A. A. Clark, R. Clark, Cole, Collins, Conger, J. D. Cox, S. S. Cox, Crapo, Cummings, Cutler, Danford, H. Davis, Dean, Deering, Denison, Dunnell, Dwight, Eames, Eden, Ellsworth, Errett, I. N. Evans, J. L. Evans, Ewing, E. B. Finley, Fort, Foster, Fuller, Gardner, Garfield, Hale, Hamilton, Hanna, Hardenbergh, Hamer, B. W. Harris, Hart, Hayes, Hendee, Hiscock, Hubbard, Hunter, Humphrey, Hungerford, Ittner, James, F. Jones, J. S. Jones, Joyce, Keifer, Ketcham, Lathrop, Lindsey, Lockwood, Loring, Marsh, McCook, McGowan, McKinley, McMahon, Mitchell, Monroe, Morrison, Neal, Norcross, Oliver, O'Neill, Overton, Page, G. W. Patterson, Phelps, Pollard, Powers, Price, Pugh, Randolph, Reed, A. V. Rice, W. W. Rice, E. W. Robertson, G. D. Robinson, M. S. Robinson, Ross, T. Ryan, Sampson, Sapp, Sexton, Shallenberger, Sinnickson, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Stenger, J. W. Stone, Strait, J. M. Thompson, Tipton, A. Townsend, M. I. Townsend, Turney, N. H. Van Vorhes, Wait, Ward, Watson, M. D. White, C. G. Williams, B. A. Willis, Willits, F. Wood, Wren—140.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Atkins, H. P. Bell, Blackburn, Blount, Boone, Bright, Brogden, Buckner, Butler, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Carlisle, J. B. Clarke, Cobb, Cook, Cravens, Crittenden, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Durham, Eickhoff, Elam, Ellis, J. H. Ervin, Felton, Franklin, Garth, Gause, Giddings, Glover, Goode, Gunter, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Hatchler, Henkle, Henry, A. S.

Thus we see on a proposition to definitely fix the amount of arrearsages of pensions—about which there were these several varying estimates—at \$40,000,000, and to provide by the simple issue of 4 per cent bonds for payment of the same, only thirty-one Democrats could be found to vote for it, while as many as seventy-eight voted against, and thus absolutely defeated it. It will be observed, on the other hand, that only three Republicans voted against the motion, while 108 Republicans voted for it. Nice friends, indeed, of the soldiers are these Democrats!

PART VI.

The Modified “Arrearsages” Bill—It is Put through the House by the Republicans—A Majority of the Democrats Vote Against it—Senate Action and Votes.

Again, on the 17th February, 1879, a bill (H. R. 6462) was reported to the House from the Committee on Appropriations, which appropriated \$25,000,000 for arrears of pensions, \$1,800,000 additional for ordinary pensions, and made provision for temporary clerks, and provided “that the rate at which the arrears of invalid pensions shall be allowed and computed in all cases which have been or shall hereafter be allowed, shall be graded according to the degree of the pensioner’s disability from time to time, and the provisions of the pension laws in force from the period for which arrears shall be paid; that section one of the act of January 25, 1879, granting arrears of pensions, shall be construed to extend to and include pensions granted by special act of Congress, unless the special act fixes the rate and duration of the pension, and pensions on account of soldiers who were enlisted or drafted for service in the war of the rebellion, and died or incurred disability from a cause originating after the cessation of hostilities.”

And, upon a motion to suspend the rules and pass this bill, the motion was agreed to by 183 yeas to 67 nays—40 not voting. The vote was as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Acklen, W. Aldrich, Bacon, Bagley, Bailey, J. H. Baker, Banks, Banning, Bayne, Benedict, Bicknell, Bisbee, Blair, Bliss, Bouck, Boyd, Brentano, Brewer, Bridges, Briggs, Browne, Buckner, Bundy, Burchard, Burdick, Calkins, Camp, Campbell, Canon, Caswell, Chittenden, Claffin, A. A. Clark, J. B. Clark, Jr., R. Clark, Clymer, Cobb, Cole, Collins, Conger, S. S. Cox, Crittenden, Cummings, Cutler, Danford, Dean, Deering, Dennison, Dickey, Dunnell, Dwight, Eames, Eden, Ellsworth,

Errett, I. N. Evans, J. L. Evans, Ewing, E. B., Finley, Fort, Foster, Franklin, Freeman, Fuller, Gardner, Garfield, Gause, Glover, Hale, Hamilton, Hanna, Hardenbergh, Harmer, B. W. Harris, Harrison, Hart, Hartzell, Haskell, Hatcher, Hayes, Hendee, Henderson, Henkle, Henry A. S. Hewitt, Hubbell, Hunter, Humphrey, Hungerford, Ittner, James, F. Jones, J. S. Jones, Jorgensen, Joyce, Keifer, Keightley, Kelley, Kenna, Ketcham, Killinger, Knapp, Landers, Lapham, Lathrop, Lindsey, Lockwood, Loring, Luttrell, Lynde, Mackey, Majors, Marsh, B. F. Martin, McCook, McGowan, McKinley, McMahon, Metcalfe, Mitchell, Monroe, Morgan, Morse, Neal, Norcross, Oliver, O'Neill, Overton, Page, G. W. Patterson, T. M. Patterson, Phelps, W. A. Phillips, Pollard, Pound, Powers, Price, Pugh, Rainey, Randolph, Rea, Reilly, A. V. Rice, G. D. Robinson, Ross, T. Ryan, Sampson, Sapp, Sayler, Sexton, Shallenberger, Slinckson, Small, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Starin, Stenger, Stephens, Stewart, J. W. Stone, J. C. Stone, Straff, Stearns, J. M. Thompson, Tipton, A. Townsend, R. W. Townsend, T. Turner, Turney, N. H. Van Vorhes, Walt, Ward, Watson, H. White, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, R. Williams, B. A. Willis, Willis, Wilson, Wren, Wright—183.

NAYS—Messrs. Aiken, Atkins, R. L. T. Beale, H. P. Bell, Blount, Boone, Bragg, Bright, Brogden, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Carlisle, Chalmers, J. B. Clarke, Cook, Covert, Cravens, Culberson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Durham, Elam, Ellis, J. H. Evans, Felton, Fleming, Forney, Garth, Giddings, Goode, Ginter, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, G. W. Hewitt, Herbert, Hooker, House, J. T. Jones, Ligon, Manning, McKenzie, Money, Muldrow, Pridemore, Reagan, Robbins, E. W. Robertson, Scales, Shelley, O. K. Singleton, Stemons, W. E. Smith, Steele, Throckmorton, Vance, Waddell, L. Warner, Whithorne, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, F. Wood, Yentes, J. S. Young—67.

On analysis of this vote* it will be found that a majority of the Democrats, voting in their own Democratic House on this measure, were opposed to it. In other words, 66 Democrats voted against it to 65 voting for it. The Republicans, on the other hand, almost to a man, stood by it, only one Republican voting against it to 108 Republicans voting for it.

In the Senate—The Shields amendment—The Democratic attempt to pension ex-Confederates, including Jeff. Davis—The Republicans defeat it.

Follow the same bill into the Senate, and what do we see? Not that the Democrats are so particularly fond of the Union soldiers as they now cantingly pretend, but that they are very anxiously fond of the Confederate soldier, and especially of the unrepentant Jeff. Davis.

On Feb. 28, 1879, in the Senate, the aforesaid bill being up, and after various other amendments had been disagreed to, Mr. Shields moved that the following proviso be added to the bill:

"Provided further, That the law granting pensions to the soldiers and their widows, of the war of 1812, approved March 9, 1878, is hereby made applicable in all its provisions to the soldiers and sailors who served in the war with Mexico of 1846."

This quiet and apparently unobjectionable little proviso was agreed to by 36 yeas to 21 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Bailey, Barnum, Beck, Burnside, Butler, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cockrell, Coke, Conover, Davis of West Virginia, Dennis, Dorsey, Eaton, Ferry, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Hill, Jones of Florida, Kellogg, Lamar, McCreery, Mazey, Merrimon, Mitchell, Morgan, Ransom, Saunders, Shields, Thurman, Voorhees, Wallace, Whyte, Withers—36.

NAYS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Cameron of Wisconsin, Chandler, Dawes, Edmunds, Hamlin, Hoar, Howe, Kieran, Kirkwood, McMillan, Morrill, Paddock, Plumb, Randolph, Rollins, Spencer, Teller, Windom—21.

And the bill was then passed by 38 yeas to 20 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Bailey, Beck, Burnside, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cockrell, Coke, Conover, Dennis, Dorsey, Ferry, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hill, Ingalls, Jones of Florida, Kellogg, McCreery, McDonald, McPherson, Matthews, Mazey, Merrimon, Mitchell, Morgan, Paddock, Patterson, Ransom, Saunders, Shields, Spencer, Thurman, Voorhees, Wallace, Whyte, Windom, Withers—28.

NAYS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Cameron of Wisconsin, Chandler, Davis of West Virginia, Dawes, Eaton, Edmunds, Hamlin, Hereford, Hoar, Howe, Jones of Nevada, Kirkwood, McMillan, Morrill, Rollins, Teller—20.

But Mr. Windom had cast his vote in the affirmative for a purpose. The bill as passed with the Shields amendment would pension ex-confederate soldiers and sailors who served in the Mexican war, and would even pension the unrepentant, and therefore unpardoned Bourbon rebel Jefferson Davis himself! Mr. Windom therefore entered a motion to reconsider, and on March 1 the following significant votes were had—which must furnish good reading to the Union soldier.

In the first place the motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill had passed was agreed to by 28 yeas to 27 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Bayard, Blaine, Booth, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Chandler, Conkling, Conover, Dawes, Dorsey, Edmunds, Ferry, Howe, Jones of Nevada, Kieran, Matthews, Mitchell, Morrill, Oglesby, Paddock, Plumb, Rollins, Saunders, Spencer, Teller, Windom—28.

NAYS—Messrs. Bailey, Barnum, Beck, Bruce, Burnside, Butler, Cockrell, Coke, Davis of West Virginia, Dennis, Eaton, Eustis, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Lamar, McCreery, McPherson, Mazey, Morgan, Patterson, Ransom, Shields, Thurman, Wallace—27.

Then a motion to reconsider the vote by which the aforesaid Shields amendment had been adopted was made, and agreed to by 27 yeas to 24 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Chandler, Conkling, Conover, Dawes, Dorsey, Edmunds, Ferry, Howe, Jones of Nevada, Kieran, Matthews, Mitchell, Morrill, Oglesby, Paddock, Plumb, Rollins, Saunders, Spencer, Teller, Windom—27.

NAYS—Messrs. Bailey, Barnum, Beck, Burnside, Butler, Cockrell, Coke, Davis of West Virginia, Dennis, Eaton, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Lamar, McCreery, McPherson, Mazey, Morgan, Patterson, Ransom, Thurman, Wallace—24.

The question then recurring upon the adoption of the Shields amendment, a motion was made to add to it the following restrictive clause:

"Provided further, That no person who served in the confederate army during the late war of the

* For this and other votes on this subject, see McPherson's Handbook of Politics for 1880.

rebellion or held any office, civil or military, in the late confederacy, shall be entitled to receive any pension under this act."

But this was just what the Democrats did not want. Their chief concern was to open the door to putting ex-confederate soldiers on the pension roll. Hence this clause was defeated of adoption by a vote of 24 yeas to 26 nays; all the 24 yeas being Republicans, and 25 of the 26 nays being Democrats, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Chandler, Conkling, Dawes, Dorsey, Edmunds, Ferry, Howe, Jones of Nevada, Matthews, Mitchell, Morrill, Oglesby, Plumb, Rollins, Saunders, Spencer, Teller, Windom—24.

NAYS—Messrs. Bailey, Barnum, Bayard, Beck, Butler, Cockrell, Coke, Conover, Davis of West Virginia, Dennis, Eaton, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Kernan, Lamar, McCreery, McPherson, Maxey, Morgan, Patterson, Ransom, Thurman, Wallace—26.

Mr. Hoar having offered the following amendment—

"Provided further, That no pension shall ever be paid under this act to Jefferson Davis, the late president of the so-called confederacy"—

it was, after a heated debate, adopted by 23 yeas to 22 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Booth, Bruce, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Chandler, Conkling, Dawes, Edmunds, Ferry, Howe, Jones of Nevada, Matthews, Mitchell, Morrill, Oglesby, Plumb, Rollins, Saunders, Teller, Windom—23.

NAYS—Messrs. Bailey, Barnum, Beck, Cockrell, Coke, Davis of West Virginia, Eaton, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Jones of Florida, Lamar, McCreery, McPherson, Maxey, Morgan, Patterson, Ransom, Thurman—22.

Mr. Shields' amendment as amended now stood in this shape:

"Provided further, That the law granting pensions to the soldiers and their widows, of the war of eighteen hundred and twelve, approved March ninth, eighteen hundred and seventy-eight, is hereby made applicable in all its provisions to the soldiers and sailors who served in the war with Mexico of eighteen hundred and forty-six.

"Provided further, That no pension shall ever be paid under this act to Jefferson Davis, the late president of the so-called confederacy."

In other words, it excluded Jefferson Davis, but no other ex-Confederate who had served in the Mexican War, from the pension-rolls.

Upon the adoption of the said amended amendment, the Senate defeated it by 20 yeas to 25 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Builey, Beck, Butler, Coke, Davis of West Virginia, Dennis, Eustis, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Jones of Florida, Lamar, McCreery, McPherson, Maxey, Morgan, Ransom, Thurman—20.

NAYS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Bayard, Blaine, Booth, Burnside, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Chandler, Conkling, Dawes, Edmunds, Howe, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, Kernan, Matthews, Mitchell, Morrill, Paddock, Plumb, Rollins, Saunders, Teller, Windom—25.

The bill then passed by 44 yeas to 3 nays—the 3 nays being Messrs. Eaton, Garland, and Hereford, all Democrats.

Subsequently in the House, the Senate

amendments which had been added, and which were simply on matters of detail involving no political question, were concurred in, and the bill was thereby passed by 203 yeas to 61 nays—all the nays being Democrats, as follows:

Messrs. Aiken, H. P. Bell, Blackburn, Boone, Bright, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Carlisle, J. B. Clarke, Cook, Cravens, Culberson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Durham, Eickhoff, Elam, J. H. Evans, Felton, J. J. Finley, Forney, Garth, Giddings, Goode, Gunter, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Herbert Hooker, Hunton, J. T. Jones, Knott, Ligon, Manning, McKenzie, Mills, Muldrow, Muller, Pridemore, Reagan, Robbins, Scotts, Shelley, O. R. Singleton, Stemons, W. E. Smith, Steele, Throckmorton, Tucker, Vance, Veedier, Waddell, Whithorne, J. Williams, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, Yeates, and J. S. Young.

And subsequently the bill was approved by the Republican President.

PART VII.

Pensions to Soldiers and Sailors in the Mexican, Creek, Seminole, and Black Hawk Wars—A Section that would allow ex-Confederates on the Pension Rolls.

On Jan. 24, 1884, the following bill was reported (H. R. 3962) to the House from the Committee on Pensions:

"A Bill granting pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Mexican war and other wars therein named, and for other purposes.

"Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll the names of the surviving officers and enlisted men, including militia and volunteers, of the military and naval services of the United States, who served sixty days in the war of 1846, 1847, and 1848, who being enlisted as aforesaid, actually served with the Army or Navy of the United States in Mexico, or who served thirty days in the Creek war or disturbances of 1835 or 1836, or in the Florida war with the Seminoles from 1835 to 1842, or in the Black Hawk war of 1832, and were honorably discharged, and such other officers and soldiers and sailors as may have been personally named in any resolution of Congress for any specific service in said wars, although their term of service may have been less than sixty days, and the surviving widows of such officers and enlisted men as were married to such officers or soldiers or sailors prior to the discharge of such officers and enlisted men: Provided, That such widows have not remarried; And provided further, That this act shall not apply to any person not a citizen of the United States.

"SEC. 2. That pensions under this act shall be at the rate of eight dollars a month, and payable, from and after the passage of this act, for and during the natural lives of the persons entitled thereto.

"SEC. 3. That before the name of any person shall be placed on the pension-roll under this act proof shall be made, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe, of the right of the applicant to a pension; and any person who shall falsely and corruptly take any oath required under this act shall be deemed guilty of perjury; and the Secretary of the Interior shall cause to be stricken from the pension-roll the name of any person whenever it shall be made to appear by proof satisfactory to him that such name was put upon such roll through false and fraudulent representations, and that such person is not entitled to a pension under this act. The loss of the certificate of dis-

charge shall not deprive any person of the benefits of this act, but other evidence of service performed and of an honorable discharge may be deemed sufficient.

"SEC. 4. That the pension laws now in force which are not inconsistent or in conflict with this act are hereby made a part of this act, so far as they may be applicable thereto.

"SEC. 5. That it shall be unlawful for any attorney, claim agent, or any other person to demand or receive any fee or compensation for filing or presenting a claim for pension under this act.

"SEC. 6. That section forty-seven hundred and sixteen of the Revised Statutes is hereby repealed so far as the same relates to this act or to pensioners under this act, and to such officers, soldiers, and sailors who may have enlisted in the Army or Navy of the United States since the close of the late war, or who may hereafter so enlist.

"SEC. 7. That the provisions of this act shall not apply to any person while under the political disabilities imposed by the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States."

It must be understood that Section 4716 of the Revised Statutes provides that "No money on account of pensions shall be paid to any person, or to the widow, children or heirs of any deceased person, who in any manner voluntarily engaged in, or aided or abetted, the late rebellion, against the authority of the United States;" and it is this provision that Sec. 6 of the above bill seeks to repeal.

On the 18th February, Mr. Hewitt of Alabama offered a resolution from the same committee to make the consideration of the bill a special order for February 21, and from day to day until disposed of, but not to interfere with general appropriation or revenue bills on reports from Committee on Public Lands. An all-night filibustering scene ensued, which ended by the adoption of the resolution by 176 yeas to 35 nays—the following being the nay vote:

NAYS—Messrs. G. E. Adams, Bayne, Bouteille, Breitling, J. H. Brewer, W. W. Brown, Cutcheon, Dunham, Everhart, Guenther, Hanbark, D. B. Henderson, Hepburn, Hitt, Horr, James, Johnson, Lacey, Long, LYMAN, Millard, Morse, Parker, Payne, Ranney, G. W. Ray, Reed, Rockwell, Rowell, Stephenson, J. D. Taylor, Valentine, A. J. Warner, M. White, Whiting.

Nothing further was done in the matter of this bill until July 2, 1884, when Mr. Hewitt moved to proceed to its consideration. The motion was disagreed to by 84 yeas to 126 nays—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Aiken, Alexander, Barbour, Barkdale, Bennett, Blount, Broadhead, Buchanan, Burnes, A. J. Caldwell, A. D. Candler, Cassidy, CHALMERS, Clements, Cobb, Cosgrove, Corrington, W. R. Cox, Crisp, D. B. Culverson, Dargan, L. H. Davis, Dibble, Dibrell, Dard, Findlay, Forney, E. Gibson, Graves, Greenleaf, Halsell, N. J. Hammond, Hancock, Hardeman, W. H. Hatch, Hemphill, Herbert, G. W. Hewitt, Hoblitzell, C. Hunt, J. H. Jones, Lanham, E. T. Lewis, McMillin, Maybury, J. F. Miller, Mitchell, Money, Morgan, Muldrone, Mutchler, Oates, OCHILTREE, O'Ferrall, S. W. Peel, R. A. Pierce, Potter, Pryor, Pusey, Reese, J. H. Rogers, Seney, Seymour, C. Steward, Stockslager, Tullberg, J. M. Taylor, Throckmorton, Tillman, Tucker, Tully, H. G. Turner, O. Turner, Vance, Van Eaton, Wallace, R. Warner, Wellborn, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, W. L. Wilson, Wolford, T. J. Wood, YORK—84.

NAYS—Messrs. G. E. Adams, J. J. Adams, Anderson, Belford, Belmont, Bouteille, Brainerd, F. B.

Brewer, T. M. Browne, W. W. Brown, BRUMM, Budd, Burleigh, Calkins, J. E. Campbell, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, W. W. Culbertson, Cullen, Cutcheon, G. R. Davis, R. T. Davis, Dingley, Dorsheimer, Dunham, Edridge, Elliott, English, Ermont, L. N. Evans, Everhart, Ferrell, Follett, Funston, Geddes, Glascock, Goff, Guenther, Hardy, Harmer, Hart, H. H. Hatch, D. B. Henderson, Henley, Hepburn, Hitt, Holman, Holmes, Hooper, Horr, Howey, James, Jeffords, Johnson, H. W. Jones, Jordan, Kasson, Kean, Keifey, Ketcham, Lacey, Laird, Lamb, Lawrence, Le Fevre, Long, Lowry, LYMAN, McComas, McCormick, Matson, Millard, S. H. Miller, Murray, Neese, Nelson, C. O'Neill, Paige, Parker, Payne, Payson, Perkins, Peters, Poland, Post, Price, Ranney, G. W. Ray, Reed, W. W. Rice, Riggs, J. S. Robinson, Rockwell, Rowell, Ryan, Smalls, Spooner, Steele, Stephenson, Stone, Storm, Strait, Struble, C. A. Sumner, D. H. Sumner, J. D. Taylor, Thomas, E. W. Toushend, Valentine, Wadsworth, Wait, Wakefield, T. B. Ward, A. J. Warner, Washburn, Weaver, Weller, Wemple, J. D. White, M. White, Whiting, Wilkins, E. B. Winans, J. Winans, Woodward, Yapple—126.

On the following day, July 3, Mr. Hewitt of Alabama renewed the motion to proceed to consider the bill. It was again disagreed to by 79 yeas to 142 nays—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Aiken, Alexander, Ballantine, Burkdale, Belmont, Bennett, Blount, Broadhead, Buchanan, Cabell, A. J. Caldwell, A. D. Candler, Cassidy, CHALMERS, Clay, Clements, Cosgrove, W. R. Cox, Crisp, D. B. Culverson, Dargan, L. H. Davis, Dibble, Dibrell, Duncan, Dunn, Findlay, Foran, Forney, Garrison, Graves, Green, Halsell, Hancock, Hardeman, W. H. Hatch, Hemphill, Herbert, A. S. Hewitt, Hopkins, C. Hunt, J. H. Jones, Kleiner, Lanham, Lore, McMillin, J. F. Miller, Mills, Muldrone, Oates, OCHILTREE, O'Ferrall, D. R. Paige, S. W. Peel, R. A. Pierce, Potter, Pryor, Reese, J. H. Rogers, Seney, O. R. Singleton, J. M. Taylor, P. B. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tillman, H. G. Turner, O. Turner, Vance, Van Eaton, R. Warner, Wellborn, T. Williams, W. L. Wilson, G. D. Wise, Wolford, YORK, C. Young—79.

NAYS—Messrs. G. E. Adams, Atkinson, Bagley, Barbour, Bayne, Beach, Boutelle, Brainerd, F. B. Brewer, T. M. Browne, W. W. Brown, Budd, Burleigh, Calkins, J. E. Campbell, J. M. Campbell, Cannon, Carleton, Cobb, Connolly, W. W. Culbertson, Cullen, Cutcheon, G. R. Davis, Dingley, Eaton, Edridge, Elliott, Elwood, English, I. N. Evans, Everhart, Ferrell, Finerty, Follett, Funston, Geddes, George, Glascock, Goff, Greenleaf, Guenther, Hardy, Harmer, Hart, H. H. Hatch, D. B. Henderson, Henley, Hitt, Hoblitzell, Holman, Holmes, Howey, James, Jeffords, Johnson, H. W. Jones, Jordan, Kasson, Kean, Ketcham, Lacey, Laird, Lamb, Lawrence, Le Fevre, Libbey, Long, Lowry, Lowry, LYMAN, McAdoo, McColl, McComas, McCormick, Matson, Maybury, Millard, S. H. Miller, Mitchell, Morgan, Morrill, Murray, Neese, Nelson, O'Hara, C. O'Neill, J. J. O'Neill, Payne, Payson, Perkins, Peeler, W. W. Phelps, Poland, Post, Pusey, Randall, Ranney, O. Ray, W. W. Rice, Riggs, J. S. Robinson, Rosecrans, Rowell, Ryan, Seymour, C. R. Skinner, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Spooner, Springer, Steele, Stephenson, J. W. Stewart, Stockslager, Storm, Strait, C. A. Sumner, D. H. Sumner, Tullberg, J. D. Taylor, Thomas, E. W. Toushend, Valentine, Wadsworth, Wait, Wakefield, Wallace, T. B. Ward, A. J. Warner, Washburn, Weaver, Weller, J. D. White, M. White, Wilkins, J. Wilson, E. B. Winans, J. Winans, T. J. Wood, Woodward, Yapple—142.

On the 5th July the question as to considering the bill again came up and was disagreed to by 41 yeas to 111 nays—the point being made of "no quorum."

Those voting in the affirmative were as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. J. J. Adams, Alexander, Barkdale, Blanchard, A. J. Caldwell, Carleton, Cassidy, Clay, W. R. Cox, Dargan, Dibble, Eaton, Garrison,

E. Gibson, Graves, Halsell, W. H. Hatch, Henley, Houseman, C. Hunt, Jordan, Kleiner, Lore, LYMAN, Maybury, Mills, OCHILTREE, J. J. O'Neill, Ranney, Seney, J. M. Taylor, P. B. Thompson, Tillman, H. G. Turner, O. Turner, Vance, R. Warner, A. S. Willis, W. L. Wilson, Wolford, T. J. Wood.

This was the last heard of it at the late session; and as will be seen, it was used only as a means of antagonizing and defeating the Mexican War Pensions bill, which will be alluded to immediately.

PART VIII.

Pensions to Soldiers and Sailors of the Mexican War—The Vote in the House on the Passage of the Bill.

On March 3, 1884, in the House, Mr. R. W. Townshend moved to suspend the rules and pass the House bill (H. R. 5667), whose text is as follows:

"A Bill granting pensions to the soldiers and sailors of the Mexican war, and for other purposes. "Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby authorized and directed to place on the pension-roll the names of the surviving officers and enlisted men, including marines, militia and volunteers, of the military and naval services of the United States who served sixty days in the war of 1846 and 1847 and 1848 with Mexico, or who, being enlisted as aforesaid, actually served with the Army or Navy of the United States in Mexico in said war, or were actually engaged in a battle in said war, and were honorably discharged, and to such other officers and soldiers and sailors as may have been personally named in any resolution of Congress for any specific service in said wars, although their term of service may have been less than sixty days, and the surviving widows of such officers and enlisted men as were married to such officers or soldiers or sailors prior to the discharge of such officers and enlisted men: *Provided*, That such widows have not remarried: *And provided further*, That this act shall not apply to any person not a citizen of the United States.

"SEC. 2. That pensions under this act shall be at the rate of \$8 per month, and payable only from and after the passage of this act for and during the natural lives of the persons entitled thereto.

"SEC. 3. That before the name of any person shall be placed on the pension-roll under this act proof shall be made, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe, of the right of the applicant to a pension; and any person who shall falsely and corruptly take any oath required under this act shall be deemed guilty of perjury; and the Secretary of the Interior shall cause to be stricken from the pension-roll the name of any person whenever it shall be made to appear by proof satisfactory to him that such name was put upon such roll through false and fraudulent representations, and that such person is not entitled to a pension under this act. The loss of the certificate of discharge shall not deprive any person of the benefits of this act, but other evidence of service performed and of an honorable discharge may be deemed sufficient.

"SEC. 4. That the pension laws now in force which are not inconsistent or in conflict with this act are hereby made a part of this act, so far as they may be applicable thereto.

"SEC. 5. That it shall be unlawful for any attorney, claim agent, or any other person to demand or receive a fee greater than \$10 for services rendered in behalf of a claimant under this act, to be paid when such claim is allowed.

"SEC. 6. That section 4716 of the Revised Statutes is hereby repealed so far as the same relates to this act or to pensioners under this act.

"SEC. 7. That the provisions of this act shall not apply to any person while under the political disabilities imposed by the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States."

The motion was agreed to and the bill thus passed under suspension of the rules by 227 yeas to 46 nays—as follows:

YEAS—MESSRS. *Aiken, Alexander, Anderson, Atkinson, Bagley, Ballentine, Barbour, Barksdale, Beach, Belford, Bennett, Blackburn, Blanchard, Bland, Blount, Breckinridge, Breitung, Broadhead, Buchanan, Buckner, Budd, Burnes, Cabell, A. J. Caldwell, Calkins, J. M. Campbell, A. D. Candler, Cannon, Carleton, Cassidy, Clardy, Clay, Clements, Cobb, Collins, Connolly, Converse, J. C. Cook, Covington, Covington, S. S. Cox, W. R. Cox, Crisp, D. B. Culberson, Cullen, Dargan, Davidson, G. R. Davis, Dibble, Dibrell, Dockery, Dorsheimer, Dowd, Duncan, Dunn, Eaton, Eldridge, Elliott, Ellwood, Ermentrout, J. H. Evans, Ferrel, Fiedler, Finerty, Follett, Forney, Fyan, Geddes, George, E. Gibson, Glascock, Goff, Graves, Green, Greenleaf, Guenther, Halsell, N. J. Hammond, Hamback, Hardeman, Hardy, Hart, H. H. Hatch, W. H. Hatch, Haynes, Hempill, D. B. Henderson, T. J. Henderson, Henty, Herbert, G. W. Hewitt, W. D. Hill, Hitt, Hoblitzell, Holman, Holmes, Hopkins, Houk, Houseman, C. Hunt, Hurd, Jeffords, B. W. Jones, J. H. Jones, J. K. Jones, J. T. Jones, Jordan, Kasson, King, Kleiner, Lacey, Laird, Lamb, Lanham, Le Fevre, E. T. Lewis, Lore, Lovering, Lowry, McAdoo, McCoid, McComas, McCormick, McMillin, Matson, Maybury, Mayo, J. F. Miller, Milliken, Moulton, Muldrud, Murphy, Murray, Mutchler, Neece, Nelson, Nicholls, Nutting, Oates, J. O'Neill, D. R. Paige, Payson, R. A. Pierce, S. W. Peel, S. J. Peele, Peters, Pettibone, Post, Potter, Pryor, Pusey, Randall, Rankin, Reagan, Reese, Robertson, J. S. Robinson, W. E. Robinson, J. H. Rogers, Rosecrans, Ryan, Scales, Seney, Seymour, Shaw, Shely, O. R. Singleton, T. G. Skinner, Snyder, Spooner, Springer, Stephenson, Stevens, C. Stewart, Stocks-lager, Strait, C. A. Sumner, D. H. Sumner, Talbott, J. D. Taylor, J. M. Taylor, Thomas, P. B. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tillman, R. W. Townshend, Tucker, Tully, H. G. Turner, O. Turner, Valentine, Van Alstyne, Vance, Van Eaton, Wakefield, T. B. Ward, R. Warner, Washburn, Weaver, Wellborn, Weller, Wemple, J. D. White, M. White, Wilkins, T. Williams, A. S. Willis, J. Wilson, W. L. Wilson, E. B. Winans, J. Winans, G. D. Wise, J. S. Wise, Wolford, T. J. Wood, Woodward, Worthington, Yape, York, C. Young—227.*

NAYS—MESSRS. *Arnot, Bayne, Bingham, Bisbee, Bouteille, F. B. Brewer, J. H. Brewer, T. M. Browne, W. B. Brown, Chace, Cutcheeon, Everhart, Harmer, Hiscock, Holton, James, Kean, Kelley, Lawrence, Long, LYMAN, McKinley, Millard, S. H. Miller, Morse, C. O'Neill, Parker, W. W. Phelps, Poland, Ranney, G. W. Ray, O. Ray, Reed, Rockwell, Russell, C. R. Skinner, A. H. Smith, Steele, J. W. Stewart, Stone, Struble, E. B. Taylor, Wadsworth, Wait, A. J. Warner, Whiting—46.*

The Democrats were now elated. They had passed through the House a pension bill whose sixth section aimed to repeal sec. 4716 of the Revised Statutes, which is as follows:

"SEC. 4716. No money on account of pensions shall be paid to any person, or to the widow, children, or heirs of any deceased person, who in any manner voluntarily engaged in, or aided or abetted, the late rebellion against the authority of the United States."

They began to hope to get their ex-confederate friends on the coveted Pension Rolls.

In the Senate—Amendments and votes—Republicans for the Union soldier, Democrats for the ex-Confederates.

But in the Senate it was amended in such manner as to pension those union soldiers of our own war who are or shall hereafter become disabled (and are also dependent upon their own labor for support) at a rate proportionate to the degree of disability, \$24 per month being given to those who are totally incapacitated to perform any manual labor, and that amount being made divisible upon that basis for any less degree of disability. It also increased the pensions of widows or minor children to \$12 per month, repealed the limit as to age of children in the case of widows who have minor children of unsound mind or are physically helpless; and added other clauses for the relief of dependent pensioners. The amendment, which comprehended six additional sections to the bill, of which the pith has just been given, was agreed to by 31 yeas to 27 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Aldrich, Allison, Blair, Bowen, Cameron of Wisconsin, Conger, Cullom, Dawes, Dolph, Frye, Hale, Harrison, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, Lapham, Logan, McMillan, Mahone, Manderson, Miller of California, Miller of New York, Mitchell, Morrill, Palmer, Pike, Platt, Plumb, Riddleberger, Sawyer, Sewell, Sherman, Van Wyck, Wilson—31.

NAYS—Messrs. Bayard, Beck, Brown, Call, Cockrell, Coke, Colquitt, Fair, Farley, George, Gorman, Groome, Hampton, Jackson, Jones of Florida, Kenna, McPherson, Maxey, Morgan, Pendleton, Pugh, Ransom, Saulsbury, Slater, Vance, Vest, Walker, Williams—27.

And if that solid Democratic vote *against*, and the solid Republican vote *for* the Union soldier of the war of the Rebellion does not show where parties stand *in their deeds*, not words, what can show it?

In contrast to this last vote, a vote in the Senate on motion to strike from Sec. 6 of the House bill the words: "So far as the same relates to this act or to pensioners under it," so that it would read:

"Sec. 6. That Section 4716 of the Revised Statutes is hereby repealed."

was disagreed to by 28 yeas to 29 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Bayard, Beck, Brown, Butler, Coke, Colquitt, Fair, Farley, Garland, George, Groome, Hampton, Jackson, Jones of Florida, Lamar, Maxey, Morgan, Pendleton, Pugh, Saulsbury, Slater, Vance, Van Wyck, Vest, Walker, Williams—28.

NAYS—Messrs. Aldrich, Allison, Blair, Bowen, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Conger, Dawes, Dolph, Edmunds, Frye, Hale, Harrison, Hawley, Hill, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, Lapham, McMillan, Manderson, Miller of California, Miller of New York, Mitchell, Morrill, Pike, Platt, Sawyer, Sherman, Wilson—29.

Thus the 30 voting Republicans, with one exception, opposed the repeal of that section of the Revised Statutes which stands as a barrier against the pensioning of ex-confeder-

ates, while the 27 voting Democrats voted to a man in favor of breaking down that barrier. And if this does not show the love which the Democrats still bear to the ex-confederate cause and to those who fought for it, what can show it?

Upon the passage of the bill as amended June 24, 1884, the vote was 37 yeas to 27 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Blair, Bowen, Butler, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Conger, Dawes, Dolph, Frye, George, Hale, Harrison, Hill, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, Lamar, Lapham, Logan, McMillan, Mahone, Manderson, Miller of California, Miller of New York, Mitchell, Morrill, Palmer, Pike, Platt, Plumb, Ransom, Riddleberger, Sawyer, Sewell, Sherman, Van Wyck, Wilson—37.

NAYS—Messrs. Bayard, Beck, Brown, Call, Cockrell, Coke, Colquitt, Edmunds, Fair, Farley, Garland, Groome, Hampton, Hawley, Jackson, Jonas, Jones of Florida, Maxey, Morgan, Pendleton, Pugh, Saulsbury, Slater, Vance, Vest, Walker, Williams—27.

Or, in other words, while 4 Democrats voted for it, 25 Democrats voted against it; and while 2 Republicans voted against it, 33 Republicans—being a majority of all the votes cast—voted for it.

The amended bill in the house again—How the Democrats antagonized it and prevented any chance to concur in the Senate amendments.

The bill, as amended by the Senate, was returned to the House. There, on July 2—five days before the adjournment—it was taken up, and the Democrats (mainly the Southern Democrats), under the leadership of the Democratic Representative, Hewitt of Alabama, proceeded to filibuster. They undertook to temporarily defeat this Mexican War Pensions bill and prevent concurrence in the Senate amendments by antagonizing it with the House bill (H. R. 3962) giving pensions to those who served in the Mexican, Creek, Seminole, and Black Hawk wars—which, as we have seen, in its sixth section seeks to repeal section 4716 of the Revised Statutes, and thereby admit ex-confederates to the pension-rolls—and 31 Democrats and 3 Independents joined him in the effort. On the following day, July 3, the same tactics were pursued, and 76 Democrats and 3 Independents again supported Hewitt of Alabama in antagonizing the Mexican Pensions Bill with the House bill (H. R. 3962) aforesaid. On July 5 the same tactics precisely were adopted, and 39 Democrats and 2 Independents joined in this filibustering to stave off the Mexican Pensions Bill—which was not again heard of.

Thus the Democrats are responsible for the defeat of the Mexican War Pensions bill, and have proven that they have no more liking for our soldiers of the Mexican war—unless they were also ex-confederates—than they have for our Union soldiers of the war of the Rebellion.

PART IX.

Democratic Love for the ex-Confederate Soldier—Jefferson Davis Complains in 1884 that he is Excluded from the Pension Rolls—Pensions to Union Soldiers Only is “Offensive Favoritism”—Confederate Threats.

A dispatch in the N. Y. *Tribune* from Atlanta, Georgia, Aug. 27, 1884, after mentioning the fact that the Confederate soldiers of Monroe County had just finished a re-union at which memories of the war were freely interchanged, refers to the reading at that re-union of a letter from Jefferson Davis, in which the following language appears:

“Though the States are again re-united, and all contribute to fill the treasury of the general Government, the funds collected are only appropriated to provide for the ex-soldiers of the Northern States. The Southern soldier, disabled in war, and the widows and orphans of those who died, can only hope for relief from a second tax which may be voluntarily paid by the people for whom they fought and who suffered with them. It is not the least of your meritorious manifestations that you meet this discrimination without complaint, and brace yourselves to bear this *double burden* with no ill-feeling to the Government for this OFFENSIVE FAVORITISM.”

Just as much as in 1878 and 1879 do these Southern Democrats—and it is they who rule their party—love the Confederate soldier and hate the Union soldier, and wish that they could wipe out all the Republican pension and bounty legislation from the statute book. It should not be forgotten by the Union soldier that the Democratic Blackburn of Kentucky frankly and fearlessly let out the secret intentions of the Democracy in his speech in the House of Representatives, April, 1879, when he said:

“It is this organization (the Democratic) that has come back to rule, and that means to rule;” and again: “For the first time in eighteen years past the Democracy is back in power in both branches of this Legislature, and she proposes to signalize her return to power. She proposes to celebrate her recovery of her long-lost heritage by tearing off these degrading badges. . . . We do not intend to stop until we have stricken the last vestige of your war measures from the statute book.”

Attempting to put rebels in the army and to pay pensions to Confederate soldiers.

It was in referring to these threats that the Hon. Wm. McKinley of Ohio, April 18, said:

“They have already entered upon their unholy work; they are engaged in it now. Only the other day, and while the Army bill was being considered, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Tucker], one of the able and distinguished men of this House, proposed an amendment repealing Section 1218 of the United States Statutes. What is the section the repeal of which he demands? Let me read it:

“No persons who have served in any capacity in the military, naval, or civil service of the so-called Confederate States, or of either of the States in insurrection during the late rebellion, shall be appointed to any position in the army of the United States.”

“The army list is to be opened and revised, so that men who served in the Confederate army, who for four years fought to destroy this Government, shall be placed upon that list as commissioned officers. Ay, more, the men who were in our army before the war as commissioned officers, who were educated at the public expense, who took an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and when the nation was threatened with danger resigned their commissions and forsook the flag, are to be eligible for re-appointment to that army again. Are we quite ready for this?

“This is not all. On the 13th of February, 1878, the Chairman of the Committee on Invalid Pensions of the Forty-fifth Congress [Mr. Rice] reported to the House, with the sanction of a majority of that committee, a bill repealing Section 4716 of the United States Statutes. Let me read the section to be repealed:

“No money on account of pensions shall be paid to any person, or to the widow, children, or heirs of any deceased person who in any manner voluntarily engaged in or aided or abetted the late rebellion against the authority of the United States.”

“And the same bill contained the following affirmative legislation:

“SEC. 7. That the Secretary of the Interior be, and is hereby, authorized and required to restore to the pension-roll the names of all invalid pensioners now living who were stricken therefrom on account of disloyalty, and pay them pensions from the 25th day of December, 1868, at the rate which they would have been entitled to had they not been dropped from the pension-roll.”

“These are some of the war measures which are to be ‘wiped out’ from the statute book. These are some of the degrading badges which are to be torn off.”

The Democratic dog-in-the-manger spirit of 1884—Pensioning Union soldiers “offensive favoritism.”

The same spirit survives in their Congressional legislation and their prevention of legislation during the last session of the present Congress. Look back at the record and it will be only verified. The Democrats said by their attempted legislation to admit Confederates to the pension rolls that the “discrimination,” as Jeff. Davis has since said, *in behalf of the Union soldier is “OFFENSIVE FAVORITISM.”* And by their Congressional filibustering to defeat the Mexican War Pensions bill they virtually said, if ex-confederates who were in that war could not be placed on a Mexican war pension list then nobody else should. Thus they reduced themselves to a dog-in-the-manager policy at the last. The entire point of the Democratic side of the fight was to repeal the following section of the revised statutes:

“SEC. 4716. No money on account of pensions shall be paid to any person, or to the widow, children, or heirs of any deceased person, who in any manner voluntarily engaged in, or aided or abetted, the late rebellion against the authority of the United States.”

And, failing to repeal it, the Democrats would not let any measure in behalf of Union or Mexican war soldiers through.

CHAPTER XIII.

Democratic Hatred of Union Soldiers.

"Resolved, That the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have a just claim upon the care, protection, and gratitude of their fellow-citizens."—Democratic National Platform of 1876.

"Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the governmental business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency, and held for fidelity in the public employ. . . ."—Democratic National Platform of 1876.

"We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic Party, as . . . embodied in the platform of the last National Convention of the party."

—Democratic National Platform of 1880.

PART I.

How a Democratic House Showed Its Hatred of the Union Soldier.

On the 14th day of December, 1875, Mr. Fort, Republican, made an effort to prevent wounded Union soldiers from being set aside by the then Democratic House, and to that end introduced the following:

"Resolved, That in all subordinate appointments, under any of the officers of this House, it is the judgment of this House that wounded Union soldiers, who are not disabled from performance of duty, should be preferred."

Upon this he demanded the previous question; but the Confederate element was too strong for him and the House refused to second it!

Thereupon Mr. S. S. Cox offered the following substitute and moved its reference to the Committee on Accounts:

"Resolved, That inasmuch as the Union of the States has been restored, all the citizens thereof are entitled to consideration in all appointments to offices under this government."

The vote upon reference to the Committee on Accounts was 168 yea to 102 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Ainsworth, Anderson, Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, J. H. Bagley, Jr., Banning, Barnum, Beebe, S. N. Bell, Blackburn, Bland, Bliss, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. Y. Brown, Buckner, S. D. Burchard, Cabell, J. H. Caldwell, W. P. Caudle, Candler, Cate, Caulfield, Chapin, Chittenden, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clarke, Jr., Clymer, Cochrane, Cooke, Concan, Cox, Culberson, Cutler, J. J. Davis, De Bolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durand, Eden, Esbert, Ellis, Ely, Faulkner, Felton, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Gibson, Glover, Goode, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, R. Hamilton, Hancock, Hardinbergh, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, C. H. Harrison, Hartridge, Hartzell, Hatcher, Haymond, Hereford, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Holman, Hooker, Hopkins, House, Hunter, Hurd,

Jenks, F. Jones, T. L. Jones, Kehr, Knott, Lamar, F. Landers, G. M. Landers, Lane, Levy, B. B. Lewis, Lord, Luttrell, Lynde, Maitland, McFarland, McMahon, Meade, Metcalf, Milliken, Mills, Money-Morgan, Morrison, Mutchler, Neal, New, O'Brien, Oded, F. Y. Parsons, Payne, J. Phelps, J. F. Phillips, Piper, Poppleton, Randall, D. Rea, Reagan, J. Reilly, J. H. Reilly, A. V. Rice, J. Robbins, W. M. Robbins, M. Ross, Savage, M. Sayler, Scales, Schleicher, J. G. Schumaker, Seelye, Sheakley, Singleton, Stemons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stenger, Stone, Stunn, Tarbox, Teese, Terry, C. P. Thompson, F. E. Thomas, Throckmorton, Tucker, Turney, J. L. Vance, R. B. Vance, Waddell, C. C. B. Walker, G. C. Walker, Walling, Ward, Warren, E. Wells, Whitehouse, Whitthorne, Wigington, Wike, A. S. Williams, J. Williams, J. D. Williams, J. N. Williams, Willis, Wilshire, B. Wilson, F. Wood, Yeates, C. Young—168.

NAYS—Messrs. C. H. Adams, G. A. Bagley, J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Blaine, Blair, Bradley, W. R. Brown, H. C. Burchard, Burleigh, Cannon, Cason, Caswell, Conger, Crapo, Crounse, Danford, Darrall, Davy, Denison, Dobbins, Dunnell, Eames, Evans, Farwell, Fort, Foster, C. Freeman, Frost, Frye, Garfield, Goodin, E. Hale, Harlison, B. W. Harris, Henderson, G. F. Horr, Hoge, Honkiss, Hubbell, Hunter, Hurlbut, Hyman, Joyce, Kasson, Kelley, Ketchem, Kimball, King, Lapham, W. Lawrence, Lynch, Magoun, MacDougall, McCrary, J. W. McDill, Miller, Monroe, Nash, Norton, Oliver, O'Neill, Packer, Page, W. A. Phillips, Pierce, Plaisted, Pratt, Purman, Rainey, M. S. Robinson, S. Ross, Rusk, Sampson, Sinnickson, R. Smalls, A. H. Smith, Starkweather, Stevenson, Stowell, Strait, Thornburgh, M. I. Townsend, W. Townsend, Tufts, Van Vorhes, Waldron, A. S. Wallace, J. W. Wallace, Walls, G. W. Wells, Wheeler, J. D. White, Whiting, G. Willard, C. G. Williams, W. B. Williams, J. Wilson, A. Wood, Jr., Woodburn, Woodworth—102.

Of those voting, only two Republicans voted for the reference and 100 Republicans voted against it; while only two Democrats voted against the reference to 166 Democrats who voted for it.

A patriotic resolution agreed to by both parties.

On the 5th of January, 1876, the Christmas recess having intervened, Mr. Cason, Republican, offered the following resolution:

"Be it resolved, etc., That we recognize the brave and gallant services rendered by the loyal soldier to his country in the time of its greatest need and peril, and that we do earnestly recommend to the people of our common country the utmost care and watchfulness over the rights and interests of these brave men, securing to each one in need of employment and to such and their families the necessities and comforts of life; and in all cases of public employment and in the bestowment of the emoluments of office, that, all other things being equal, the soldier shall have the preference over the civilian; and, as one branch of the legislative department of this Government, we are in favor of laws being enacted by Congress giving liberal pensions to the deceased and crippled soldiers, and to the widows and children and dependent fathers and mothers of those who have died from wounds or disease contracted while in the service of the Union army, and to each living soldier, and to the widows and heirs of those dead, such bounties and homesteads as a generous Government can afford to those who have won and preserved to the nation its liberty and Constitution."

The previous question being demanded was seconded by 142 yeas to 9 nays, and the resolution was agreed to by Republicans and Democrats alike, the latter interpreting the words:—"the soldier shall have the preference"—to mean either the Confederate or the Union soldier.

Democratic Pecksniffian hypocrisy exposed—The tell-tale vote.

But to test the sincerity of the professions of the Democrats, Mr. Fort on the same day offered the following:

"Resolved, That the doctrine just announced by the House in the resolution of the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Cason) is so wise and just that, in the judgment of this House, it should be followed by officers of the House in filling subordinate places under their authority; and that in all such cases they are hereby instructed to give to well-qualified Union soldiers preference over soldiers of the late Confederate army."

On this, he demanded the previous question, but the Democratic House refused to second it, by 93 yeas to 103 nays. Thereupon Fernando Wood, by way of adding insult to injury, sneeringly moved to refer the resolution to the Committee on Centennial Celebration—which motion was agreed to by 122 yeas to 98 nays—all the yeas being Democrats, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Ashe, Atkins, Bagby, J. H. Bagley, Jr., Bland, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. Y. Brown, Buckner, S. D. Burchard, Cabell, J. H. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Candler, Chapin, J. E. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cochrane, Cook, Conran, Cox, Culberson, Cutler, Joseph J. Davis, De Bolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Egbert, Faulkner, Felton, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Glover, Goode, A. H. Hamilton, E. Hamilton, Hancock, H. E. Harris, J. T. Harris, C. H. Harrison, Hatcher, Hereford, A. S. Hewitt, Hill, Hooker, Hopkins, House, Hunton, Jenks, G. M. Landers, Lane, Levy, Lord, Lynde, L. A. Mackey, Maish, McFarland, McMahon, Metcalfe, Milliken, Mills, Money, Morrison, Mutchler, New, O'Brien, E. Y. Persons, J. Phelps, J. F. Phillips, Piper, Poppleton, Powell, Randall, D. Rea, Reagan, J. Reilly, J. B. Reilly, Riddle, J. Robbins, W. M. Robbins, C. B. Roberts, M. Ross, M. Saylor, Schleicher, Sheakley, Singleton, Slemmons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Springer, Stenger, Stone, Tarbox, Terry, C. P. Thompson, Throckmorton, Tucker, Turney, J. L. Vance, Waddell, Walling, Walsh, Ward, Warren, E. Wells, Whithorne, Wike, J. Williams, J. D. Williams, J. N. Williams, Willis, Wilshire, B. Wilson, F. Wood, Yeates, C. Young—122.—For names of removals and appointments, see pp. 118, 119.

PART II.

Democratic "Civil Service Reform" in the Senate—Union Soldiers Kicked out and Confederate Soldiers Appointed.

When it became evident to the Democratic Senate, in 1854, that the term of Democratic ascendancy in that body was about to expire, it appointed a select committee to devise a plan to keep the Democratic officers of that body in their places, and accordingly the following resolution was concocted, and on January 17, 1854, it passed the Senate by a decisive vote, and became a standing rule of the Senate:

"Resolved, That the several officers and others in the departments of the Secretary of the Senate and of the Sergeant-at-Arms shall be appointed and removed from office by those officers respectively as heretofore; but when made during the session of the Senate any such removal to be first approved by the President of the Senate on reasons to be assigned therefor in writing by the officer making the removal, and when in the recess, such reasons in writing to be laid before the President of the Senate on the first day of the succeeding session, and to be approved or disapproved by him."

The old standing Democratic rule ordered away by a Democratic caucus.

When the Republicans came into power they made no effort to disturb that rule, nor to disturb the old officers, who, in the course of years died out or resigned, one by one, as age or other callings beckoned them. Thus it remained—this Democratic rule—through all the years of the Republican majority in the Senate. But early in 1879, the Democrats having a majority at the extra session of that year, and being importuned by a ravenous multitude of Southern and other Democratic place-hunters, determined—as they could not get the President of the Senate to consent to the removal of the experienced and efficient Republicans in the offices of the Secretary and Sergeant-at-Arms—to annul the rule that their own party had made—to go back on their own offspring, as it were—in order to get the few "loaves and fishes" pertaining to the Senate organization. This was decided on in caucus, and Senator Wallace, the chairman of that Democratic Senatorial caucus, undertook to engineer the thing through, and on the 17th of April, 1879, offered the following:

The caucus resolution—Senator Edmunds' attempts to protect Union soldiers—Wallace's duplicity exposed.

"Resolved, That the several officers and others in the departments of the Secretary of the Senate and of the Sergeant-at-Arms shall be appointed and removed from office by those officers respectively."

Mr. Edmunds thereupon moved to amend by adding the following:

"But no officer or employee of the Senate who served in the forces of the United States in suppressing the late rebellion shall be removed except for cause stated in writing to the President of the Senate and approved by him in writing."

Mr. Wallace assured Senator Edmunds that "*there need be no apprehension on this apparently tender subject*," and that the Democratic majority had no intention of removing Union Soldiers who held offices under the Senate.

Whereupon Mr. Conkling rose and expressed his "surprise" at the statement, and continuing, said:

"I assert that they [the Democratic majority] have already acted in violation of what the Senator says. I assert that they have *already removed a Union Soldier—a man who served in the armies of the Union and was discharged because of the injuries he received*, and yet the honorable Senator says it is not worth while to guard this because the majority may be trusted to abstain, much as the overseer may be trusted to abstain from the lash! . . . I refer to Mr. Fitz who has been removed from a position in the office of the Secretary of the Senate, a position whose duties he never neglected or came short in."

Votes against the Union soldier and for the Confederate soldier—Adoption of the rule—A clean sweep.

Of course the adoption of such an amendment as that of Mr. Edmunds, would defeat one of the very objects of the repeal of the old rule. *Union Soldiers were the very fellows the Confederate brigadiers were "gunning for."* Hence, when, on April 25, 1879, the amendment came to a vote, while *every Republican voted for the amendment, every Democrat voted against it!*

Following is the vote in full:

YEAS—Messrs. Anthony, Bell, Burnside, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Carpenter, Chandler, Conkling, Dawes, Edmunds, Ferry, Hill of Colorado, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, Kellogg, Kirkwood, Logan, McMillan, Morrill, Paddock, Platt, Plumb, Rollins, Saunders, Teller—24.

NAWS—Messrs. Bailey, Beck, Butler, Cockrell, Coke, Eaton, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Hill of Georgia, Houston, Johnston, Jonas, Kernal, McDonald, Marey, Morgan, Pendleton, Randolph, Ransom, Saulsbury, Slater, Thurman, Vance, Vest, Voorhees, Walker, Wallace, Withers—31.

Whereupon Senator Carpenter moved to add the following:

"But no office or employment made vacant by the removal or dismissal of a person who served in the forces of the Union, during the late war shall be filled or supplied by the appointment or employment of any person who served in the Confederate army at any time during said war."

Of course that also was voted down—yeas 26, nays 34—all Republicans voting for the amendment and all Democrats against it, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Anthony, Bell, Burnside, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Carpenter, Chandler, Conkling, Dawes, Edmunds, Ferry, Hamilton, Hill of Colorado, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, Kellogg, Kirkwood, Logan, McMillan, Morrill, Paddock, Platt, Plumb, Rollins, Saunders, Teller—26.

NAWS—Messrs. Bailey, Bayard, Beck, Butler, Cockrell, Coke, Eaton, Farley, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Harris, Hereford, Hill of Georgia, Houston, Johnston, Jonas, Kernal, McDonald, Marey, Morgan, Pendleton, Randolph, Ransom, Saulsbury, Slater, Thurman, Vance, Vest, Voorhees, Walker, Wallace, Withers—34.

Whereupon Wallace's rule was adopted by a strict party vote. Having thus removed the only legal impediment to the

expulsion of the old employees, the Secretary of the Senate and Sergeant-at-Arms at once began the work. Seventy-six Union soldiers at once fell victims to Democratic hatred of these representatives of the force which saved the Union from destruction. Of these about one half were soldiers who bore upon their bodies the evidence of their political principles in the shape of wounds.

Their places were filled by eighty-eight soldiers from the army of treason.

PART III.

The Police of the National Capital—Formerly none but Union Soldiers on Guard—Now, Otherwise.

Section 354 of the Revised Statutes provides that no person shall serve on the Washington police force who has not served in, and been honorably discharged from, either the Army or the Navy of the United States.

June 9, 1880, in the Senate, pending the bill (S. 1394) to increase the police force of the District of Columbia, the following amendment was reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia:

"Sec. 2. That so much of section 354 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to the District of Columbia, as requires that 'no person shall be appointed as policeman or watchman who has not served in the Army or Navy of the United States and received an honorable discharge,' be, and the same is hereby, repealed."

The clause was agreed to by a vote of yeas 25, nays 15—all the yeas being Democrats, and all the nays Republicans.

The proposition had originally passed the House. In the debate which ensued in the Senate, the Republicans resisted the repeal on the ground that the time had not yet come when the Union soldier should be set aside for the Confederate soldier. *But Mr. Beck insisted on the repeal, and announced the existing law excluding Confederates as the meanest vengeance towards a political opponent (meaning an ex-Confederate), or the lowest demagogic; and it was practically announced as the future policy of the Democracy, in all matters of appointments, that the Confederates were to have at least an "equal chance."*

PART IV.

The Voorhees Resolution of Inquiry—Its Boomerang Results, showing the Percentage of Democratic Hate for the Union Soldier and Love for the Confederate Soldier.

On the 16th of March, 1882, Senator Voorhees, of Indiana, the gentleman who,

in 1860, denounced Union soldiers as "Lincoln hirelings," "Lincoln dogs, with collars around their necks, labelled 'A. Lincoln,'" etc., etc., introduced in the Senate the following resolution:

"Whereas, The following provision of law, enacted in 1865, is contained in section 1754 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, to wit:

"Persons honorably discharged from the military and naval service by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness incurred in the line of duty shall be preferred for appointments to civil offices, provided they are found to possess the business capacity necessary for the proper discharge of the duties of such offices."

"Therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs be, and they are hereby, instructed to inquire into, and report to this body—

"1st. Whether said section is in full force and effect, or whether it has been in any manner repealed, modified, or rendered nugatory and void.

"2d. Whether said section has been faithfully executed in appointments to civil offices under the government, or whether it has been openly and habitually disregarded and violated.

"3d. Whether the terms and meaning of said section apply to provost and deputy provost marshals, quartermasters, and sutlers who were not disabled in the military or naval service of the United States, or whether they apply solely to persons who have been honorably discharged from such service by reason of disability arising from wounds or sickness incurred in the line of duty; and,

"4th. Whether any additional legislation is necessary to cause the provisions of this law to be carried out and enforced by the various departments of this government."

* * * * *

The object which the Senator had in view was, by manifesting this apparent anxiety for the Union soldier, to at once gain his support, while at the same time throwing doubts upon the sincerity of Republican professions and practices in that soldier's behalf.

The resolution was promptly passed and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs; and on July 3, 1882, Senator Garrison, from that committee, made a report the substance of which was a veritable boomerang to the Democrats, and is as follows:

The Senate committee findings.

To the first inquiry embraced in the resolution the committee reported that the law is in full force, and also expressed the opinion that while section 1754 relates in terms only to disabled soldiers, the spirit of the law has a much wider scope. Section 1755, enacted at the same time, is as follows:

"In grateful recognition of the services, sacrifices, and suffering of persons honorably discharged from the military and naval service of the country, by reason of wounds, disease, or the expiration of terms of enlistment, it is respectfully recommended, to bankers, merchants, manufacturers, mechanics, farmers, and persons engaged in industrial pursuits, to give them preference for appointments to remunerative situations and employments."

This section, it will be observed, extends to all soldiers honorably discharged, whether for disability or expiration of their terms of

enlistment, and it cannot be supposed that Congress intended to suggest to business men in their private employments a more liberal policy towards the soldiers than it was willing to adopt in the civil service of the country.

Fifty-two per cent of Union soldiers in the Republican Treasury Department.

Regarding the second inquiry, the committee reported that they had addressed to the heads of all the executive departments inquiries touching the matters under investigation, in response to which they received the following statements:

The Secretary of the Treasury reported that

"The records show that out of 1548 appointments and reappointments from March, 1877, to March, 1882, 803 were persons who either served in the military and naval service and were honorably discharged therefrom, or were widows or orphans of soldiers and sailors."

It will be seen that in the Treasury Department nearly 52 per cent of all the appointments made since 1877 have involved a recognition of service rendered in the war by the appointee, or by a dead father or husband.

Sixty-three per cent of Union Soldiers in the Republican War Department.

The Secretary of War reported that the records of the War Department show that

"Of the present number of civilian employees in the War Department, 1038 have been appointed since March 3, 1865, of which number, there are 68 females and 15 boys, leaving as male adult appointees 995. Of this number, 602 (or more than 63 per cent) have served in the Army or Navy, and 137 (or more than 22 per cent of those who served in the Army or Navy) were discharged for disability resulting from wounds or sickness incurred in the line of duty."

This letter from the Secretary of War is more directly responsive to the inquiry than others received, as it gives the per cent of disabled soldiers. The committee have also learned by inquiry that of the 68 females reported as employed in the War Department, 23 are widows or orphans of soldiers.

Thirty-four per cent of Union soldiers in the Republican Interior Department.

The following is the response of the Secretary of the Interior:

"Sir: . . . I beg leave to state that the said provision of law has been recognized and executed in the appointments made in this Department, so far as practicable, and that the records show that of the whole force, 457 persons, or more than 34 per centum served either in the Army or Navy, and that of the female force of the Department, 128 persons, or more than 36 per cent, are either widows, orphans, or daughters of Union soldiers and sailors in the late rebellion."

Thirty-six per cent of Union soldiers in the Republican Post-Office Department.

The Postmaster-General responded to the committee that—

"The total number of employees in the Post-Office Department is 496. Of these 108 are females.

Of the remaining 388, 138 were either soldiers or sailors during the late war.

"Considering the proportion of ex-soldiers and sailors now living to the total male adult population of the country, it seems to me the above statement shows that the section referred to is reasonably well executed in this Department."

It will be seen from this letter that nearly 36 per cent of the male employees of the Post-Office Department served in the Army or Navy during the late war.

Twenty-five per cent in the Republican Department of Justice.

The Attorney-General responded as follows:

"Since I have held the office of Attorney-General there has been no instance wherein the provisions of section 1754 of the Revised Statutes have been disregarded or violated.

"The applications of persons bearing the description given in that section will be considered by me, and when vacancies are to be filled they will be preferred, if they are found upon examination to have the capacity required by the law."

The letter of the Attorney-General does not give the per cent of ex-soldiers employed in his department, but from a report made to the Senate in October, 1881, it appears that a little more than 25 per cent were of that class.

Thirty-four per cent of Union soldiers in the Republican Navy Department.

The Secretary of the Navy replied that—

"The statute has been duly obeyed, and, so far as I can learn, in full accordance with both its letter and spirit.

"I have only to add that this statute, giving honorably-discharged soldiers and sailors the preference in civil appointments, commends itself to my heart and judgment, and will be faithfully and fairly observed in this Department while under my control."

This letter does not give the figures which were desired, but by reference to a report of the Navy Department, made to the Senate in December last, it was ascertained by the committee that there were then 208 male employees in that department, of which number 72, or a little more than 34½ per cent, had served in the Army or Navy.

Twenty-five per cent of Union soldiers in the Republican State Department—Forty per cent in the diplomatic and consular service.

The Secretary of the State responded:

"1st. That since the passage of the resolution of the 3d of March, 1865, this Department has directed its efforts to a careful and faithful observance of the letter and spirit of that resolution.

"The clerks and employees of this Department comprise less than 80, and most of them require special training, which can only be gained by long experience; but even of these, 25 per cent of the number of male clerks are discharged soldiers.

"2d. In the diplomatic and consular service not less than 40 per cent of the whole number are honorably-discharged Union soldiers, and of them at least one half are discharged for disability."

22 per cent of Confederate soldiers to 14 per cent of Union soldiers employed by the Democratic Secretary of the Senate.

The committee then proceed to say:

"Your committee feel that the Senate, having as a part of the national legislature helped to place sec-

tion 1754 on the statute book, is as a body under peculiar obligations to enforce this law in selecting its own officers and employees. An inquiry of the Acting Secretary of the Senate upon this subject was answered by him as follows:"

Then follows a table furnished by the Acting Secretary, on which the committee remarks:

"It will be seen that a little over 14 per cent of the employees of the Secretary's Office served in the Union Army or Navy, while something over 22 per cent served in the *Confederate Army*."

The Democratic Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate appoints 14 Confederate soldiers and only 9 Union soldiers.

The Democratic Sergeant-at-Arms of the Senate furnished a roll of employees, with marks indicating "so far as known," the service rendered in either the Union or Confederate service, from which the committee makes the following deductions:

"The number of male employees under the Sergeant-at-Arms, not including the Senate pages, is 107; of these, 9 are messengers nominated by the committee which they serve, and appointed by the Sergeant-at-Arms. Of these, Mr. Bright has marked 17 persons, or a little less than 16 per cent of his force, as having served in the Union army, and 16 persons, or a little less than 15 per cent, as having served in the Confederate army. He has also indicated, upon the roll furnished, those persons who were employed before he was elected Sergeant-at-Arms. From these marks it appears that 30 of the 107 persons who were reported as now employed were appointed by Mr. Bright's predecessor. Of these 30 persons retained, 8 are marked as Union soldiers or sailors. It follows, then, that of the 77 new appointments made by Mr. Bright, including the 9 made upon the suggestion of the committee, only 9, or less than 12 per cent were appointed from that class which the statute shall be preferred.

"It appears also from the roll that of the 16 Confederate soldiers now employed only 2 were on the rolls when Mr. Bright took the office. In other words, 9 Union soldiers and 14 Confederates have been appointed."

The Republican departments average 40 per cent of Union soldiers—The Senate with its Democratic officers averages only 15 per cent.

The committee concludes its report on this branch of the subject as follows:

"It will be seen that the average per cent of soldiers and sailors employed in the different executive departments (taking in the State Department the mean between 25 and 40) is 40 per cent, while the average in the Senate offices is 15 per cent. While this condition of things exists the Senate does not occupy a favorable ground from which to lecture the other departments of the Government."

The Republican House Clerk employs 17 per cent of Union soldiers—The Republican Sergeant-at-Arms 71 per cent—The Republican Doorkeeper 53 per cent.

Of the appointees under the Republican House the committee says:

"We have received from the clerk of the House of Representatives a letter, from which the following facts are taken: There are 36 clerks and assistants employed in his office, of whom 17, or a little more than 47 per cent served in the Union army, and one in the Confederate army.

"We are also informed by a letter from the Sergeant-at-Arms of the House that of the 7 employees in his office, 5, or a little more than 71 per cent served in the Union army.

"The doorkeeper of the House informs us that of

90 employees on the permanent roll 47 served in the Union army and 3 in the Confederate army. He also adds that among the total number of employees given one is a page and one a woman. Deducting these from the total number of employees, we have over 53 per cent of Union soldiers on his force. He also adds that among the pages there are 14 who are sons of Union soldiers.

"It will be seen that of the total number of employees in the offices of the Clerk, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, nearly 53 per cent were Union soldiers."

Recapitulation.

The per cent of Union soldiers in the Departments and in the House of Representatives, as shown by the foregoing:

	Per cent.
Rep. Treasury Department.....	52
" War Department.....	63
" Interior Department.....	34
" Post Office Department.....	36
" Justice Department.....	25
" Navy Department.....	34
" State Department (mean).....	32
" Clerk of the House.....	47
" Sergeant-at-Arms, House.....	71
" Doorkeeper of House.....	53
Rep. Average.....	45

Per cent of Union soldiers in the employment of the Senate.

	Per cent.
Dem. Secretary's Office.....	14
" Sergeant-at-Arms' Office.....	16
Dem. Average.....	15

Per cent of Confederate soldiers in the employment of the Senate:

	Per cent.
Dem. Secretary's Office.....	22
" Sergeant-at-Arms' Office.....	15

Dem. Average..... 18½

Thus it will be seen that the average of Union soldiers employed in the departments and the House of Representatives (all Republican) was 45 per cent; while in the Senate—the employees being under the control of the Democrats—there was the beggarly showing of 15 per cent of Union soldiers, which was more than offset by 18½ per cent of Confederate soldiers.

CHAPTER XIV.

Greenbacks, Public Credit, and Resumption.

"*Honest money—the strict maintenance of the public faith—consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand; a strict maintenance of the public faith, State and National.*"—National Democratic Platform, 1880.

"*We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.*"—National Democratic Platform, 1884.

PART I.

The Republican Party the Father, Friend, and Guardian of the Republican Greenback—History of the Greenback's Birth—The Legal-Tender Act—Reason for its Being—Democratic Opposition and Votes—Secretary Chase's Letter.

To ascertain the position in which the two great parties of the country have hitherto stood on the legal-tender note, or "greenback" question, and the folly of the formation of a "Greenback Party," when it is susceptible of positive proof that the Republican Party has not only always been the best friend, but is the father and guardian of the greenback, while the Democratic Party has

been its bitter enemy, it may be well to look back into the history of its origin and its growth in public esteem.

It originated in 1862 as purely a Republican measure, suggested by a Republican Secretary of the Treasury, passed by a Republican Congress, approved by a Republican President as a means whereby a long and bloody war, brought on by the attempts of the rebel wing of the Democratic Party to rule or ruin this Union of States, might end in a triumph of union and freedom.

February 6, 1862, under the management of that staunch "old commoner," Thad. Stevens, the bill first organizing an issue of United States legal-tender notes were passed by the House. The vote was yeas 93, nays 59, the yeas (only seven Democrats) being Democrats) being almost entirely Republicans, and the nays (which included twenty

Republican) mainly Democratic. Among the prominent Democrats who voted against the greenback on this its first appearance will be found the names of S. S. Cox, Holman, of Indiana, Pendleton and Vallandigham, of Ohio, and Voorhees, of Indiana, some of whom at this late day profess to be advocates and friends of the greenback! In the Senate the bill was passed by an affirmative vote of 30, of whom 25 were Republicans—only three Republicans voting against it! The bill became a law February 25, 1862.

The reason why the legal-tender clause was put into the act at the suggestion of the Republican Secretary of the Treasury, S. P. Chase, was because of the refusal of "some persons, and some institutions which refused to receive and pay" out United States notes and thus *depreciated* them. These "persons" and "institutions" were of the Democratic faith, and their effort was to cripple the Government in its war on the Southern wing of the Democratic Party for the preservation of the Union. This is the precise language of Mr. Secretary Chase's letter of January 29, 1862, to Hon. Thaddeus Stevens, which led to the enactment of the legal-tender measure:

"... But, unfortunately, there are some persons and some institutions which refuse to receive and pay them (U. S. notes), and whose action tends not merely to the unnecessary depreciation of the notes, but to establish discrimination in business against those who, in this matter, give a cordial support to the Government, and in favor of those who do not. Such discriminations should, if possible, be prevented; and the provision making the notes a legal tender, in a great measure at least, prevents it by putting all citizens, in this respect, on the same level both of rights and duties. . . ."

The Democratic opposition was intended to help the rebellion and cripple the Union Treasury. That was the motive. It was founded upon the pretence that the issue of legal-tender greenbacks was unconstitutional. That was the pretext. The Democrats hated the greenback before its birth, at its birth, and until by Republican legislation it grew strong and beautiful. They still hate it. But with devilish cunning they now pretend to love it, and, with fond caresses, would embrace it only to its destruction and undoing.

PART II.

The Democrats Directly Responsible for Contraction—The Act of April 12, 1866—Analysis of the Votes by which it Passed.

The Act of April 12, 1866, first session, Thirty-ninth Congress—providing for a contraction of the volume of greenbacks—may fairly be claimed by the Democrats as their own measure. Under that act, it will be remembered, the Secretary of the Treasury actually retired \$44,000,000 legal-tenders,

reducing the volume of greenbacks in circulation to \$356,000,000, although subsequently after the panic of September, 1873, the Secretary issued (or reissued) more than half of what he had previously withdrawn. This contraction act passed the House March 23, 1866, by a vote of 83 yeas to 53 nays. There were 55 Republicans voting yea, while 53 Republicans voted nay. There were 28 Democrats who voted yea, and only one Democrat who voted nay. The Democrats had the balance of power, and under the lead of Samuel J. Randall, James Brooks, Michael C. Kerr, Samuel S. Marshall and Charles A. Eldridge, threw their united strength for the bill, leaving only one poor Democratic straggler—Edwin N. Hubbell—among the host of Republicans who fought the bill.

So, in the Senate. There the bill was passed April 9, 1866, by a vote of 32 yeas to 7 nays. The seven nays were all Republicans, and all the Democrats who voted, voted for the bill. Thus it appears that on the passage of the bill in both Houses the aggregate Democratic vote against contraction was a solitary one!

The Act of February 4, 1868, suspending contraction—Vote analyzed—The same old story.

Again, there is the case of the act of February 4, 1868, passed during the second session of the Fortieth Congress, which reads in part as follows:

"Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to make any reduction of the currency, by retiring or cancelling United States notes, shall be, and is hereby, suspended." . . .

This act passed the House December 7, 1867, by 127 yeas to 32 nays; and of the 127 yeas only 24 were Democratic votes, while 103 were Republican.

Thus again and again do we see that while the Republicans did all they possibly could for the greenback, the Democrats did all they possibly could against it, and whenever they were strong enough did effectual harm. And as if to point the case still more strongly, the Democratic President, Andy Johnson, allowed the measure to become a law by the lapse of time (because he knew it was useless to veto it), but refused absolutely to sign it.

PART III.

The Public Credit Bill of 1869—Public Credit Act of 1869—Resumption Act of 1875—Official Votes showing the Democrats solidly against them.

When, in July last, at the Academy of Music in New York, Samuel J. Randall declared to the assembled multitude, that "It

(the Democratic Party) *made easy the path to the resumption of specie payments, etc.*," he exhibited a density of ignorance or a faculty for falsification absolutely astounding! Let us see with what remarkable persistency the Democratic Party fought the public credit, the resumption of specie payments, and the greenback, which that resumption has made as good as gold.

Public Credit and Specie-Contract Bill of 1869—Only 34 Democrats in Congress vote for it.

In the House January 20, 1869, Mr. Schenck introduced a bill (H. R. 1744) to "strengthen the public credit" which subsequently passed the House, was amended in the Senate, and out of the disagreement between the two Houses came a bill, reported by a Conference Committee, which passed both Houses, but was "pocketed" by President Andrew Johnson. The vote upon that "public credit bill," as reported by the Conference Committee, was, in the Senate: 31 yeas to 24 nays—30 Republicans voting "yea" to 14 Republicans voting "nay," and only one Democrat voting "yea" to 10 Democrats voting "nay." In the House the vote upon the bill reported by the Conference Committee was 117 yeas to 59 nays. There were of these, 107 Republican "yeas" to 26 Republican "nays," and only 10 Democratic "yeas" to 33 Democratic "nays." In other words the Senate Republicans were more than 2 to 1, and the House Republicans more than 4 to 1, *in favor of it*; while the House Democrats were more than 3 to 1, and the Senate Democrats exactly 10 to 1 *against it*.

The bill upon which these votes were taken comprised only two sections—the first section being word for word the same as the "Public Credit Act" of 1869, hereafter quoted in full, and the second or specific contracts section being as follows:

"Sec. 2. That any contract hereafter made specifically payable in coin, and the consideration of which may be a loan of coin, or a sale of property, or the rendering of labor or service of any kind, the price of which, as carried into the contract, may have been adjusted on the basis of the coin value thereof at the time of such sale or the rendering of such service or labor, shall be legal and valid, and may be enforced according to its terms; and on the trial of a suit brought for the enforcement of any such contract, proof of the real consideration may be given."

This bill went to President Johnson March 3, 1869, and was "pocketed," as before stated.

The public credit act of 1869—The remarkable vote by which it passed—Not one Democrat votes for it!

March 12, 1869, Mr. Schenck introduced in the House (H. R. 7) the same bill precisely that had been "pocketed" by Andy Johnson at the close of his Presidential term a few days before.

The second (specific contract) section was stricken out by 87 yeas to 56 nays—53 Re-

publican yeas and 54 Republican nays against 34 Democratic yeas and 2 Democratic nays—or in other words exhibiting a bare majority of Republicans in favor of the specific contract section, and a proportion of 17 to one of the Democrats against it!

The bill was now in the following shape:

An act to strengthen the public credit.

"*Be it enacted, etc.*, That in order to remove any doubt as to the purpose of the Government to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and to settle conflicting questions and interpretations of the laws by virtue of which such obligations have been contracted, it is hereby provided and declared, that the faith of the United States is solemnly pledged to the payment in coin, or its equivalent, of all the obligations of the United States not bearing interest, known as United States notes, and of all the interest-bearing obligations of the United States, except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of any such obligation has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money or other currency than gold and silver. But none of said interest-bearing obligations not already due shall be redeemed or paid before maturity, unless at such time United States notes shall be convertible into coin at the option of the holder, or unless at such time bonds of the United States bearing a lower rate of interest than the bonds to be redeemed can be sold at par in coin. And the United States also solemnly pledges its faith to make provision at the earliest practical period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin."

And the vote upon its passage was as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Ambler, Ames, Armstrong, Arnell, Asper, Axtell, A. H. Bailey, Banks, Beaman, Benjamin, Bennett, Bingham, A. Blair, Boles, Boyd, Buffington, Burdett, Cessna, Churchill, C. L. Cobb, C. C. Cook, Conger, Cowles, Culloom, Davies, Donley, Duval, Dyer, Farnsworth, Ferriss, T. W. Ferry, Finckenburg, Fisher, Fitch, Gilfillan, E. Hale, J. B. Hawley, Heaton, G. F. Hoar, Hooper, G. W. Hotchkiss, Jenckes, A. H. Jones, Judd, Julian, Kelsey, Ketcham, Knapp, Laflin, Lash, W. Lawrence, J. Lynch, Maynard, McCrary, McGrew, Mercur, J. H. Moore, W. Moore, S. P. Morrill, Negley, O'Neil, Packard, H. E. Paine, Palmer, D. Phelps, Poland, Pomeroy, Prosser, Roots, Sanford, Sargent, P. Sawyer, Schenck, Scofield, P. Sheldon, John A. Smith, W. C. Smith, W. Smyth, Stokes, Stoughton, Strickland, Tanner, Tillman, Twichell, W. H. Upson, R. T. Van Horn, H. Ward, C. C. Washburn, W. B. Washburn, Welker, W. A. Wheeler, Whittmore, Wilkinson, C. W. Willard, W. Williams, Winans—97.

NAYS—Messrs. Archer, Beatty, Beck, Biggs, Bird, Burr, B. F. Butler, R. R. Butler, A. Cobb, Coburn, Crebs, Deweese, Dickinson, Eldredge, Getz, J. S. Goodlady, Hawkins, Holman, B. F. Hopkins, J. A. Johnson, T. L. Jones, Kerr, Knott, Marshall, Mayham, McCormick, McNeely, Moffet, Mungen, Niblack, Orth, Reading, Reeves, Rice, Shanks, J. S. Smith, Stiles, F. Stone, Strader, Sweeney, Taffe, L. S. Trimble, Tyner, Van Trump, J. T. Wilson, Winchester, Woodward—47.

Thus it will be seen that while there were 96 Republican yeas to 13 Republican nays, there were 34 Democratic yeas to 1 Democratic yea—and as Mr. Axtell, who cast that solitary yea vote, is now a Republican, the Democratic vote was really "solid" against the measure.

In the Senate, March 15, 1869, the House bill (H. R. 7) was taken up and passed by 42 yeas to 13 nays—the former all Republicans can votes, while the Democrats voted solidly against its passage.

Thus in both Houses of Congress the Democrats (excluding the present Republi-

can, Mr. Axtell) voted as a solid unit against the public credit!

It is hardly necessary to say that on the 18th of March, 1869, just two weeks after Andy Johnson "pocketed" a similar one, President Grant signed it and it became a law. It was the first act approved by him.

The Resumption Act of 1875—Every vote for it a Republican vote—Every Democratic vote against it.

Dec. 21, 1874, Mr. Sherman, from the Committee on Finance, reported to the Senate the following bill, since known as the Resumption Act of 1875:

"Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and required, as rapidly as practicable, to cause to be coined at the mints of the United States, silver coins of the denominations of ten, twenty-five, and fifty cents, of standard value, and to issue them in redemption of an equal number and amount of fractional currency of similar denominations, or, at his discretion, he may issue such silver coins through the mints, the sub-treasuries, public depositories, and post-offices of the United States; and, upon such issue, he is hereby authorized and required to redeem an equal amount of such fractional currency, until the whole amount of such fractional currency outstanding shall be redeemed.

"SEC. 2. That so much of section three thousand five hundred and twenty-four of the Revised Statutes of the United States as provides for a charge of one fifth of one per centum for converting standard gold bullion into coin is hereby repealed, and hereafter no charge shall be made for that service.

"SEC. 3. That section five thousand one hundred and seventy-seven of the Revised Statutes of the United States, limiting the aggregate amount of circulating notes of national banking associations, be, and is hereby, repealed; and each existing banking association may increase its circulating notes in accordance with existing law, without respect to said aggregate limit; and new banking associations may be organized in accordance with existing law, without respect to said aggregate limit; and the provisions of law for the withdrawal and redistribution of national-bank currency among the several States and Territories are hereby repealed. And whenever, and so often as, circulating notes shall be issued to any such banking association, so increasing its capital or circulating notes, or so newly authorized as aforesaid, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem the legal-tender United States notes in excess only of three hundred millions of dollars, to the amount of eighty per centum of the sum of national-bank notes so issued to any such banking association as aforesaid, and to continue such redemption as such circulating notes are issued until there shall be outstanding the sum of three hundred million dollars of such legal-tender United States notes, and no more. And, on and after the first day of January, anno Domini eighteen hundred and seventy-nine, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem, in coin, the United States legal-tender notes then outstanding on their presentation for redemption, at the office of the assistant treasurer of the United States in the city of New York, in sums of not less than fifty dollars.

And to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to prepare and provide for the redemption in this act authorized or required, he is authorized to use any surplus revenues, from time to time, in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and to issue, sell, and dispose of, at not less than par, in coin, either of the description of bonds of the United States described in the act of Congress approved July fourteenth, eighteen hundred and seventy, entitled 'An act to authorize the refunding of the national debt,' with like qualities, privileges, and exemptions, to the extent necessary to carry this act into full effect, and to use the proceeds thereof for

the purpose aforesaid. And all provisions of law inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed."

Vote in the Senate on its passage—Every vote for it a Republican vote—Every Democrat against it.

December 22 the bill was taken up, and passed by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Bontwell, Carpenter, Chandler, Clayton, Cragin, Edmonds, Fenton, Ferry of Michigan, Flanagan, Frelinghuysen, Hamlin, Harvey, Howe, Ingalls, Logan, Morrill of Maine, Morton, Oglesby, Patterson, Pease, Pratt, Ramsey, Sargent, Schmitz, Scott, Sherman, Spencer, Washburn, West, Wright—32.

NAYS—Messrs. Bogy, Cooper, Davis, Dennis, Goldthwaite, Hagar, Hamilton of Texas, Johnston of Virginia, Merriman, Ransom, Sprague, Stevenson, Thurman, Tipton—14.

Vote in the House on its passage—Every vote for it a Republican vote—Every Democrat against it.

In the House, Jan. 7, 1875, the bill which had been reported by Mr. Maynard, and made a special order for that day, was taken up and passed by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Albert, Averill, Barber, Barrere, Harry, Bass, Begole, Biery, Bradley, H. C. Burchard, Burleigh, Burrows, R. R. Butler, Cain, Carpenter, Cason, Cessna, Chittenden, Clayton, Clements, S. A. Cobb, Corwin, Colton, Crooke, Crouse, Curtis, Danford, Dobkins, Donnan, Duell, Eames, Farwell, J. C. Freeman, Frye, Garfield, Gunckel, E. Hale, Harmer, H. H. Harrison, Hathorn, J. B. Hawley, Hays, G. W. Hazleton, Hender, Hodges, Hooper, Hoskins, Houghton, Howe, Hunter, Hynes, Kasson, Kellogg, Killinger, Lamport, Lansing, W. Lawrence, Loughridge, Lowe, Lowndes, J. P. Lynch, Martin, Maynard, McCrary, A. S. McDill, J. W. McDill, MacDongall, McKee, McNulta, Merriam, Monroe, Moore, Myers, Negley, O'Neill, Orr, Orth, Packard, Packer, Page, R. C. Parsons, Pelham, Pendleton, A. F. Pike, T. C. Platt, Poland, Pratt, Purman, W. H. Gay, Richmond, E. S. Roberts, J. W. Robinson, Rusk, Sawyer, H. B. Sayler, Schofield, I. W. Scudder, Seuer, Sessions, Shanks, Sheets, L. D. Shoenmaker, W. B. Small, Smart, A. H. Smith, H. B. Smith, J. A. Smith, J. Q. Smith, Sprague, Standard, Starkweather, St. John, Strawbridge, Taylor, C. R. Thomas, C. Y. Thomas, J. M. Thompson, Thornburgh, Todd, Tremain, Tyler, Waldron, A. S. Wallace, J. D. Ward, M. I. Ward, Wheeler, A. White, Whiteley, Wilber, G. Willard, J. M. S. Williams, W. Williams, W. B. Williams, J. Wilson, J. M. Wilson—136.

NAYS—Messrs. G. M. Adams, Archer, Arthur, Ashe, Atkins, Bonning, Beck, H. P. Bell, Berry, Blount, Bowen, Bright, Bromberg, J. Y. Brown, Burlington, J. H. Caldwell, J. B. Clark Jr., F. Clarke, Clymer, Comingo, Cook, Cox, Crittenden, Crossland, Crutchfield, Dawes, De Witt, Eldredge, Field, Fink, Guldings, Glover, Gooch, Gunter, Hagan, R. Hamilton, Hancock, B. W. Harris, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Hatcher, Havens, J. R. Hawley, Hereford, Herndon, E. R. Hoar, G. F. Hoar, Holman, Hunton, Kelley, Knapp, Lammie, Lamson, Lawson, Leach, Magee, Marshall, McLean, Milliken, Mills, Morrison, Neal, NeSmith, Niblock, Niles, H. W. Parker, I. C. Parker, Perry, Pierce, Randall, Read, W. M. Robbins, M. Sayler, Schell, H. J. Seudder, Sherwood, Sloss, W. A. Smith, Southard, A. H. Stephens, Stone, Storm, Stearns, W. Townsend, R. B. Vance, Waddell, Wells, Whitehead, Whitehouse, Whithorne, C. W. Willard, Wilke, E. K. Wilson, Wolfe, F. Wood, Woodworth, J. D. Young, P. M. B. Young—98.

A Republican President signs it.

On the 14th January, 1875, President Grant approved the bill, and signalized to the Senate his approval thereof in a special message, "because of its great importance to the country at large, and in order to suggest further legislation which seems to me essential to make this law effective."

What the double-pledge of the Public Credit Act was intended to mean.

It cannot too often be stated to the people that on every question, from the Public Credit bill down, the Democrats in Congress have voted to cripple the greenback in every possible manner, and that, especially as to the Public Credit Act—as well as for the other measures—designed to nurse and foster the Greenback, to give it character and value in our own eyes and in the eyes of the world, the Republican Party is entitled to the sole credit of originating, enacting, and carrying the same into effect. Note, in the Public Credit Act, the words of the double-pledge, intended to strengthen and maintain the value of the greenback. The first pledge is that, some time or other, the greenback will be paid in coin, "or its equivalent." The second pledge is, that "provision" at the "earliest practicable period" shall be made for its redemption. There is nothing whatever in these pledges to show the intention was to retire the greenback whenever that "practicable period" should arrive. On the contrary, it was the manifest, palpable intention of these pledges—first to make the greenback dollar as good as a gold or silver dollar, and, second, to let all understand that the Government would pay a gold or silver dollar for the greenback dollar, just as soon as they could, provided anybody wanted a gold or silver dollar in place of the greenback dollar. There was not the slightest intention to force a retirement of the greenbacks.

The Republican Party conceived and created the greenback, and reared it to its present full and mature stature, despite all the diseases which it had to encounter in its infancy and youth, and despite all the malignant devices and machinations with which the Democracy sought early and late to enfeeble, cripple, and destroy it. The Republican Party was not likely "to go back" on that which had proven to be its best friend.

Senator Hamilton's proposed amendment to knock the life out of the greenback.

December 10, 1873.—In the Senate, Mr. Hamilton, of Maryland (Democrat), proposed a new article in the Constitution, viz: That

"The United States shall never make anything but gold and silver coin a tender for the payment of debts, either public or private."

This never came to a vote.

PART IV.**Continuous and Desperate Efforts of the House Democrats to Hamper and Prevent Resumption—Holman's effort to Repeal the Resumption Act.**

In the House, January 17, 1876, Mr. Holman, of Indiana, moved a suspension of the rules to enable him to submit the following:

"Resolved, That it is unwise and inexpedient at this time that a specific and arbitrary period should be prescribed by law at which legal-tender notes of the United States should be paid by the Secretary of the Treasury in coin, and, therefore, the act entitled 'An Act to provide for the resumption of Specie Payment,' approved January 14, 1875, ought to be repealed; and the committee on banking and currency is instructed, at as early a period as may be practicable, to report to the House a bill for that purpose."

The motion (requiring two thirds) was disagreed to by 112 yeas to 158 nays, 20 not voting. The yeas were nearly all Democrats, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Ainsworth, Anderson, Ashe, Atkins, J. H. Bagley, Jr., Blackburn, Eland, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. Y. Brown, Buckner, Cabell, J. H. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Campbell, Cason, Cate, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cochrane, Collins, Cook, Cowan, Joseph J. Davis, De Bolt, Dibrell, Dobbins, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Egbert, Evans, Faulkner, Felton, Forney, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Glover, Goode, Goodin, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, C. H. Harrison, Harrington, Hartzell, Hatcher, Haymond, Hereford, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Holman, Hopkins, House, Hunton, Jenks, T. L. Jones, Kelley, Knott, F. Landers, B. B. Lewis, L. A. Mackay, McFurland, McMahon, Milliken, Morgan, Neal, New, Oliver, J. Phelps, J. F. Phillips, W. A. Phillips, Piper, Popleton, D. Rea, J. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, C. B. Roberts, M. S. Robinson, Savage, M. Sayler, Scales, Sheakley, Stemons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stenger, Stevenson, Stone, Terry, Tucker, Turney, J. L. Vance, F. E. Vance, Waddell, G. Z. Walker, Walling, Whithorne, J. D. Williams, J. N. Williams, Yates, C. Young—112.

Republican resolution to facilitate resumption voted down by Democrats.

In the House, February 14, 1876, Mr. Eugene Hale offered the following resolution:

"Be it resolved by the House of Representatives in Congress assembled, That prompt measures should be taken by such legislation as is needed to render effective the policy to a resumption of specie payments, by placing in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury all necessary powers to carry out said objects, to the end that a sound and stable currency may be provided for the people."

Which was disagreed to—yeas 85, nays 139 (not voting 65), as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. C. H. Adams, Bagby, G. A. Bagley, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Bass, S. N. Bell, Blaine, Blair, Bliss, Bradley, H. C. Burchard, Burleigh, Chittenden, Conger, Crapo, Crouse, Darrall, Davy, Denison, Dunnell, Durand, Eames, Farwell, C. Freeman, Frost, Frye, Garfield, E. Hale, Haralson, B. W. Harris, Hender, Hoskins, Hubbell, Joyce, Kasson, Kehr, Ketchum, Kimball, Lapham, W. Lawrence, Leavenworth, Lynch, McDougall, McCravy, J. W. McDill, Miller, Monroe, Nash, Morton, Packer, Page, Pierce, T. C. Platt, A. PORTER, Powell, Pratt, Rainey, Rusk, Sampson, Seelye, Sinickson, R. Smalls, Strait, Stowell, Tarbox, Thornburgh, M. I. Townsend, W. Townsend, Tufts, Van Vorhes, Wal-

dron, A. S. Wallace, Wheeler, J. D. White, Whiting, G. Willard, A. Williams, A. S. Williams, C. G. Williams, W. B. Williams, Willis, J. Wilson, A. Wood, Jr., Woodburn—85.

NAYS—Messrs. Ainsworth, Ashe, J. H. Baker, Barnham, Beebe, Blackburn, Bland, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. Y. Brown, Buckner, S. D. Burchard, Cabell, J. H. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Campbell, Candler, Cannon, Cate, Caulfield, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Collins, Cook, Concan, Cox, Culberson, Cutler, Joseph J. Davis, De Bolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Egbert, Ellis, Evans, Felton, Forney, Fort, Franklin, Fuller, Gause, Glover, Goode, Goodin, Gunter, Hancock, Hardenbergh, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, C. H. Harrison, Hartridge, Hartzell, Haymond, Henkle, Hershford, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Hill, Holman, Hooker, Hopkins, House, Hunter, Hunton, Hurd, Hyman, F. Jones, T. L. Jones, Kelley, Knott, Lamar, F. Landers, G. M. Landers, Lynde, L. A. Mackay, McFarland, McMahon, Meade, Metcalf, Milliken, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Mutchler, Neal, New, O'Brien, Oliver, E. Y. Parsons, Payne, J. Phelps, J. F. Phillips, W. A. Phillips, Piper, Poppleton, Randall, D. Rea—139.

Another Democratic vote against redemption, etc.

In the House, March 20, 1876, Mr. Atkins moved to suspend the rules and pass the following bill:

"Be it enacted, etc., That all the provisions of the act entitled 'An Act to provide for the resumption of specie payment,' approved January 14, 1875, which authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem or cancel United States notes and to sell United States bonds for the accomplishment of that purpose be, and the same are hereby, repealed."

The motion was disagreed to (two thirds needed) by 110 yeas to 108 nays, 71 not voting, most of the Democrats voted yea, while the nays were mainly Republicans. The yeas were as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Ainsworth, Anderson, Ashe, Atkinson, J. H. Baker, Banning, Blackburn, Bland, Blount, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. Y. Brown, S. D. Burchard, Cabell, J. H. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Campbell, Cannon, Cate, Caulfield, J. B. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cochrane, Cook, Cowan, De Bolt, Dibrell, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Egbert, Ellis, Evans, Faulkner, Forney, Fort, Franklin, Fuller, Goode, Goodin, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, C. H. Harrison, Hartridge, Hartzell, Haymond, Hays, Hershford, G. W. Hewitt, Holman, Hopkins, House, Hunter, Hunton, Hurd, Hyman, Jenks, T. L. Jones, Kelly, Knott, F. Landers, B. B. Lewis, Lynde, McFarland, McMahon, Milliken, Morgan, Neal, New, Oliver, J. Phelps, J. F. Phillips, W. A. Phillips, Poppleton, D. Rea, J. Reilly, J. B. Reilly, A. F. Rice, Riddle, H. M. Robbins, M. S. Robinson, Savage, M. Sayler, Scales, Shealey, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Stevenson, Stone, Terry, Tucker, Van Vorhees, J. L. Vance, R. B. Vance, Waddell, G. C. Walker, J. W. Wallace, E. Wells, Whithorne, J. D. Williams, J. N. Williams, Woodworth, Yates, C. Young—110.

Holman makes another effort, but Republican votes beat him.

May 1, 1876, Mr. Holman moved that the rules be suspended so as to enable him to introduce and the House to pass a bill to repeal so much of the act entitled "An Act to provide for the resumption of specie payments," approved January 14, 1875, as authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States to redeem and cancel United States notes and to issue and sell United States bonds for the accomplishment of that purpose.

The motion was disagreed to (two thirds needed) by 115 yeas to 111 nays, the Democrats almost solidly voting "yea," and the Republicans "nay."

Still another Democratic stab at resumption.

July 10, 1876, Mr. Holman moved to suspend the rules and pass the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the Committee on Banking and Currency be, and they are hereby, instructed to report to the House the following bill, and that the same be made the special order for Thursday next after the morning hour, and be open for consideration and amendment, to wit:

"A bill relating to the currency.

"Be it enacted, etc., That so much of the act entitled 'An Act to provide for the resumption of specie payments,' approved January 14, 1875, as authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem in coin United States notes, be, and the same is hereby, repealed."

The motion was disagreed to (two thirds needed) by 105 yeas to 96 nays—86 not voting—the Democrats voting almost solidly "yea," and the Republicans "nay."

And yet another."

July 17, 1876, Mr. Springer moved "to suspend the rules and pass a resolution instructing the Committee on Banking and Currency to report to-morrow a bill to repeal the act for the resumption of specie payment, to be open for amendment."

The motion was disagreed to (two thirds needed) by 102 yeas to 92 nays—the Democrats voting almost solidly "yea" and the Republicans "nay."

Bill to kill resumption-day clause—The bill passed by Democratic votes.

Aug. 5, 1876, Mr. Cox, from the Committee on Banking and Currency, reported the following bill:

"A bill to repeal the resumption-day clause in the resumption act of 1875.

"Be it enacted, etc., That the resumption-day clause in section 3 of an act entitled 'An Act to provide for the resumption of specie payments,' approved January 14, 1875, which clause is in the words following, to wit:

"On and after the 1st day of January, 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem in coin the United States legal-tender notes then outstanding on their presentation for redemption at the office of the assistant treasurer of the United States in the city of New York, in sums of not less than \$50—

"Be and the same is hereby repealed."

A substitute to provide for a commission to consider the resumption of specie payments, was voted down by 92 nays to 104 nays, and the bill, as then passed by 166 yeas to 86 nays—the Democrats voting almost solidly "yea," and the Republicans "nay." The Democrats voting "yea" were as follows:

Messrs. Ainsworth, Atkins, Banning, Bland, Boone, Bradford, Bright, J. Y. Brown, Cabell, J. H. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Cate, Caulfield, J. C. Clarke, J. B. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cochrane, Collins, Cook, Cox, Dibrell, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Faulkner, Felton, Finley, Forney, Franklin, Gause, Goode, Goodin, Gunter, C. H. Harrison, Hartzell,

Haymond, Henkle, Hereford, Holman, Hooker, Hopkins, House, Hunton, Hurd, T. L. Jones, F. Landers, Lane, B. B. Lewis, Lynde, L. A. Mackey, Maish, McFarland, McMahon, Milliken, Mills, Morgan, Mutchler, Neal, New, Payne, J. Phelps, Poppleton, Randall, D. Rea, Reagan, J. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, Savage, Sheakley, Singleton, Stemons, W. E. Smith, Southard, Springer, Stenger, Stevenson, Stone, Teese, P. F. Thomas, Throckmorton, Tucker, Turney, J. L. Vance, Waddell, G. C. Walker, Walsh, E. Wells, Whitthorne, J. D. Williams, J. N. Williams, Wilshire, B. Wilson, Yates, C. Young—95.

This bill was not acted upon in the Senate.

PART V.

A Democratic Trick at the End of a Session—A Vote that Amounts to Nothing—A Previous Vote where the Democrats Refuse to Adopt the Republican Senate's Proposition to make Greenbacks Receivable for Customs Duties—The Vote in Full.

After wasting many valuable months, on the 20th June, 1878, in the last hours of the session, the House went through the motions of passing a bill, offered by Mr. Southard, providing that "on and after the first day of October, A. D. 1878, legal-tender notes of the United States shall be received at par in payment of customs duties," when it was quite evident that nothing could be done by the Senate at that session. As Congress would not meet again until after the date fixed in the bill, of course the measure was dead. It was a sharp trick to "fool" the people; but not sharp enough to make them believe that the life-long enemy of the greenback had really and sincerely become its friend all at once.

The Ewing Anti-Resumption House bill, as amended, having gone to the Senate, that Republican body on June 13th, 1878, amended and passed it, so that it read as follows:

"Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act United States notes shall be receivable the same as coin in payment for the 4 per cent bonds now authorized by law to be issued; and on and after October 1, 1878, said notes shall be receivable for duties on imports."

If the Democrats wanted an opportunity to show love for the greenback, here was their chance, for here was a measure expressly designed by the Republicans to increase the value and usefulness of the greenback, and which measure, had the Democratic House not killed it, would have brought greenbacks fully up to par with gold and silver.

June 18, Mr. Fort, Republican, moved to suspend the rules and concur in the above Senate amendment.

The Democratic House refused to suspend the rules and concur by 140 yeas to 112 nays—a two-thirds vote being needed. Only 34 Democrats voted yea, while 97 of them voted nay. Following is the vote in full:

NAYS—Messrs. Acklen, Aldrich, Bacon, G. A. Bagley, J. H. Baker, W. H. Baker, Banks, Bicknell, Bisbee, Boyd, Brentano, Brewer, Bridges, Briggs, T. M. Browne, Bundy, H. C. Burchard, Burdick, Cain, J. M. Campbell, Candler, Cannon, Caswell, Claffin, R. Clark, Clymer, Cobb, Conger, S. S. Cox, Cravens, Culberson, Cummings, Cutler, Danford, H. Davis, Deering, Denison, Dunnell, Dwight, Eden, Eickhoff, Ellsworth, Errett, J. L. Evans, Fort, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Fuller, Gardner, Gibson, Gidings, Goode, Hale, A. H. Hamilton, Hanna, Hamner, Harrison, Haskell, P. C. Hayes, Hazelton, Henderle, Henderson, Hubbell, Hunter, Hunton, H. L. Humphrey, Ittaer, James, F. Jones, Jorgenson, Keiter, Keightley, Kenna, J. H. Ketchum, Kimmel, Lapham, Lathrop, Lindsey, Loring, Luttrell, Marsh, Mayham, McGowan, McKinley, L. S. Metcalfe, Mitchell, Morrison, Muller, H. S. Neal, Norcross, Oliver, Overton, Page, G. W. Patterson, T. M. Patterson, Peddie, Phelps, W. A. Phillips, Pollard, Pound, Powers, Price, Pugh, Rainey, Randolph, Reagan, Reed, W. W. Rice, Roberts, G. D. Robinson, Ryan, Sampson, Sapp, Schleicher, Shallenberger, Stanickson, Smalls, Starin, Stenger, Stewart, J. W. Stone, J. C. Stone, Strait, J. M. Thompson, A. Townsend, M. I. Townsend, Tucker, Veeder, Watson, Welch, H. White, M. D. White, A. S. William, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, Willits, Wren—140.

YEAS—Messrs. Aiken, Atkins, Banning, H. P. Bell, Blackburn, Blair, Blount, Boone, Bouck, Bragg, Bright, Brodgen, Butler, Cabell, J. W. Caldwell, Carlisle, Chalmers, Chittenden, A. A. Clark, J. B. Clark, J. B. Clark, Jr., Collins, Cook, Covert, J. D. Cox, Crapo, Crittenden, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dean, Dibrell, Dickey, Durham, Eames, Elam, I. N. Evans, J. H. Evans, Ewing, Felton, E. B. Finley, Forney, Franklin, Garfield, Garth, Gause, Hardenberg, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Hart, Hartridge, Hartzell, Henkle, Henry, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Herbert, Hooker, House, Hungerford, J. T. Jones, J. S. Jones, Kelly, Ligon, Lockwood, Lynde, Mackey, Maish, Manning, McCook, McKenzie, McMahon, Mills, Monroe, Morgan, Morse, Muldray, O'Neill, C. N. Potter, Prudemore, Rea, J. B. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, M. Ross, Sayler, Scoles, Shelley, Singleton, A. H. Smith, W. E. Smith, Southard, Sparks, Springer, Steele, Stephens, Throckmorton, R. W. Townsend, Turner, Turney, R. B. Vance, Waddell, Wait, W. Ward, Warner, Whitthorne, J. Williams, R. Williams, A. S. Willis, B. A. Willis, A. Wilson, Young, —12.

Another Democratic vote against the Republican Greenback—Against its being receivable for customs, and in favor of cancelling and retiring it—Treasury order on the subject.

November 2, 1877—Mr. Hubbell, Republican, moved to strike out the enacting clause of the Ewing House bill—which sought to repeal the third section of the Republican Act—and insert the following:

"That so much of section 3 of an act to provide for resumption of specie payments, approved January 14, 1875, as provides for the redemption in coin, by the United States, of all legal-tender notes outstanding on the first day of January, 1879, embraced in the clause of said section of said act, in the language following, to wit: 'And on and after the first day of January, A. D., 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem in coin the United States legal-tender notes then outstanding, on their presentation for redemption at the office of the Assistant Treasurer of the United States, in the city of New York, in sums of not less than \$50, shall be so construed as not to authorize or require the Secretary of the Treasury to retire and cancel said notes, redeemed as aforesaid, but to authorize and require said Secretary to deposit said notes in the Treasury of the United States, whereupon said notes shall be paid out, at par value, in discharge of all claims and demands against the United States, or in exchange for coin: and said notes shall, as heretofore, continue to be a legal tender, and on and after January 1, 1879, shall be receivable, at their face value, in payment

of all dues to the Government, and for all debts, except where coin payment is stipulated by contract or statute; and all provisions of law in conflict with this act are hereby repealed."

This was defeated by 90 yeas to 158 nays—only six Democrats voting for it, and only thirty Republicans voting against it. The following is the vote in detail:

YEAS—Messrs. Aldrich, Bacon, G. A. Bagley, W. H. Baker, Ballou, Banks, Bisbee, Boyd, Breautano, Brewer, Briggs, H. C. Burchard, Burdick, Camp, J. M. Campbell, Claffin, R. Clark, Cole, Conger, J. D. Cox, Crapo, Cummings, Danford, H. Davis, Deering, Denison, Dunnell, Dwight, Eames, Ellsworth, L. N. Evans, Foster, Freeman, Frye, Garfield, Hale, Harmer, B. W. Harris, Hendee, Henderson, Hubbard, H. L. Humphrey, Hungerford, Ittner, James, F. Jones, J. S. Jones, Jorgensen, Keightley, G. M. Landers, Lapham, Lindsey, Lockwood, Loring, Luttrell, McGowan, McKinley, L. S. Metcalfe, Monroe, Morse, Norcross, O'Neill, Overton, Pacheco, G. W. Patterson, Peddie, Pound, Powers, Price, Pugh, Reed, W. W. Rice, G. D. Robinson, Sampson, Shallenberger, Sinnickson, Stewart, J. W. Stone, A. Townsend, Walt, Watson, Welch, H. White, A. S. Williams, A. Williams, C. G. Williams, R. Williams, Willits, Wren—90.

NAYS—Messrs. Atkins, J. H. Baker, Banning, Bayne, Beebe, H. P. Bell, Blackburn, Blund, Boone, Bragg, Brogden, T. M. Browne, Buckner, Cabell, Cain, J. W. Caldwell, W. P. Caldwell, Calkins, Cannon, Carlisle, Chalmers, A. A. Clark, J. B. Clarke, J. R. Clark, Jr., Clymer, Cobb, Collins, Cook, Covert, Crovens, Crittenden, Culberson, Culler, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Dibrell, Dickey, Douglas, Durham, Eden, Eickhoff, Elam, Errett, J. H. Evans, Ewing, Felton, E. B. Finley, Forney, Fort, Franklin, Fuller, Gardner, Garth, Gibson, Giddings, Glover, Goode, Gunter, A. H. Hamilton, Hanna, Hardenberg, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Harrison, Hart, Hartridge, Hartzell, Haskell, Hatcher, P. C. Hayes, Henkle, Henry, Herbert, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Hooker, House, Hunter, Huston, J. T. Jones, Joyce, Kelley, Kenna, Killinger, Kinney, Knapp, Knott, Lathrop, Leonard, Ligon, Mackey, Maish, Manning, Marsh, Martin, Mayham, McCook, McKenzie, McMahon, Mills, Money, Morgan, Morrison, Muldroe, Muller, Oliver, Phelps, W. A. Phillips, C. N. Pottier, Pridemore, Rainy, Randolph, Rea, Reagan, J. B. Reilly, A. V. Rice, Riddle, W. M. Robbins, Roberts, Robertson, M. S. Robinson, M. Ross, Ryan, Sapp, Sayler, Seales, Shelley, Singleton, Simons, W. E. Smith, Sparks, Springer, Steele, Stenger, Stephens, Swan, J. M. Thompson, Throemorton, Tipton, E. W. Townsend, Tucker, Turner, Turney, R. B. Vance, Van Vorhes, Waddill, Walsh, Warner, M. D. White, Whitthorne, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, R. A. Willis, B. Wilson, F. Wood, Wright, Yeates, Young—158.

At a subsequent period, Secretary Sherman gave instructions to his subordinates to receive greenbacks for custom dues.

Another Republican measure gets through both Houses.

April 29, 1878, Mr. Fort, Republican, introduced the following bill, which passed both Houses, and is now law, prohibiting any further retirement of the Republican greenback:

"Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the passage of this act it shall not be lawful for the Secretary of the Treasury or other officer under him to cancel or retire any more of the United States legal-tender notes. And when any of said notes may be redeemed or be received into the Treasury under any law from any source whatever, and shall belong to the United States, they shall not be retired, cancelled, or destroyed, but they shall be reissued and paid out again and kept in circulation: Provided, That nothing herein shall prohibit the cancellation and destruction of mutilated notes and the issue of other notes of like denomination in their

stead, as now provided by law. All acts and parts of acts in conflict herewith are hereby repealed."

The ten-dollar certificates of deposit—Democratic opposition to them—Another vote.

January 15, 1879, the following bill was before the House:

"Be it enacted, etc., That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to issue, in exchange for lawful money of the United States that may be presented for such exchange, certificates of deposit, of the denomination of ten dollars, bearing interest at the rate of three per cent per annum, and convertible at any time, with accrued interest, into the four per cent bonds described in the refunding act; and the money so received shall be applied only to the payment of the 3-20 bonds in the mode prescribed by said act, and he is authorized to prescribe suitable rules and regulations in conformity with this act."

Upon the passage of this bill (which, as subsequently amended in the Senate, so as to apply the funds to payment of any bonds bearing interest of not less than 5 per cent, is now law) the vote was:

YEAS—Messrs. W. Aldrich, Bacon, Bagley, Ballou, Banks, Bayne, Blair, Bliss, Brewer, Bridges, Briggs, Brodgen, Browne, Buckner, Bundy, Burchard, Burdick, Cain, W. P. Caldwell, Camp, Campbell, Candler, Cannon, Chittenden, Claffin, R. Clark, Clymer, Cobb, Collins, Conger, Covert, Cravens, Cummings, Cutler, Danford, H. Davis, J. J. Davis, Deering, Denison, Dunnell, Eames, J. L. Evans, Fort, Foster, Garfield, Garth, Gibson, Gurter, Hale, Hamilton, Hanna, Hatcher, Hayes, Hazelton, Henderson, Hunter, Humphrey, Hungerford, James, J. S. Jones, Joyce, Keightley, Ketcham, Killinger, Kimball, Landers, Lapham, Lathrop, Lindsey, Luttrell, Lynde, Maish, Marsh, McCook, Metcalfe, Mitchell, Monroe, Neal, Norcross, O'Neill, Overton, Page, G. W. Patterson, Peddie, W. A. Phillips, Pound, Price, Rainey, Randolph, Rea, Reed, A. V. Rice, Robbins, C. D. Robinson, Sampson, Sapp, Sayler, Sexton, Shallenberger, Sinnickson, Smalls, A. H. Smith, Starin, Stewart, A. Townsend, Tucker, Turney, Ward, H. White, M. D. White, A. Williams, O. G. Williams, J. Williams, B. A. Willis, Willits, F. Wood, Wright—117.

NAYS—Messrs. Atklen, Aiken, Alkins, Benedict, Bicknell, Blackburn, Blount, Boone, Bragg, Bright, J. W. Caldwell, Culberson, Dean, Dibrell, Durham, Eden, Erret, J. H. Evans, Felton, Forney, Franklin, Goode, Hardenberg, H. R. Harris, J. T. Harris, Hart, Hartzell, Henkle, Henry, A. S. Hewitt, G. W. Hewitt, Herbert, House, Ittner, F. Jones, Kelley, Kenna, Knapp, Knott, Ligon, Mackey, B. F. Martin, McGowan, Mills, Morrison, Morse, Muldroe, T. M. Patterson, Pridemore, Rengar, Roberts, Ross, O. R. Singleton, Simons, Southard, Springer, Steele, Strait, Tipton, R. W. Townsend, T. Turner, Vance, L. Warner, Whitthorne, Wigington, J. N. Williams, A. S. Willis, Wilson, J. S. Young—70.

Thus, while 85 Republicans voted for, and only 5 against it, only 32 Democrats voted for, to 65 Democrats who voted against it: Republicans for it, 17 to 1; Democrats against it, 2 to 1.

PART VI.
Democratic Hatred Pursues the Republican Greenback even into the Supreme Court—Utterances of Democratic Leaders Declaring the Greenback Unconstitutional.

As a further illustration of the impregnable position that while the Democratic

Party has ever been the enemy of the greenback, the Republican Party has ever been its best and only friend, it may be well to recall the fact that in the famous case of *Hepburn v. Griswold*, involving the constitutionality of the legal-tender clause, as relates to contracts made prior to its adoption, the Democratic Supreme Court judges—Chief-Judge Chase and Associate-Judges Nelson, Clifford, Grier, and Field—decided that the legal-tender act “is inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution; and that it is prohibited by the Constitution;” while the Republican judges—Miller, Swayne, and Davis—dissented, and held the “very decided opinion that Congress acted within the scope of its authority,” and declared, in their opinion, “the law to be constitutional.” That is known as the legal-tender decision of 1869—and was not made by a full court. Subsequently, with a full bench, the Supreme Court made, in the cases of *Knox v. Lee* and *Parker v. Davis*, what is known as the legal-tender decision of 1871—the Republican justices, forming a majority of the court, holding the legal-tender “acts of Congress constitutional, as applied to contracts made either before or after their passage,” thus overruling the former decision in *Hepburn v. Griswold*; while the Democratic judges, to wit, Chief-Judge Chase and Justices Nelson, Clifford, and Field, dissented.

The Democratic leaders, besides voting against the Republican greenback, worked against it and talked in Congress against it with all their might—taking the ground that it was unconstitutional to issue such money. Here is what some of them said on this point:

What Vallandigham, Democrat, of Ohio, said.

In a speech, February 3, 1862, Mr. Vallandigham said:

“Sir, if it were fifty-fold as constitutional as, in my deliberate judgment, it is unconstitutional in letter, and abhorrent to the principles and spirit of that instrument, it could not command my support. I will not renew the discussion of the question of

constitutional power to make Government paper or any other paper a legal tender in payment of any debts, public or private, present or prospective. My colleague from the First District [Mr. Pendleton] the other day, with a clearness and force never exceeded in this hall, disposed of that question forever. . . .”

Mr. Powell, Democrat, of Kentucky, said:

“In my judgment the bill is plainly and palpably violative of the Constitution of the United States. . . .”

Hendrick B. Wright, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, said, February 5, 1862:

“This bill proposes, sir, to throw on the country \$100,000,000 of Treasury notes, payable at no time—payable nowhere—payable at the pleasure of the Government—and the astounding clause is added that these notes—payable at no place, at no time—shall be lawful money and a legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, within the United States. Now I submit, as a matter of law, that you cannot, under the Constitution of these United States, make anything but gold and silver a legal tender on contracts.”

George H. Pendleton, Democrat, of Ohio, said, January 29, 1862:

“I find no grant of this power in direct terms or, as I think, by fair implication. It is not an accidental omission; it is not an omission through inadvertency; it was intentionally left out of the Constitution because it was designed that the power should not reside in the Federal Government.”

Senator James A. Bayard, Democrat, of Delaware, said, February 13, 1862:

“The thing, to my mind, is so palpable a violation of the Constitution that I doubt whether in any court of justice in the country, having a decent regard to its own respectability, you can possibly expect that this bill which you now pass will not, whenever the question is presented judicially, receive its condemnation as unconstitutional and void in this clause.”

Senator James A. Pearce, Democrat, of Maryland, said, February 13, 1862:

“I see no power from which we can infer authority in this Government to make paper money a legal tender.”

Senator Willard Saulsbury, Democrat, of Delaware, said, February 13, 1862:

“It is so clearly unconstitutional, in my opinion, that I cannot conscientiously vote for it.”

CHAPTER XV.

The National Banks.

PART I.

Bill to Extend their Charters Twenty Years—Votes in both Houses.

Be it enacted, etc., That any national-banking association organized under the acts of February 25, 1863, June 3, 1864, and February 14, 1880, or under sections 5133, 5134, 5135, 5136, and 5154 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, may, at any

time within the two years next previous to the date of the expiration of its corporate existence under the present law, and with the approval of the Comptroller of the Currency, to be granted as herein-after provided, extend its period of succession by amending its articles of association for a term of not more than twenty years from the expiration of the period of succession named in said articles of association, and shall have succession for such extended period, unless sooner dissolved by the act of shareholders owning two thirds of its stock, or un-

less its franchise becomes forfeited by some violation of law, or unless hereafter modified or repealed.

"Sec. 2. That such amendment of said articles of association shall be authorized by the consent in writing of shareholders owning not less than two thirds of the capital stock of the association; and the board of directors shall cause such consent to be certified under the seal of the association, by its president or cashier, to the Comptroller of the Currency, accompanied by an application made by the president or cashier for the approval of the amended articles of association by the Comptroller; and such amended articles of association shall not be valid until the Comptroller shall give to such association a certificate under his hand and seal that the association has complied with all the provisions required to be complied with, and is authorized to have succession for the extended period named in the amended articles of association.

"Sec. 3. That upon the receipt of the application and certificate of the association provided for in the preceding section, the Comptroller of the Currency shall cause a special examination to be made, at the expense of the association to determine its condition; and if, after such examination or otherwise, it appears to him that said association is in a satisfactory condition, he shall grant his certificate of approval provided for in the preceding section, or if it appears that the condition of said association is not satisfactory he shall withhold such certificate of approval.

"Sec. 4. That any association so extending the period of its succession shall continue to enjoy all the rights and privileges and immunities granted, and shall continue to be subject to all the duties, liabilities, and restrictions imposed by the Revised Statutes of the United States and other acts having reference to national banking associations; and it shall continue to be in all respects the identical association it was before the extension of its period of succession: *Provided, however,* That the jurisdiction for suits hereafter brought by or against any association established under any law providing for national-banking associations, except suits between them and the United States, or its officers and agents, shall be the same as, and not other than, the jurisdiction for suits by or against banks not organized under any law of the United States which do or might do banking business where such national banking associations may be doing business when such suits may be begun. And all laws and parts of laws of the United States inconsistent with this proviso be, and the same are hereby, repealed.

"Sec. 5. That when any national-banking association has amended its articles of association as provided in this act, and the Comptroller has granted his certificate of approval, any shareholder not assenting to such amendment may give notice in writing to the directors, within thirty days from the date of the certificate of approval, of his desire to withdraw from said association, in which case he shall be entitled to receive from said banking association the value of the shares so held by him, to be ascertained by an appraisal made by a committee of three persons, one to be selected by such shareholder, one by the directors, and the third by the first two; and in case the value so fixed shall not be satisfactory to any such shareholder he may appeal to the Comptroller of the Currency, who shall cause a reappraisal to be made, which shall be final and binding; and if said reappraisal shall exceed the value fixed by said committee the bank shall pay the expenses of said reappraisal, and otherwise the appellant shall pay said expenses; and the value so ascertained and determined shall be deemed to be a debt due, and be forthwith paid to said shareholder from said bank, and the shares so surrendered and appraised shall, after due notice, be sold at public sale within thirty days after the final appraisal provided in this section: *Provided,* That in the organization of any banking association intended to replace any existing banking association, and retaining the name thereof, the holders of stock in the expiring association shall be entitled to preference in the allotment of the shares of the new association in proportion to the number of shares held by them respectively in the expiring associations.

"Sec. 6. That the circulating notes of any association so extending the period of its succession, which shall have been issued to it prior to such extension shall be redeemed at the Treasury of the United States, as provided in section 8 of the act of June 20, 1874, entitled "An act fixing the amount of United States notes, providing for a redistribution of national bank currency, and for other purposes," and such notes when redeemed shall be forwarded to the Comptroller of the Currency, and destroyed, as now provided by law, and at the end of three years from the date of the extension of the corporate existence of each bank the association so extended shall deposit lawful money with the Treasurer of the United States sufficient to redeem the remainder of the circulation which was outstanding at the date of its extension, as provided in sections 5222, 5224, and 5225 of the Revised Statutes, and any gain that may arise from the failure to present such circulating notes for redemption shall inure to the benefit of the United States, and from time to time as such notes are redeemed or lawful money deposited therefor, as provided herein, new circulating notes shall be issued as provided by this act, bearing such devices, to be approved by the Secretary of the Treasury, as shall make them readily distinguishable from the circulating notes heretofore issued: *Provided,* however, That each banking association which shall obtain the benefit of this act shall reimburse to the Treasury the cost of preparing the plate or plates for such new circulating notes as shall be issued to it.

"Sec. 7. That national banking associations whose corporate existence has expired or shall hereafter expire, and which do not avail themselves of the provisions of this act, shall be required to comply with the provisions of sections 5221 and 5222 of the Revised Statutes in the same manner as if the shareholders had voted to go into liquidation, as provided in section 5220 of the Revised Statutes; and the provisions of sections 5224 and 5225 of the Revised Statutes shall also be applicable to such associations, except as modified by this act; and the franchise of such association is hereby extended for the sole purpose of liquidating their affairs until such affairs are finally closed."

"Sec. 8. That national banks now organized or hereafter organized, having a capital of \$150,000 or less, shall be required to keep on deposit or deposit with the Treasurer of the United States, United States bonds in excess of one fourth of their capital stock as security for their circulating notes; but such banks shall keep on deposit or deposit with the Treasurer of the United States the amount of bonds as herein required; and such of those banks having on deposit bonds in excess of that amount are authorized to reduce their circulation by the deposit of lawful money as provided by law: *Provided,* That the amount of such circulating notes shall not in any case exceed 100 per cent of the par value of the bonds deposited as herein provided: *Provided further,* That all national banks which shall hereafter make deposits of lawful money for the retirement in full of their circulation shall, at the time of their deposit, be assessed, for the cost of transporting and redeeming their notes then outstanding, a sum equal to the average cost of the redemption of national bank notes during the preceding year, and shall thereupon pay such assessment; and all national banks which have heretofore made or shall hereafter make deposits of lawful money for the reduction of their circulation shall be assessed and shall pay an assessment in the manner specified in section 3 of the act approved June 20, 1874, for the cost of transporting and redeeming their notes redeemed from such deposits subsequently to June 20, 1881.

"Sec. 9. That any national banking association now organized, or hereafter organized, desiring to withdraw its circulating notes, upon a deposit of lawful money with the Treasurer of the United States, as provided in section 4 of the act of June 20, 1874, entitled "An act fixing the amount of United States notes, providing for a redistribution of national bank currency, and for other purposes," or as provided in this act, is authorized to deposit lawful money and withdraw a proportionate amount of the bonds held as security for its circulating notes in the order of such deposits; and no national bank which makes any deposit of lawful money in order to withdraw its circulating notes shall be entitled to receive

any increase of its circulation for the period of six months from the time it made such deposit of lawful money for the purpose aforesaid: *Provided*, That not more than three millions of dollars of lawful money shall be deposited during any calendar month for this purpose: *And provided further*, That the provisions of this section shall not apply to bonds called for redemption by the Secretary of the Treasury, nor to the withdrawal of circulating notes in consequence thereof.

"SEC. 10. That upon a deposit of bonds as described by sections 5159 and 5160, except as modified by section 4 of an act entitled 'An act fixing the amount of United States notes, providing for a redistribution of the national bank currency, and for other purposes,' approved June 20, 1874, and as modified by section 8 of this act, the association making the same shall be entitled to receive from the Comptroller of the Currency circulating notes of different denominations, in blank, registered and countersigned as provided by law, equal in amount to 90 per cent of the current market value, not exceeding part of the United States bonds so transferred and delivered, and at no time shall the total amount of such notes issued to any such association exceed 90 cent of the amount at such time actually paid in of its capital stock; and the provisions of sections 5171 and 5176 of the Revised Statutes are hereby repealed.

"SEC. 11. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized to receive at the Treasury any bonds of the United States bearing 3½ per cent interest, and to issue in exchange therefor an equal amount of registered bonds of the United States of the denominations of fifty, one hundred, five hundred, one thousand, and ten thousand dollars, of such form as he may prescribe, bearing interest at the rate of 3 per cent per annum, payable quarterly at the Treasury of the United States. Such bonds shall be exempt from all taxation by or under State authority, and be payable at the pleasure of the United States: *Provided*, That the bonds herein authorized shall not be called in and paid so long as any bonds of the United States heretofore issued, bearing a higher rate of interest than 3 per cent, and which shall be redeemable at the pleasure of the United States, shall be outstanding and uncalled. The last of the said bonds originally issued under this act, and their substitutes, shall be first called in and this order of payment shall be followed until all shall have been paid.

"SEC. 12. That the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to receive deposits of gold coin with the Treasurer or assistant treasurers of the United States, in sums not less than \$20, and to issue certificates therefor in denominations of not less than \$20 each, corresponding with the denominations of United States notes. The coin deposited for or representing the certificates of deposit shall be retained in the Treasury for the payment of the same on demand. Said certificates shall be receivable for customs, taxes, and all public dues, and when so received may be reissued; and such certificates, as also silver certificates, when held by any national-banking association, shall be counted as part of its lawful reserve; and no national-banking association shall be a member of any clearing-house in which such certificates shall not be receivable in the settlement of clearing-house balances: *Provided*, That the Secretary of the Treasury shall suspend the issue of such gold certificates whenever the amount of gold coin and gold bullion in the Treasury reserved for the redemption of United States notes falls below \$100,000,000; and the provisions of section 5207 of the Revised Statutes shall be applicable to the certificates herein authorized and directed to be issued.

"SEC. 13. That any officer, clerk, or agent of any national-banking association who shall wilfully violate the provisions of an act entitled, 'An act in reference to certifying checks by national banks,' approved March 3, 1869, being section 5208 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, or who shall resort to any device, or receive any fictitious obligation, direct or collateral, in order to evade the provisions thereof, or who shall certify checks before the amount thereof shall have been regularly

entered to the credit of the dealer upon the books of the banking association, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, on conviction thereof in any circuit or district court of the United States, be fined not more than \$5000 or shall be imprisoned not more than five years, or both, in the discretion of the court.

"SEC. 14. That Congress may at any time amend, alter, or repeal this act; and the acts of which this is amendatory."

Votes in Senate and House—Showing comparative Democratic Hostility.

The above act was approved July 12, 1882. The vote in the Senate upon its passage was as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Aldrich, Allison, Blair, *Call*, Chilcot, Conger, *Davis* of West Virginia, Dawes, Ferry, Frye, *Gorman*, *Groome*, *Hampton*, Harrison, Hawley, *Hill* of Colorado, Hoar, *Jonas*, Lapham, Logan, McMillan, *Mahone*, Miller of Carolina, Miller of New York, *Morgan*, *Morrill*, *Ransom*, Rollins, Saunders, Sawyer, Sewell, Sherman, *Van Wyck*, Windom—34.

NAYS—Messrs. *Brown*, *Cockrell*, *Cooke*, *Farley*, *George*, *Grover*, *Jones* of Nevada, *Mazey*, *Pugh*, *Vance*, *Voorhees*, *Walker*, *Williams*—13.

The vote in the House was as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. *Aiken*, *W. Aldrich*, *Barr*, *Bayne*, *Bisbee*, *J. H. Brewer*, *Briggs*, *Browne*, *Buck*, *Buckner*, *J. C. Burrows*, *Butterworth*, *Campbell*, *Candler*, *Cannon*, *Carpenter*, *Caswell*, *Chace*, *Cragpo*, *Cutts*, *Darrall*, *Dawes*, *Deering*, *De Motte*, *Dingley*, *Dunnell*, *Dwight*, *Ermentrout*, *Errett*, *S. S. Farwell*, *George*, *Gibson*, *Godshalk*, *J. Hammond*, *Hardenburgh*, *B. W. Harris*, *Haskell*, *G. C. Hazelton*, *Hebuph*, *Hiscock*, *Hoblitzell*, *Horr*, *Houck*, *Hubbell*, *Jadwin*, *Kassou*, *Kelley*, *Ketcham*, *Lacey*, *Lord*, *Lynch*, *Mackey*, *McCook*, *McKinley*, *McLane*, *Miles*, *Moore*, *Morey*, *Morse*, *Mutchler*, *Neale*, *Norcross*, *Oates*, *O'Neill*, *Orth*, *Pacheco*, *Parker*, *Parson*, *Peele*, *Pierce*, *Pound*, *Prescott*, *Ranney*, *Ray*, *Reed*, *J. B. Rice*, *W. W. Rice*, *Rich*, *Ritchie*, *G. D. Robinson*, *J. S. Robinson*, *Scranton*, *Shallenberger*, *Shelley*, *Shultz*, *A. H. Smith*, *D. C. Smith*, *Spaulding*, *Spooner*, *E. F. Stone*, *Strait*, *Talbott*, *E. B. Taylor*, *W. G. Thompson*, *A. Townsend*, *Tyler*, *J. T. Updegraff*, *T. Updegraff*, *Urner*, *Valentine*, *Van Aernam*, *Wadsworth*, *Wait*, *Walker*, *Ward*, *Washburn*, *Webber*, *J. D. White*, *C. G. Williams*, *Willits*—110.

NAYS—Messrs. *Anderson*, *Armfield*, *Atkins*, *Belford*, *Beltzhoover*, *Berry*, *Blount*, *Bryant*, *Buchanan*, *J. W. Caldwell*, *Cassidy*, *Chapman*, *Clardy*, *Cobb*, *Converse*, *Cook*, *S. S. Cox*, *W. R. Cox*, *Covington*, *Cravens*, *Culberson*, *Davidson*, *Dibrell*, *Dowd*, *Dugro*, *Dunn*, *Evans*, *Ford*, *Frost*, *Fulkerson*, *Geddes*, *N. J. Hammond*, *Hardy*, *I. S. Hazeltine*, *Hatch*, *G. W. Hewitt*, *Hoge*, *Holman*, *Hooker*, *House*, *G. W. Jones*, *Kenny*, *Klotz*, *Knott*, *Ladd*, *Latham*, *LOWE*, *Matson*, *McKenzie*, *McMillin*, *Mills*, *Morrison*, *Moulton*, *Page*, *PAUL*, *Phelps*, *Phister*, *Randall*, *Reagan*, *Rosecrans*, *Scales*, *Simonton*, *O. R. Singleton*, *Speer*, *Springer*, *P. B. Thompson*, *Jr.*, *Tillman*, *R. W. Tompshend*, *Tucker*, *H. G. Turner*, *O. Turner*, *Upson*, *Vance*, *R. Warner*, *Welborn*, *T. Williams*, *Wilson*, *G. D. Wise*, *M. R. Wise*—79.

Statement

Of the Comptroller of the Currency on September 1, 1884, showing the amounts of National-Bank Notes and of Legal-Tender Notes outstanding at the dates of the passage of the Acts of June 20, 1874, January 14, 1875, and May 31, 1878, together with the amounts outstanding at date, and the increase or decrease.

Statement of the Comptroller of the Currency, Sept. 1, 1884.

NATIONAL-BANK NOTES.

Amount outstanding June 20, 1874.....	\$319,894,182
Amount outstanding January 14, 1875.....	351,861,450
Amount outstanding May 31, 1878.....	322,523,945
Amount outstanding at date*.....	330,054,386
Decrease during the last month.....	1,247,886
Decrease since September 1, 1883.....	17,772,936

LEGAL-TENDER NOTES.

Amount outstanding June 20, 1874.....	\$382,000,000
Amount outstanding January 14, 1875.....	382,000,000
Amount retired under Act of January 14, 1875, to May 31, 1878.....	33,415,984
Amount outstanding on and since May 31, 1878.....	316,681,016
Amount on deposit with the Treasurer U. S. to redeem notes of insolvent and liquidating banks, and banks retiring circulation under Act of June 20, 1874.....	30,073,131
Decrease in deposit during the last month.....	461,176
Increase in deposit since September 1, 1883.....	3,104,875

PART II.

National-Bank Statistics.

Dividends and earnings of national banks—Taxes paid by national and other banks—Ratio of tax to capital—Banks as holders of Government bonds—Aggregate capital and deposits of national and other banks—Amount of national-bank notes and legal-tender notes outstanding.

[From the Report of the Comptroller of the Currency, 1883.]

Dividends and Earnings of National banks.

The following table shows the capital, surplus, dividends, and total earnings of all the National Banks, for each half year, from March 1, 1869, to September 1, 1883, with the ratios, as before specified:

PERIOD OF SIX MONTHS, ENDING—	No. of banks.	Capital.	Surplus.	Total divi- dends.	Total net earnings.	RATIOS.		
						Divi- dends to cap- ital.	Divi- dends to capital and sur- plus.	Earnings to capital and sur- plus.
Sept. 1, 1869....	1,481	\$401,050,802	\$82,105,848	\$21,767,831	\$29,221,184	5.42	4.50	6.04
Mar. 1, 1870....	1,571	416,566,991	26,118,210	21,479,005	28,996,934	5.16	4.27	5.77
Sept. 1, 1870....	1,601	425,317,104	91,630,620	21,080,343	26,813,585	4.96	4.08	5.19
Mar. 1, 1871....	1,603	425,059,165	94,672,101	22,205,150	27,243,162	5.18	4.34	5.21
Sept. 1, 1871....	1,693	445,999,261	98,286,591	22,125,279	27,315,311	4.96	4.07	5.02
Mar. 1, 1872....	1,750	450,633,706	99,431,243	22,859,826	27,504,539	5.07	4.16	5.00
Sept. 1, 1872....	1,852	465,676,023	105,181,912	23,857,289	30,572,891	5.12	4.17	5.30
Mar. 1, 1873....	1,912	475,918,683	114,257,288	24,826,061	31,926,478	5.22	4.21	5.41
Sept. 1, 1873....	1,955	488,100,081	118,113,848	24,821,029	33,122,000	5.09	4.09	5.46
Mar. 1, 1874....	1,967	489,510,323	123,460,859	23,529,998	29,544,190	4.81	3.84	4.82
Sept. 1, 1874....	1,971	489,988,284	129,364,039	24,959,307	30,036,511	5.09	4.03	4.86
Mar. 1, 1875....	2,007	493,508,831	131,560,637	24,750,816	29,136,007	5.01	3.96	4.66
Sept. 1, 1875....	2,047	497,804,833	134,123,649	24,317,738	28,800,217	4.88	3.65	4.36
Mar. 1, 1876....	2,070	504,399,491	134,467,595	24,811,681	23,007,921	4.92	3.88	3.69
Sept. 1, 1876....	2,071	500,452,271	132,251,078	21,563,829	20,510,231	4.50	3.57	3.25
Mar. 1, 1877....	2,080	496,631,580	130,872,163	21,308,969	19,592,902	4.39	3.47	3.12
Sept. 1, 1877....	2,072	486,334,860	124,319,254	22,117,116	15,274,028	4.54	3.62	2.50
Mar. 1, 1878....	2,074	475,009,751	124,373,561	18,982,390	16,916,696	3.99	3.17	2.83
Sept. 1, 1878....	2,047	470,231,896	118,657,184	17,959,223	13,658,893	3.81	3.04	2.81
Mar. 1, 1879....	2,043	464,413,996	116,744,135	17,541,024	14,678,660	3.78	3.02	2.85
Sept. 1, 1879....	2,045	455,132,056	115,149,351	17,401,867	16,873,300	3.82	3.03	2.95
Mar. 1, 1880....	2,046	454,080,090	117,226,501	18,121,273	21,154,784	3.99	3.17	3.70
Sept. 1, 1880....	2,072	454,215,062	120,143,649	18,290,200	24,033,350	4.03	3.18	4.18
*Mar. 1, 1881....	2,087	456,844,865	122,481,788	18,577,517	24,432,091	4.13	3.36	4.22
*Sept. 1, 1881....	2,100	458,931,485	127,298,394	19,499,694	29,170,816	4.25	3.33	4.93
Mar. 1, 1882....	2,137	460,354,485	131,291,888	19,915,375	27,083,569	4.33	3.37	4.56
Sept. 1, 1882....	2,197	473,947,715	133,570,981	20,576,302	20,297,634	4.40	3.44	4.32
Mar. 1, 1883....	2,267	483,001,342	137,570,105	20,280,103	26,432,984	4.20	3.27	4.25
Sept. 1, 1883....	2,359	494,640,140	141,282,186	20,302,576	27,571,211	4.12	3.21	4.31

* Circulation of National Gold Banks not included in the above. \$577,559.

† 175 banks failed to make dividends in 1881; and an average of 422 failed to make dividends during 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, and 1883.

The percentage to capital, of dividends paid, and of dividends and earnings to combined capital and surplus, is given by similar divisions for the years 1881, 1882, and 1883, in the following table:

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.	1881.			1882.			1883.		
	Dividends to capital.	Dividends to capital and surplus.	Earnings to capital and surplus.	Dividends to capital.	Dividends to capital and surplus.	Earnings to capital and surplus.	Dividends to capital.	Dividends to capital and surplus.	Earnings to capital and surplus.
New Engl. States.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
New Engl. States.	7.2	5.8	7.3	7.1	6.4	6.7	7.0	5.6	6.0
Middle States. . .	8.5	6.4	9.4	8.4	6.3	8.6	8.6	6.2	8.3
Southern States. . .	8.3	6.9	11.3	8.2	6.7	10.3	8.0	6.4	10.6
Western States and Territories.	10.4	8.1	11.6	11.9	9.4	11.7	9.4	7.6	11.3
United States...	8.4	6.6	9.2	8.7	6.7	8.8	8.3	6.4	8.6

Taxes paid by the National banks.

The national banks, under present law, pay to the United States a tax of one per cent upon the amount of their notes in circulation, one half of one per cent upon the amount of their deposits, and the same rate upon the average amount of capital invested in United States bonds.

The following table shows the amount annually paid under this law, from the commencement of the national banking system to July 1, 1883, showing an aggregate of taxes paid to the United States, by national banks, of \$124,181,473.87:

YEARS.	On circulation.	On deposits.	On capital.	Total.
1864.	\$53,193 32	\$95,911 87	\$18,432 07	\$167,537 26
1865.	733,347 59	1,057,530 86	133,251 15	1,954,029 60
1866.	2,106,785 30	2,633,102 77	406,947 74	5,146,835 81
1867.	2,868,636 78	2,650,180 09	321,881 36	5,640,698 23
1868.	2,946,343 07	2,564,143 41	306,781 67	5,817,268 18
1869.	2,957,416 73	2,614,553 58	312,918 68	5,884,888 99
1870.	2,949,744 13	2,614,767 61	375,962 26	5,940,474 00
1871.	2,987,021 69	2,802,840 85	385,292 13	6,175,154 67
1872.	3,193,570 03	3,120,984 37	389,356 27	6,703,910 67
1873.	3,353,186 13	3,196,569 29	454,891 51	7,004,646 93
1874.	3,404,483 11	3,209,967 72	469,048 02	7,083,498 85
1875.	3,283,450 89	3,514,263 39	507,417 76	7,305,134 04
1876.	3,091,795 76	3,505,129 64	632,296 16	7,229,221 56
1877.	2,900,357 53	3,451,963 38	660,784 90	7,013,707 81
1878.	2,948,047 08	3,273,111 74	560,296 83	6,781,455 65
1879.	3,003,649 16	3,309,668 90	401,920 61	6,721,236 67
1880.	3,153,635 63	4,058,710 61	379,424 19	5,591,770 43
1881.	3,121,374 33	4,940,945 12	431,233 10	8,493,552 55
1882.	3,190,981 98	5,521,927 47	437,774 90	9,150,684 35
1883.	3,132,006 73	*2,773,790 46	*269,976 43	6,175,773 63
Aggregate.	\$55,385,524 97	\$60,940,067 16	\$7,855,887 74	\$124,181,479 87

The amount of tax paid upon circulation alone is \$55,385,524.97. The whole cost to the Government of the national system, since its establishment in 1863, has been \$5,610,669.

Taxes paid by other than National banks.

The banks, other than national, pay taxes to the United States on account of their circulation, deposits, and capital, at the same rates as are paid by the national banks.

The table below exhibits the taxes which have been paid by these banks for the years from 1864 to 1883, inclusive. The amounts given in the head of tax on circulation have, for a number of years, been principally derived from the tax of ten per cent upon State bank circulation paid out. The whole amount of tax paid by these banks is \$69,275,989.65:

YEARS.	On circulation.	On deposits.	On capital.	Total.
1864.	\$2,056,996 30	\$780,723 52	.....	\$2,837,719 82
1865.	1,993,661 84	2,043,841 08	\$903,367 98	4,940,870 90
1866.	990,278 11	2,099,635 83	374,074 11	3,463,988 05
1867.	214,298 75	1,355,395 98	476,867 73	2,046,562 46
1868.	28,669 88	1,438,512 77	399,562 90	1,866,745 55
1869.	16,565 05	1,734,417 63	445,071 49	2,196,054 17
1870.	15,419 94	2,177,576 46	827,087 21	3,020,083 61
1871.	22,781 92	2,702,196 84	919,262 77	3,644,241 53
1872.	8,919 82	3,643,251 71	976,057 61	4,628,229 14
1873.	24,778 62	3,009,302 79	736,950 05	3,771,031 46
1874.	16,738 26	2,453,544 26	916,878 15	3,387,160 67
1875.	22,746 27	2,972,260 27	1,102,241 58	4,097,248 12
1876.	17,947 67	2,999,530 75	989,219 61	4,006,698 03
1877.	5,430 16	2,896,637 93	927,661 24	3,829,729 33
1878.	1,118 72	2,593,657 29	897,225 84	3,492,031 85
1879.	13,903 29	2,354,911 74	830,068 56	3,198,883 59
1880.	28,573 37	2,510,775 43	811,436 48	3,350,985 23
1881.	4,295 08	2,946,906 64	811,006 35	3,762,208 07
1882.	4,285 77	4,096,102 45	1,153,070 25	5,233,458 47
1882†. . . . .	.....	1,993,026 02	489,033 53	2,482,059 55
Aggregates.	\$5,487,608 82	\$48,802,237 39	\$14,986,143 44	\$69,275,989 65

* Six months to June 1, 1883.

† Six months to November 30, 1882.

The following condensed table shows the taxes, both National and State, paid by the national banks during each year from 1866 to 1881, inclusive, and their ratios to capital:

YEARS.	Capital Stock.	Amount of Taxes.			Ratio of Tax to Capital.		
		U. S.	State.	Total.	U. S.	State.	Total.
1866	\$410,593,435	\$7,919,451	\$8,009,938	\$16,019,389	1.9	2.0	3.9
1867	422,804,666	9,525,607	8,813,127	18,338,734	2.2	2.1	4.3
1868	420,143,491	9,465,652	8,757,656	18,223,288	2.2	2.1	4.3
1869	419,619,860	10,081,244	7,297,066	17,378,310	2.4	1.7	4.1
1870	429,314,041	10,190,082	7,463,675	17,656,357	2.4	1.7	4.1
1871	451,094,133	10,649,895	7,890,072	18,500,973	2.4	1.7	4.1
1872	472,956,938	6,703,910	8,343,772	15,047,682	1.4	1.8	3.2
1873	488,778,418	7,004,616	8,499,748	15,504,354	1.4	1.8	3.2
1874	493,751,073	7,256,081	9,020,326	16,876,409	1.5	2.0	3.5
1875	503,687,911	7,317,531	10,058,122	17,375,653	1.5	2.0	3.5
1876	501,789,079	7,070,087	9,701,172	16,771,819	1.4	2.0	3.4
1877	485,250,694	6,902,573	8,829,364	15,731,877	1.4	1.9	3.3
1878	471,064,238	6,727,232	8,056,233	14,783,765	1.4	1.7	3.1
1879	456,908,501	7,016,131	7,603,222	14,619,363	1.5	1.7	3.2
1880	457,266,545	8,118,103	7,876,822	15,994,925	1.8	1.8	3.6
1881	462,341,601	8,902,592	8,296,138	17,189,080	1.9	1.8	3.7

These statistics show that during the sixteen years covered by the table the average amount annually paid by the national banks to the States and to the United States was \$16,626,061, or more than 3½ per cent upon their capital stock; during the last year given, the total amount paid was \$17,189,080, or more than 4½ per cent upon the amount of the average circulation of the banks then in operation.

Amounts of "Legal-Tender," and National Bank, and Other Currency.

DATE.	United States Issues.			Notes of National Banks, including gold notes.	Aggregate.	Currency Price of \$100 gold.	Gold Price of \$100 Currency.
	Legal-Tender Notes.	Old Demand Notes.	Fractional Currency.				
August 31, 1865	\$432,533,912	\$102,965	\$26,344,742	\$176,213,955	\$635,515,571	\$144.25	\$69.32
January 1, 1866	425,839,319	362,070	26,000,420	236,636,098	688,867,907	144.50	69.30
January 1, 1867	380,270,160	221,632	28,732,812	268,588,419	707,819,023	133.00	75.18
January 1, 1868	354,000,000	159,127	31,597,583	269,406,206	687,602,916	131.25	75.04
January 1, 1869	356,000,000	128,028	34,215,715	239,747,569	660,091,382	135.00	74.07
January 1, 1870	356,000,000	118,698	39,762,664	239,639,322	656,505,084	120.00	83.33
January 1, 1871	356,000,000	101,086	39,395,859	306,307,672	702,403,847	110.75	90.20
January 1, 1872	357,500,000	92,801	40,767,877	328,465,431	726,826,109	109.50	91.32
January 1, 1873	358,557,907	84,387	45,722,061	344,582,812	748,947,167	112.00	89.28
January 1, 1874	378,401,702	79,637	45,544,792	350,848,236	777,574,367	110.25	90.70
January 1, 1875	382,000,000	72,317	46,390,598	254,128,250	782,591,165	112.50	88.89
January 1, 1876	371,827,220	69,642	44,147,072	346,479,750	762,523,690	112.75	88.69
January 1, 1877	366,065,084	65,462	26,348,206	321,595,606	711,064,328	107.00	93.46
January 1, 1878	349,943,776	63,532	17,754,109	321,672,505	689,443,622	102.57	97.21
January 1, 1879	346,681,016	62,035	16,108,159	321,791,671	686,642,584	100.00	100.00
January 1, 1880	346,681,016	61,380	15,674,304	342,387,396	704,804,006	100.00	100.00
January 1, 1881	346,681,016	60,745	15,521,464	343,702,832	706,028,057	100.00	100.00
January 1, 1882	346,681,016	59,929	15,451,861	362,421,988	724,614,735	100.00	100.00
January 1, 1883	346,681,016	59,295	15,398,008	361,882,791	724,021,110	100.00	100.00
November 1, 1883	346,681,016	58,800	15,366,237	351,528,421	713,634,474	100.00	100.00

Banks as Holders of Government Bonds.

The amount of United States bonds held by the national banks on November 1, 1882, including those pledged as security for circulation and public deposits, was \$295,057,500, and the average amount held by the other banks and bankers of the country, during the six months ending May 31, 1882, was \$280,110,937. The total amount held by all the banks and bankers during the last three years is considerably more than one third of the whole interest-bearing funded debt of the United States, as follows:

	1880.	1881.	1882.
National Banks.....	\$403,369,350	\$409,120,200*	\$395,057,500*
Savings Banks.....	189,187,816	214,880,178	212,028,782
State Banks and Trust Companies.....	24,498,604	21,650,608	23,211,450
Private Bankers.....	14,366,684	16,670,491	14,570,745
Totals.....	\$631,422,454	\$679,322,390	\$675,168,457

* Of this amount, \$302,505,650 were held as security for circulation, and \$32,551,850 for other purposes.

Aggregate Capital and Deposits of National and other Banks, at Dates nearest to May 31 in each of Seven Years (1876 to 1882, inclusive).

YEARS.	National Banks.			State Banks, Private Bankers, etc.			Savings Banks with Capital.			Savings Banks without Capital.			Total.	
	No.	Capital.	Deposits.	No.	Capital.	Deposits.	No.	Capital.	Deposits.	No.	Capital.	Deposits.	No.	Capital.	Deposits.
1876.....	2,091	500.4	713.5	3,803	214.0	450.0	26	5.0	37.2	691	844.6	6,611	719.4	2,075.3
1877.....	2,078	481.0	708.2	3,799	218.6	470.5	26	4.9	38.2	676	843.2	6,579	704.5	2,120.1
1878.....	2,056	470.4	677.2	3,709	202.2	413.3	23	3.2	26.2	668	808.3	6,456	675.8	1,920.0
1879.....	2,048	455.3	713.4	3,639	197.0	397.0	29	4.2	36.1	644	747.1	6,360	656.5	1,893.5
1880.....	2,076	455.9	900.8	3,798	190.1	501.5	29	4.0	34.6	629	783.0	6,532	630.0	2,219.9
1881.....	2,115	460.2	1,139.9	4,016	206.5	627.5	35	4.2	37.6	629	862.3	6,796	670.9	2,667.3
1882.....	2,239	477.2	1,131.7	4,403	231.0	747.6	38	3.9	41.3	622	929.8	7,302	712.1	2,850.4

CHAPTER XVI.

Democratic Financial Mal-Administration.

"Reform is necessary to . . . restore the public credit, and maintain the national honor."—National Democratic Platform, 1876.

"We pledge ourselves anew to the . . . traditions of the Democratic Party as illustrated by the teachings and example of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots."—National Democratic Platform, 1880.

"That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus of more than \$100,000,000."—National Democratic Platform, 1884.

PART I.

History of Democratic Mal-Administration—Mismanagement of Finances from 1836 to 1848—Constantly Recurring Deficiencies and Issues of Treasury Notes and Bonds to Meet them—Growth of the Public Debt, etc.

In contrast with the wise, honest, and brilliant financial history of the Republican Party, it is only necessary to glance back at the blunders, if not crimes, of past Democratic administration from the days of Jackson down, to be convinced that the business man cannot trust the Democratic Party.

"Flush times" of 1836—The debt extinguished—Surplus in the Treasury.

In the year 1836 the United States was, for the first time in the history of the country, practically out of debt. The Secretary of the Treasury, in his report to Congress, dated December 8, 1835, estimated the amount of the public debt still outstand-

ing at \$328,582.10, and this remained unpaid solely because its payment had not been demanded, ample funds to meet it having been deposited with the Bank of the United States as commissioner of loans during the preceding year. At the same time the estimates of the receipts and expenditures presented showed the probability of a surplus in the Treasury, at the close of the year 1836, of at least \$14,000,000, and this estimate was really, as events showed, far below the truth.

In this favorable state of the public finances Congress resolved to deposit all the surplus revenue over \$5,000,000 with the several States, and provided the method by which it should be deposited in four instalments under the act approved June 23, 1836.

Panic of 1837—Specie payments suspended—The wheels of Government almost blocked.

In 1837, however, the condition of the country had changed. The "flush" times of 1835 and 1836 had been succeeded by unprecedented depression and panic. By the

month of May most of the banks had suspended specie payments. The receipts from the sales of public lands and duties on the large importations of foreign goods, which had helped to swell the balance in the Treasury to over \$42,000,000, had fallen off enormously. Even on the goods that were already imported it was exceedingly difficult to collect the duties at all, as the law required them to be paid in specie, and specie was hard to obtain; and it had not only become impossible to pay the fourth instalment of the surplus at the end of 1836 to the several States, but even to meet the current expenses of the Government from its ordinary revenues.

A deficit of \$2,000,000—Issue of \$10,000,000 six-per-cent Treasury notes—Greater economy proposed.

Secretary Woodbury therefore suggested that contingent authority be given the President to issue Treasury notes bearing interest at six per cent. A bill for this purpose was introduced in the House of Representatives September 13, which, after a lengthened debate, passed that body, and, passing the Senate, became a law. The bill was supported on several grounds. One was that the issue of Treasury notes was absolutely necessary, there being already a deficit of \$2,000,000, which promised to largely increase should the then condition of the country continue; and another was that so large an increase of the circulating medium would tend to alleviate the prevailing distress. The principle of the bill was opposed, however, by those who thought that greater economy in expenditures would tend to relieve the Treasury, while others denounced it as an attempt "to start a Treasury bank."

The bill passed the House by a small majority, but in the Senate there were only six votes against it; and it was approved October 12, 1837. The President was authorized to cause the issue of Treasury notes in such sums as the exigencies of the Government might demand (not to exceed in the aggregate \$10,000,000), of various denominations, not less than \$50, redeemable one year after date, bearing interest from their respective dates for the term of one year at rates to be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury, but not to exceed 6 per cent. They were to be issued in payment of debts due by the United States to such public creditors or other persons as chose to receive them in payment at their par value; were to be transferable by delivery and assignment indorsed on them, and were to be received in payment of all duties and taxes laid by the United States, for all public lands sold by the said authority, and of all debts by the United States; credit to be given for the interest due on the notes at the time of payment. The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to borrow, on the credit of the notes, at not below par, such

sums as the President might deem expedient.

1838—Unavailable balances—Conflicting statements—"Government must stop in a few days" if not relieved.

The state of the country and of the public finances was no more favorable at its close of the year 1837 than it had been at its beginning. There was in the Treasury January 1, 1838, an apparent balance of over \$34,000,000, but of this amount the largest portion was unavailable. It consisted of the amount deposited with the several States, \$28,101,644.97; of money belonging to the Government deposited with suspended or insolvent banks; of amounts due from merchants or bonds given for duties on imports, difficult or impossible to collect; and of various other items aggregating so large an amount that the Secretary of the Treasury estimated the available balance at the close of the year at only \$1,118,393. It is probable that even this estimate was too large, as President Van Buren informed Congress in May, 1838, that the available means in the Treasury amounted to about \$216,000, with large demands suspended in the departments awaiting payments from appropriations yet to be made by Congress, and that the Government must stop in a few days if provision was not made to carry it on. The dues to the Government being largely paid in the Treasury notes of 1837, which the Department was forbidden to reissue, the revenue was almost nothing, and it became necessary to provide additional means.

Further relief given—Another issue of Treasury notes.

The act of May 21, 1838, authorized the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approbation of the President, to cause Treasury notes to be issued, according to the provisions of, and subject to all the conditions, limitations and restrictions contained in the act of October 12, 1837, in place of such notes as had been or might be issued under that act and afterward paid into the Treasury and cancelled.

1839—Again in trouble—Another issue authorized.

The act of March 21, 1839, authorizing a further issue on similar conditions, was passed at the instance of the Secretary of the Treasury, who informed the House that it would still be impossible to meet the demands upon the Treasury without it.

1840—More "embarrassment"—Another issue to relieve it.

President Van Buren in a special message, dated February 17, 1840, informed Congress that, although the means of the Treasury for the whole year would probably be equal to the expenditures, yet the Department might,

notwithstanding, be unable to meet the claims upon it when they fell due, because the largest proportion of the charges upon the Treasury, including the payment of pensions and the redemption of Treasury notes, became due in the early part of the year, while the resources on which it might otherwise rely would mostly be unavailable until the last half of the year, and a portion, being debts due from banks, might not be punctually paid.

The act of March 31, 1840, was passed to remedy this inconvenience, although strenuously opposed as unconstitutional and unnecessary, the House of Representatives being in session at one time for twenty-five hours on the bill. It renewed the provisions of the act of October 12, 1837, except as to the amount of notes and the time in which they might be issued; and authorized the issue of notes in lieu of those which had been or might be redeemed, but not to exceed, in the amount of notes outstanding at any one time, the sum of \$5,000,000 to be redeemed sooner than one year if the means of the Treasury would permit, by giving sixty days' notice of those notes which the Department was ready to redeem; no interest to be allowed thereon after the expiration of the sixty days, the act to continue in force one year and no longer.

1841 — “Embarrassed” again — Big deficiency! — In four years, expenditures exceed revenue by over thirty millions — Again “relieved.”

Secretary Woodbury, in his report on the finances, dated December 7, 1840, estimated that at the close of the year 1841 there would remain in the Treasury an available balance of only \$824,273, and that even this small balance might entirely disappear and an actual deficit of several millions be found under the operations of the compromise tariff act of 1833, which was rapidly reducing the amount of customs duties levied, aided by fluctuations in the amount of goods imported, which had fallen off during the year 1840 nearly sixty millions of dollars.

To ward off the danger of this possible deficit the act of February 15, 1841, was passed, with the limitations and provisions of the act of October 21, 1837, as modified by the act of March 31, 1840.

President Tyler in his message to Congress at its extra session in June, 1841, estimated the probable deficit in the Treasury at the close of the year at \$11,406,132.98, while Secretary Ewing estimated the deficiency on the 1st of September at \$5,251,388.30, and informed Congress that during the previous four years the expenditures had exceeded the revenue by \$31,310,014.20. On this point he says:

“Thus and to this extent, within the last four years were the expenditures pushed beyond the amount of the revenues. They were made to absorb the surplus in the Treasury and the outstand-

ing debts due the United States, so that the Treasury was, on the 4th of March, 1841, exhausted of its means and subject to heavy and immediate liabilities. It was already burdened with a debt incurred in time of peace, and without any adequate resources except the authority granted by law to augment that debt. As yet no provision has been made to relieve this debt, or to check its constant and rapid increase. We find it, therefore, as far as past legislation and financial arrangements characterize it, a permanent and increasing national debt. The temporary expedients by which it has been sustained do not at all vary its essential character.”

A funded debt — Loan bill of 1841 — The loan goes a-begging — More relief in 1842, by issue and re-issue of Treasury notes, etc. — “Loan bill of 1842.”

The only remedy for these continually recurring deficits was by a loan, redeemable at a time sufficiently distant to allow the public finances, aided by returning prosperity among the people, a chance for recovery. A bill to borrow \$12,000,000, redeemable after eight years, was introduced in the House, June 14, 1841, and debated during many successive days. It was opposed by some who declared themselves averse to creating a national debt; by others who professed to see in it a scheme for starting a national bank; and by others who preferred the issue of Treasury notes to obtaining a loan. It was advocated by members who said that it was not creating a debt, but funding one which already existed, entailed on the country by the Democratic administration which had just gone out of power, and that it was the more manly course to openly ask a loan, payable at some distant day, rather than to continue the issue of notes which must return to the Treasury in a few weeks or months to cause another deficit.

The bill finally passed both houses, and was approved July 21, 1841. It authorized the President to borrow, on the credit of the United States, at any time within one year, a sum not exceeding \$12,000,000, at a rate of interest not exceeding 6 per cent, payable quarterly or semi-annually, the loan to be reimbursable either at the will of the Secretary of the Treasury after six months' notice, or at any time after three years, from January 1, 1842. The money borrowed was to be applied to the redemption of outstanding treasury notes, and to defray the public expenses. The Secretary was authorized to purchase at any time before the time named for the redemption of the stock such portions thereof as the funds of the Government might admit of, and any surplus in the Treasury was pledged for the redemption of the stock.

This loan does not appear to have met with much favor from those who had money to lend, owing to the unsettled state of the money market, and the short period which was to elapse before it became redeemable. Up to December 20, 1841, the amount received was only \$5,532,726.88; while the estimated deficiency on January 1, 1842, was \$627,559.90, and the estimated excess of ex-

penditure over the revenue for the year 1842 was \$14,218,570.68. In this emergency Secretary Forward recommended an extension of the time within which the residue of the loan not yet taken should be redeemable, the reissue of the treasury notes heretofore authorized by law, and an increase of the duties on certain classes of imports. An act authorizing the issue and reissue of treasury notes was approved January 31, 1842, after meeting with much opposition on the grounds of the unconstitutionality of bills of credit, the inexpediency of adding to the paper money of the country, and the plea that a little economy would enable the Government to meet its expenses without causing a deficit in the treasury. Its supporters denied that the measure was unconstitutional, and admitted that the best way to provide for the deficiency would be by obtaining a loan, but asserted that if a loan bill was passed the money could not be obtained in this country, and that it would be necessary to send the bonds to Europe for sale, which would consume much time, while the needs of the treasury were urgent.

The act authorizing the notes to be issued under the provisions and limitations contained in the act of October 12, 1837, except that the authority given to issue was to expire at the end of one year from the passage of the act. It was manifest, however, that the power to keep \$5,000,000 in treasury notes outstanding could not make up a deficiency of over \$14,000,000; and in order to provide for this deficit, a bill had been introduced in the House, December 21, 1841, extending the time limited by the first section of the act of July 21, 1841. In the debates which followed the responsibility for the condition of the finances was charged by each party on the other.

This bill became a law April 15, 1842. It provided that so much of the loan obtained after its passage should be reimbursable as should be agreed upon at the time of issuing the stock not to exceed twenty years from the first day of January, 1843. The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to dispose of the stock below par if its par value could not be obtained, but not until the loan had been duly advertised and proposals for subscriptions invited. The President was also authorized to borrow an additional sum of \$5,000,000 if the exigencies of the Government should require it, under the same provisions and limitations.

More relief—Another re-issue of treasury notes in 1842.

Notwithstanding the favorable terms offered to investors it was still found impossible to obtain par for the stock; and to prevent its sacrifice a bill was introduced in the House to allow the issue of treasury notes when the remainder of the stock could not be sold at par. It was stated in debate by the Chairman of the Committee of Ways

and Means, who introduced the bill, that the immediate liabilities of the Government were \$4,875,000, and to meet these demands not one dollar was available, and that the stock must be either "sacrificed to the Shylocks of the country," or some other means must be provided to meet these liabilities.

The bill does not appear to have met with much opposition, the necessity for its passage being apparent. It was approved August 31, 1842. It provided that no stock authorized by the act of July 21, 1841, and April 15, 1842, should hereafter be sold at less than par, and in case the stock could not be sold at or above par, and the exigencies of the public service should require it, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to issue in lieu thereof Treasury notes to the amount of not more than \$6,000,000 under the provisions and limitations contained in the acts of October, 1837, and March, 1840. The notes when redeemed might be reissued or new notes issued in their stead, but none were to be issued after April 15, 1843, and the amount outstanding at any one time was not to exceed \$6,000,000. The Treasury notes issued under the act of March 3, 1843, were simply issues of new notes in place of such as had been issued under any previous acts of Congress, and which had been or might be redeemed at the Treasury, or received in payment of dues. The necessity for the issue was in the fact that the estimated revenues for the year were very little in excess of the current expenses.

1843—A growing national debt—A new loan and new issue of Treasury notes.

The national debt at that date was said to be \$27,409,338, of which \$11,068,977 fell due during the year, and might be presented for payment. Under these circumstances it became necessary either to obtain a new loan, to increase the taxes—always an unpopular expedient—or to issue new Treasury notes, as had been done at each session for the past six years. The course was adopted of giving authority both to obtain a new loan and to issue Treasury notes, though this latter expedient was characterized in debate as a mere makeshift to enable the Government to get along from day to day and to maintain its credit without repudiation. The bill was approved March 3, 1843. It provided that when any outstanding Treasury notes, issued under previous acts of Congress, should, after the passage of the act, be redeemed, the Secretary of the Treasury, if the public service required it, might cause other notes to be issued in their stead, under the limitations and provisions of the acts under which the notes were originally issued. It authorized the payment of interest on notes issued under this act after maturity, and also on those issued under the act of August 31, 1842. The third section of the same act authorized the President, if, in his opinion, it should be for the interest of the United States

so to do, to redeem such of the notes then outstanding as they became due by the issue of stock of the United States, under the limitations and provisions of the act of April 15, 1842, except that no commissions were to be allowed to agents, and the stock should be redeemable at a period not later than ten years from the issue thereof. Under this act stock to the amount of \$7,004,231.25 was issued, most of which was sold at a small premium.

1846—The Mexican War begins—Large threatening deficiency—More Treasury notes issued.

War with Mexico was declared May 13, 1846. On the 15th of June Secretary Walker informed Congress that if the war should continue till July 1, 1847, there would be a deficiency in the Treasury of \$12,587,000. To prevent this threatened disaster a bill was introduced in the House of Representatives July 6, 1846, and passed both Houses, although opposed on the ground that the only honorable way of providing for the increased expenses necessary while the war lasted was by increased taxation; that the feature of the bill which allowed the reissue of Treasury notes as fast as they were redeemed, was converting the Treasury into a national bank, and that the course of legislation showed the inconsistency of the Democratic Party, then in power, which had originated the Sub-Treasury bill, requiring payments to or by the Government to be made in gold or silver, and was now asking authority to issue paper money, after having at the outbreak of the war so reduced the tariff that the revenue was likely to be lowered at least \$10,000,000.

The bill was approved July 22, 1846. It authorized the issue of Treasury notes according to the exigency of the Government, and in place of the notes redeemed others were to be issued; but the amount of this emission outstanding at any one time was not to exceed \$10,000,000. The notes were to be issued under the limitations and provisions of the act of October 12, 1837, except that the authority given was to expire at the end of a year from the passage of the act. The same act also authorized the President, if, in his opinion, the country needed it, to borrow on the credit of the United States such a sum as he might deem proper, instead of issuing the whole amount of Treasury notes authorized, but not exceeding, together with the Treasury notes issued, the sum of \$10,000,000—the stock to be issued under the limitations and provisions of the act of April 15, 1842, and to be redeemable at a period not exceeding ten years from the date of issue; no commissions were to be paid to agents.

1847—Fallacious Treasury estimates—Another Loan Act.

The estimate of Secretary Walker, before referred to, proved very fallacious. A sum larger than his estimate of the amount needed

to prevent a deficit was obtained; yet in his annual report, dated December 9, 1846, the Secretary was obliged to inform Congress that a deficit of \$4,779,042.01 was still probable. In January, 1847, he appears to have informed the Chairman of Ways and Means that the Treasury was nearly empty, and that there was an immediate necessity for authority to issue more Treasury notes or to obtain a new loan. A bill authorizing the issue of new Treasury notes or a loan to the amount of \$3,000,000 passed both Houses and became a law January 28, 1847; but the origin and conduct of the war with Mexico had been reviewed in debate, and various propositions were made to so amend the tariff on foreign goods imported as to increase the revenue, especially to lay a heavy duty on tea and coffee.

It authorized the President to cause Treasury notes to be issued for such sums as were required, but not exceeding in the whole amount issued the sum of \$23,000,000, and no note was to be of a less denomination than \$50. The notes were to bear such interest from date of issue until redeemed as should be fixed by the Secretary of the Treasury, and were redeemable at one and two years after date. The Secretary was authorized to borrow money on the credit of the notes, but no notes were to be pledged, hypothecated, or sold at less than their par value with accumulated interest. They were to be paid to such public creditors as chose to receive them at par, and were made receivable for all duties, taxes, and debts due the United States. The Secretary was authorized to purchase said notes at any time, but only at par for the principal and accrued interest. When any of the notes authorized by the act were redeemed, other notes might be issued in their stead, but the amount of said notes outstanding at any time, together with the stock authorized by the same act, was at no time to exceed \$23,000,000. The principal of the notes could be funded at any time in stock bearing 6 per cent interest, redeemable at any time after December 31, 1867, and this privilege was extended to the holders of any Treasury notes issued under previous acts. The authority given by the act of July 22, 1846, to issue Treasury notes, was extended by the fifteenth section to the period fixed by this act on the same terms and conditions, but the issue under this section was not to exceed \$5,000,000. Section 16 of the same act gives the usual authority to the President, if needed, to borrow money instead of issuing the whole amount of Treasury notes, and to issue therefor stock bearing interest at not exceeding 6 per cent, redeemable after Dec. 1, 1867.

1848—Still another loan.

President Polk, in his message of December 7, 1847, informed Congress that if the war with Mexico continued until July 1, 1848, the expenditure would probably exceed the revenue about \$16,000,000, while

Secretary Walker, in his report of December 8, estimated that the sum necessary to be kept in the Treasury to meet the wants of the Government, and maintain the enlarged operations at the mints, would require \$18,729,114.27, in addition to the probable revenue. A bill to authorize a loan not to exceed \$18,500,000 was accordingly introduced in the House, January 19, 1848. The Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means informed the House during the debate that an error had been discovered in the financial statement of the Secretary of the Treasury, which disclosed the gratifying fact that there were in the Treasury nearly \$7,000,000 more than had been stated to the House, in consequence of which it was supposed the loan might be reduced to \$12,000,000, but that the Secretary of War had since asked an appropriation of nearly four millions to supply certain deficiencies in that branch of the public service, and it would therefore be necessary to make the amount \$16,000,000, and he moved an amendment making the alteration, avowing at the same time his utter want of confidence in the estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury, and stating that at least \$25,000,000 would be required. The bill eventually passed both Houses; but the Administration was charged with having plunged the country into an unnecessary foreign war, and the conduct of the struggle was reviewed and severely condemned. The bill was approved March 31, 1848. It authorized the President to borrow within a year from the approval of the act on the credit of the United States, a sum not exceeding \$16,000,000 at an interest of not more than 6 per cent per annum, payable quarterly or semi-annually, reimbursable at any time after July 1, 1868. No certificate was to be issued for a less amount than \$50. The expenses attending the execution of the act were not to exceed \$16,000,000.

The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to purchase the stock of the loan at any time before the date at which it became reimbursable at the market price not below par. Under this act stock was issued amounting to \$16,000,000.

PART II.

Continued Democratic Mismanagement of Finances from 1857 to 1861—Another Series of Blunders—Dissolving Treasury Balances—Embarrassments and Deficiencies become Chronic—Continual cry for more Treasury Notes and more Loans—The various responsive Acts—The National Credit down to Zero—Increasing Expenditures and Diminishing Revenue.

The revolution in trade and commerce which occurred in the year 1857 disastrously

affected the revenues of the Government as it did the incomes of the people, and the Administration which had just declared that amid such wide-spread financial wreck and ruin the Treasury would continue to pay gold and silver only, was forced really to the humiliating necessity of asking authority to issue paper money.

In December, 1857, large Treasury balance of a few months back dissolving and a deficiency threatened—Increasing expenditures with a diminishing revenue—An issue of \$20,000,000 Treasury notes.

The Secretary of the Treasury informed Congress in his report of December 8, 1857, that although there was a balance on hand at the close of the fiscal year of \$17,710,114.27, yet such was the falling off in the revenues from customs that it was necessary to provide the Treasury with some additional means of meeting the demands upon it, and that unless relief was speedily afforded there was great danger that available funds might be exhausted. He therefore asked authority to issue \$20,000,000 in Treasury notes. A bill for this purpose was introduced, and in the debates which followed it was truly said that the closing hours of the XXXIVth Congress had been consumed in efforts to deplete an overflowing treasury, while the early days of the XXXVth Congress were devoted to efforts to fill an empty one. Only a short time before the Secretary had asked Congress to reduce the accumulating coin on hand by a revision of the revenue laws, and now he was asking leave to fill its empty coffers by the issue of paper money. Instead of proposing a reduction of expenditures an increase was recommended. The Secretary of the Treasury asked increased expenditures to collect the diminishing revenue, while the Secretary of War wanted permission to raise four or five additional regiments at an additional expense of four or five millions of dollars—though the whole business of the country was paralyzed, its commerce almost destroyed, its industrial classes living in enforced idleness, with willing hands imploring in vain the privilege of labor, and the Government bankrupt, asking authority to fill its coffers by the issue of paper money. A bill authorizing the issue of \$20,000,000 Treasury notes was consequently passed, but a prediction was made that this amount would be largely insufficient, and that by the end of the year the Treasury would be many millions in debt, and that prediction was soon verified.

In 1858, asking a loan to meet expenses—Loan Act of 1858 passed.

In May, 1858, the Secretary of the Treasury was compelled to inform Congress of his difficulties; that owing to the appropriations having been increased by legislation nearly \$10,000,000 over the estimates, and the revenue from customs having fallen

below the estimate about an equal amount, means to meet the deficit should be provided. A bill to authorize a loan not exceeding \$15,000,000 was reported to the House May 26, 1858. This bill was subsequently amended, the amount being increased by the Senate to \$20,000,000, and became a law June 14, 1858. The interest was not to exceed 5 per cent, and the loan was made redeemable at any time after fifteen years.

Another Treasury note reissue asked for in 1859—Loan Act of 1860 passed instead.

Secretary Cobb, in his annual report to Congress, dated December 22, 1859, uses the following language:

"In the estimated means of the Treasury for the present and fiscal years it will be seen that no provision is made for the permanent redemption of any portion of the \$20,000,000 of Treasury notes. The authority for reissuing these notes will expire on the 20th of June next, and it will, therefore, be necessary for Congress to extend the law for that purpose another period."

Congress appears to have differed with the Secretary as to the propriety of reissuing the notes; for instead of giving authority to do so, a bill providing for their redemption by means of a loan was introduced, and passing both houses almost without debate was approved June 22, 1860. It authorized a loan of \$21,000,000 with interest at not exceeding 6 per cent, redeemable in not less than ten or more than twenty years.

The failure to realize the whole amount authorized was caused by the political troubles that culminated in the war of the rebellion. Bids were invited for \$10,000,000 on September 8, 1860, and the whole amount offered was speedily taken. A commercial crisis ensued, during which a portion of the bidders forfeited their deposits, and the loan was withdrawn from the market. The amount finally secured was only \$7,022,000.

Another issue of Treasury notes needed.

As a result of this failure authority for a further issue of Treasury notes was asked for by Secretary Cobb. In his report of December 4, 1860, he says:

"To meet the remaining outstanding Treasury notes and interest thereon there is yet to be negotiated \$11,000,000 of the loan authorized by the act of June 22, 1860. The statement just made of the difficulties attending the payment for the stock already sold, in connection with the fact that capitalists in the present condition of the country seem unwilling to invest in United States stock at par, renders it almost certain that this remaining \$11,000,000 cannot now be negotiated upon terms acceptable to the Government. The condition of the Treasury is such that no serious delay can be indulged. Authority should be given for the issue of Treasury notes to an equal amount, to be negotiated at such rates as would command the confidence of the country, and to create that confidence the public lands should be unconditionally pledged for the ultimate redemption of the Treasury notes which it might become necessary to issue."

Usurious rates of interest.

The rate of interest actually paid on the notes issued under this act has been the

subject of frequent dispute, and the facts, as given in an official form, are as follows:

"Under the Act of December 17, 1860 (12 Statutes, 121), Treasury notes were issued, redeemable at the expiration of one year from date, bearing interest as follows: \$70,200 at 6 per cent, \$5,000 at 7 per cent, \$24,500 at 8 per cent, \$33,000 at 8½ per cent, \$10,000 at 8¾ per cent, \$65,000 at 9 per cent, \$10,000 at 9¼ per cent, \$16,000 at 9½ per cent, \$77,000 at 9¾ per cent, \$1,027,500 at 10 per cent, \$266,000 at 10¼ per cent, \$633,000 at 10½ per cent, \$1,367,000 at 10¾ per cent, \$1,432,700 at 11 per cent, \$4,840,000 at 12 per cent, making a total of \$10,010,900. Additional offers were received, ranging from 15 to 36 per cent, which were refused."

More embarrassments during profound peace—The credit of the Nation at Zero—Proposition to back it with that of the several States!

In January, 1861, the Secretary, in order to relieve the Treasury from its embarrassments, was forced to ask Congress for authority to obtain a loan without restriction as to the price of the bonds. This money was needed, not to meet loans falling due, or to pay the expenses of war, but was asked for in a time of profound peace, to meet the current expenses of the Government. Never before, since the year 1789, when a small sum was borrowed to pay salaries, etc., under the new Government, had a loan been asked to meet ordinary expenditures. So low had the credit of the Government fallen at that time that Secretary Dix suggested to Congress, as a financial resource, that the several States be asked, as security for the repayment of any money the Government might find it necessary to borrow, to pledge the deposits received by them from the Government under the act for the distribution of the surplus revenues in 1836, the Secretary believing that a loan contracted on such a basis of security, superadding to the plighted faith of the United States that of the individual States, could hardly fail to be acceptable to capitalists.

\$25,000,000 Loan Act of Feb. 8, 1861.

A bill was introduced February 2, 1861, authorizing a loan of \$25,000,000, to bear interest not to exceed 6 per cent, and to be redeemed in not less than ten or more than twenty years. The bill became a law February 8, 1861, after earnest debates, in which, however, no opposition was manifested to the bill as a whole, but simply to details, both parties agreeing that a loan was absolutely necessary. Bonds to the amount of \$18,415,000 were sold under the authority of this act at an aggregate discount of \$2,019,776.10, or an average rate of \$89.03 per \$100. Secretary Cobb in his report before referred to, says:

"The estimated balance that will be in the Treasury on June 30, 1861, is only \$3,530,195.61, and leaves no margin for additional appropriations. If, therefore, the appropriations should exceed the estimates, or Congress should determine to provide within this period for the payment of any portion of the public debt, it will become necessary to

make provision for such contingencies. The idea of increasing the public debt to meet the ordinary expenses of the Government should not be entertained for a moment. If additional demands are created upon the Treasury by the legislation of the present Congress provision must be made to meet them by such increase of tariff duties as may be required for that purpose."

How the debt was increased to meet current expenses—Loan Act of March 2, 1861.

A bill for the repayment of outstanding Treasury notes, to authorize a loan and to regulate and fix the duties on imports, was introduced in the House of Representatives March 12, 1860. It was sarcastically said, in debate on the bill, that the idea of not increasing the public debt to meet current expenses was a very patriotic one, but the Administration had practically illustrated the sentiment by steadily increasing the debt to meet these expenses during every year that it had been in power. This was shown by the following table:

Public debt July 1, 1857.....	\$29,000,266.90
Public debt July 1, 1858.....	44,910,777.60
Public debt July 1, 1859.....	68,734,699.33

In addition to this increase of the public debt, there was a rapid decrease in the amount of cash in the Treasury during the years mentioned. It was furthermore charged that this had taken place under the tariff that practically discriminated against our own people, compelling us, for every fourteen or fifteen millions of revenue collected at home, to foot a bill of a hundred millions abroad. The debate on the bill took a very wide range, including the subjects of the tariff and of protection to American industries, and often branching off to the state of the Union and the political troubles which brought on the War of the Rebellion; but the bill failed to pass both Houses at that session. It was taken up at the next meeting of Congress, and became a law March 2, 1861.

CHAPTER XVII.

Democratic Rascality and Republican Honesty—The Official Record.

"We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic Party, as illustrated by the teachings and examples of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots. . . . Public money . . . for public purposes solely."—Democratic National Platform, 1880.

"We favor honest civil service reform; and the compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries."—Democratic National Platform, 1884.

"TURN THE RASCALS OUT!"—New York World (Democratic).

"KEEP THE RASCALS OUT!"—New York Tribune (Republican).

PART I.

What Democracy "Means" by "Honest Civil Service Reform—Light from the Past.

"Retrenchment, Economy, and Reform," as a slogan, were early patented by the Pecksniffian Democracy. In 1828, in the House of Representatives, the partisans of Andrew Jackson, the founder of modern Democracy, raised the cry of "extravagance and fraud" against the existing national administration—that of the younger Adams. After a protracted and acrimonious debate,

an investigation was ordered by the House, but Mr. Hamilton, its chairman, in his report to the House utterly fails to convict the younger Adams or his administration of either extravagance or corruption, or even to raise a presumption of either; and in history that administration stands unsurpassed by any which preceded it, or has followed, for practical statesmanship of the highest order, for incorruptible integrity, for its success in the management of the affairs of the nation, and for exalted patriotism. Nevertheless, the Democracy clamored against it, as they now clamor against the Republicans. They denounced it for extravagance and

fraud. They fabricated the infamous "bargain and corruption" libel against Adams and the chivalrous Henry Clay, charging that the Democracy, by Adams and Clay in the House of 1824-25, had been cheated out of the Presidency—charges which their authors subsequently confessed were not "only false" in themselves, but were "impossible to be true," but which they clamorously urged in every vile form, and literally lied Adams down. Thus it was that the Democracy originally succeeded to power and place.

"To the victors belong the spoils."

On March 4, 1829, Andrew Jackson, pledged to retrenchment, economy, and reform, was inaugurated President of the United States. Proclaiming the maxim that "to the victors belong the spoils," Jackson let slip the "Furies of the Guillotine" in a wholesale proscription of the old and tried officials of former administrations. John Q. Adams, in the preceding four years, had made but 12 changes—all for cause. In the preceding 40 years, all his predecessors together had made only 132 changes—of these Jefferson had removed 62; but Jackson, in the genuine spirit of a Democratic reformer, in one year removed, it was estimated, 1500 officials—in one year nearly 12 times as many as by all his predecessors from the beginning of the Government. The officials removed were experienced, capable, and trusty. The character of those who filled their places is attested by the "reform" which followed.

Democratic confession of "great pecuniary loss"—The Harlan Committee developments.

After many failures to obtain an investigation into the corruptions or malpractices of Jackson's rule, all investigations into which had been systematically defeated in both Houses by Jackson's partisan friends, and the packing of committees by Speaker James K. Polk, in the House, in 1839, when Jackson had retired to the shades of the Hermitage, and when its awe of the President was not so great as under pugnacious Old Hickory, took the matter into its own hands, and elected a committee for the purpose, with Hon. James Harlan, of Kentucky, as its chairman. The developments were astounding—the corruption and malpractices without a parallel in our history. Thus was developed Swartwout's defalcation at New York, as collector of the port, of \$1,225,705.69, a vast sum in that day; of Price, United States district attorney at New York, of \$72,224.06, and those of fifty of the sixty-odd receivers of public moneys from the sales of public lands in an aggregate sum of \$825,678.25. Colonel Gratiot, chief engineer, United States Army, about this time also defaulted in the sum of \$50,000.

Mr. Owen, in his report from the Demo-

cratic minority of the Harlan committee, thus confesses the facts proved:

"That the country has sustained great pecuniary loss, no man can doubt; that the national character has suffered deep humiliations and disgrace, no man can hesitate to admit. But losses like these are incident to all governments; no one is free from them. The annals of our own afford numerous instances of peculation, committed at every period of its short existence under all and every administration, and all and every fiscal system which has been adopted and carried into practice; no matter who has been the fiscal agent, the Government has sustained loss; it must be so until man becomes honest.—[Reports of Committees, 25th Cong., 3d sess., Vol. 2, 1838-1839, page 284.]"

And so on throughout all the departments—in the War and Navy as in the Treasury, and the Post Office Department was bankrupt through systematic plunder.

More plunder for the Democrats.

In 1840 these Democratic reformers were swept from office by the election of General William H. Harrison as President. In 1845 they were restored to power and plunder through the election of Polk.

The Mexican war—a war forced upon our and the Mexican people by the high-handed usurpations of President Polk in pursuit of the extension of slave territory—exacted an expenditure of hundreds of millions and the lives of 25,000 of our citizens. Corruption in the Government stalked unrestrained. The Eli Moores, the Purdys, the Morrises, the Patrick Collinses, the Beards, the Scotts, the Kennerlies, the Denbys, and the Wetmores—a host of pillagers, Indian agents, sub-Indian agents, contractors, disbursing officers of the army and navy, navy agents, pension agents, marshals, receivers of public moneys, commercial agents, surveyors, inspectors, and collectors of the customs—plundered millions from the people.

Democratic Denunciation of Democratic Corruption.

In the Senate of the United States, February 11, 1847, Mr. Westcott, a Democratic Senator from Florida, indignantly declared:

"I warn the Democracy of this country, the people of this country, that they do not know one twentieth part of the corruption, the feulent, reeking corruption, in this respect, in the Government for years past. I tell the people of this country that the Government and institutions of this country have been and will be used as a machine to plunder them for office beggars, and to perpetuate the possession of political power. I solemnly believe, if the people of the United States knew the manner in which their Government was conducted, if they could all be assembled at the city of Washington, they would be excited to kick up a revolution in twenty-four hours, which would tumble the President, heads of departments, both houses of Congress, Democrats and Whigs, head over head into the Potomac; and I believe they would act right in doing so."

More Democratic "looting" under Pierce and Buchanan.

These reformers, in 1849, were again ousted from power by the election of General Zachary Taylor as President, but

were again restored in 1853 through the success of the Democracy in the election of General Franklin Pierce as Chief Magistrate.

Under Pierce, Washington "rings" rejoiced in mammoth fraud in the building of the Capitol wings and in the extension of the Treasury building, and were encouraged in their pillage by Pierce's "outlaws of the Treasury." The actual and proposed plunder was immense. The aggregate amount of spolts proposed in the first Congress under Pierce was estimated at \$300,000,000! —\$120,000,000 in obedience to the decree of the Ostend conference for the purchase of Cuba; \$20,000,000 for the Gadsden purchase, and so on in like acts—all for the aggrandizement of slavery. The maladministration of the Post Office Department under Campbell, Pierce's Postmaster-General, rivalled that under Barry and Kendall. Even "the sale of letters and papers was made an item of revenue." "Bank-bills, checks, and insurance policies were sold in piles," and a Connecticut mill, buying two thousand of these, exposed the crime.

Buchanan's administration, in its vile malpractices and plunder, and its tyranny in support of slavery, was but a continuation of Pierce's. Even Hon. Roger A. Pryor, a stalwart pro-slavery Democratic member from Virginia in the House, was forced in very shame to cry out:

"From the by-ways and highways of the Government the rottenness of corruption sends forth an insufferable stench. Why are the people so patient? Why slumber the indignation of the Democracy?"

And Mr. Winslow, who makes the report of the Democratic minority of the Covode Committee in 1860, while in effect admitting the corruptions and crimes of Buchanan's administration, pleadingly urges in extenuation:

"No government has ever yet existed in which the executive branch has been able to secure everywhere faithful and trustworthy agents. In a country as extensive as ours, it is hardly to be expected that we could be more successful than other people. We must expect occasional breaches of duty, occasional betrayal of trusts, so long as our present imperfect nature exists."

Comparison between John Q. Adams' administration and the plundering Democratic administration succeeding it.

Under the administration of John Q. Adams, denounced by the Democracy for "extravagance and fraud," the heaviest net annual expenditure was \$13,296,041.45. Under Jackson, under the solemn Democratic pledges of "retrenchment and reform," the net annual expenditures suddenly doubled, even trebled those of Jackson's last year (1836), being \$37,243,214.24! Under Polk they increased to \$53,801,569.37; under Pierce to \$65,032,339.76; and under Buchanan, in 1861, to \$72,291,119.70!

The aggregate net ordinary expenditures of the younger Adams' administration was.....	\$16,671,943.20
Of Jackson's last four years.....	104,051,745.81
Of Van Buren's four years.....	110,093,428.21
Of Polk's four years.....	116,381,029.34
Of Pierce's four years.....	232,830,682.35
Of Buchanan's four years.....	251,155,509.62

The average annual net ordinary expenditures were:

Under J. Q. Adams.....	\$12,917,985.99
Under Jackson (Democratic economy).....	26,012,936.45
Under Van Buren (Democratic economy).....	27,670,837.06
Under Polk (Democratic economy).....	25,045,256.58
Under Pierce (Democratic economy).....	58,336,158.09
Under Buchanan (Democratic economy).....	63,288,202.41

A constantly increasing scale, doubling under the wholesale plunder and corruption of Jackson and Van Buren, and closing under those of Pierce and Buchanan at five times the figures which, under the younger Adams, the Democrats denounced as evidences of extravagance and fraud.

PART III.

What the Republican Party "Does" in the Matter of Honest Civil Service Administration—A Wonderful Comparative Record—Official Table of Losses.

The cry of Democracy for "honest" civil service comes simply from their itch for place and power and the opportunity for plunder. It is not an old trick of the pilferer to start the people after some honest man with the cry of "stop thief," in order to advantage himself; and to direct public attention from their own terrible record of plundering and give them one more chance at the Treasury, the Democratic leaders would say and do anything. *Put Democracy in power, and how long would there be the present surplus in the Treasury? How long before there would be deficiencies instead of a surplus?*

Enormous Republican collections and disbursements of revenue, without the loss of a dollar!

Look at the Republican record for honesty and economy in administration, on the other hand, and answer if you can, where, in the history of civil government upon the face of the earth, so pure a record can be found? In his official report to the Secretary of the Treasury, July 16, 1882, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Green B. Raum, said:

"Sir: I have the honor to report that the annual examination of the offices of the 126 collectors of internal revenue throughout the United States has

been completed, and that it has been found that the entire collections of internal revenue taxes for the past fiscal year, amounting to \$146,520,273.71, have been accounted for and turned into the treasury. It is, further, my pleasant duty to report that, during the past *six fiscal years*, the sum of \$748,831,071.01 has been collected from internal revenue taxation, and paid into the Treasury without any loss by defalcation.

"The expenses of collection for the last fiscal year (including the expenses of this office) will be found, on final adjustment, not to exceed \$5,108,300, or less than 3½ per cent on the amount collected. The expenses of collection for the six years have been about \$27,087,300, or 3 6-10 per cent on the amount collected. This sum has been disbursed without loss to the Government."

And there has been no loss since that time. Will it not be well to keep the honest men in, and "keep the rascals out?"

Analysis of receipts and disbursements, and losses under Democratic and Republican rule.

During the seventy-two years of our Government, prior to 1861, a period mainly controlled by the Democracy, the aggregate collections and disbursements were \$4,719,481,157.63. During the period from 1861 to 1875, under Republican rule, the aggregate collections and disbursements, in consequence of the war expenses incurred through the Democracy in rebellion, reached the prodigious sum of \$25,576,202,805.52, or over five times greater under the Republicans than under the Democracy. The aggregate losses under the Democracy in the period prior to 1861 were \$24,441,829.32, or \$5.17, in every \$1000; under Republicans the aggregate losses were only \$14,666,776.07, or only 46 cents in every \$1000. In other words, although the aggregate collections and disbursements under the Republicans were over 11 times greater than under Democratic rule, yet the aggregate losses under Democratic reform were nearly \$10,000,000 greater than under the Republicans, and in the ratio of losses to every \$1000 were nearly 10 times greater.

Under the administration of Andrew Jackson, that model of Democratic reform, the aggregate collections and disbursements were only \$500,081,747.75; but under that of General Grant (in consequence of the war expenses incurred through the Democratic rebellion) they reached the immense sum of \$10,842,922,583, nearly 22 times greater under Grant than under Jackson. Under Jackson the aggregate losses were

\$3,761,111.87, or \$7.52 in every \$1000. Under Grant only \$2,846,192.12—or 24 cents in every \$1000. In other words, although the aggregate collections and disbursements under Grant were nearly 22 times greater than under Jackson, yet the aggregated losses under Jackson were nearly \$1,000,000 greater than under Grant, and in the ratio of losses in \$1000 were over 22 times greater than under Grant. Under Van Buren the ratio of losses in every \$1000 was nearly 49 times greater than under Grant, and in like ratio under all the administrations of Democratic reform. Under the latest, that of Buchanan, the ratio of losses in every \$1000 was \$3.81—16 times greater than under Grant.

Tabulation of losses in receiving and disbursing the public moneys.

The following tabulation condensed from tables furnished by the Treasury Department, August 13, 1884, exhibits the total receipts and total disbursements of the Government from its organization to June 30, 1883, with the amount of losses, and the ratio of such losses per \$1000 to the aggregate received and disbursed, arranged in periods of administration from that of President Washington to that of President Arthur inclusive—and in the two periods, prior to the rebellion and subsequent to it, the dividing date between such two periods being June 30, 1861. The original tables give the *details* both of receipts and disbursements—the receipts comprising those from "Customs," "Post-office," and "all other sources," and the disbursements comprising "War, Navy, Pensions, and Indians," and "Miscellaneous." These original tables can be obtained by addressing the Secretary of the Republican Congressional Committee, Washington, D. C.

From this tabulation it will be found that while prior to the war the losses on each \$1000 collected and disbursed averaged \$5.21, those since the war have averaged only 39 cents; and that while the last Democratic Administration, that of Buchanan, lost \$3.81 on every \$1000 received and disbursed, the present Republican Administration has lost less than 2 mills ($1\frac{8}{10}$) on every \$1000 received and disbursed. In the face of this official record of Democratic rascality and Republican honesty, it would be simply idiotic to "let the rascals in."

Ratios of Democratic Rascality and Republican Honesty.

• Includes all amounts collected and disbursed, and the losses thereon.

3 millions.

1. In cases where the accounts of officers embraced more than one period, the losses, unless known to have occurred in other periods, have been charged to the periods in which the accounts were opened in this Department. In cases of defaulting banks, however, for want of other information, the losses have been charged to the periods

in which they are reported on the books, though, doubtless, in several instances they actually occurred in previous periods. No deductions have been made for amounts which may be collected hereafter, though a large percentage of recent losses will doubtless be yet recovered.

In interpreting this statement, the receipts and disbursements since June 30, 1918, have been classified in fiscal years, as in the published official reports; the losses

4. In making this revision no credits have been allowed for money collected on balances due previous to 1869, being small in amount, and the period of credit ascertainable only with much labor.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Recent Southern Outrages.

"Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power."—Democratic National Platform, 1872.

"Home rule."—Democratic National Platform, 1880.

"We believe in a free ballot and a fair count."—Democratic National Platform, 1884.

PART I.

The Copiah Outrages of 1883—Mississippi Methods—Moving of "The Procession"—Threats, Whippings, Burnings, and Murders, including that of J. P. Mathews—Report of Senate Committee.

To give even a condensed abstract of the outrages which in 1880 were committed by Southern Democrats, to secure a "solid South" for the Democratic Presidential ticket, or which in the intervening years have been perpetrated by Bourbon whites to terrorize Republican blacks in order to keep it "solid," would fill many volumes larger than this. These outrages have been so frequent and so well sustained by incontrovertible evidence, that no Northern Democrat would have the hardihood to deny or to justify them. They are, so to speak, admitted of all men. Hence it is not necessary to do more at this time than to glance at two of the most recent, which occurred in the fall of 1883, and to give in those two cases only the official words of the report of the Committee of the United States Senate which investigated the same. The two cases alluded to are those of Copiah, Miss., and Danville, Va., and they are but examples of many similar shocking barbarities of all too-frequent occurrence in the Southern States. The Committee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate having been directed by that body to "inquire into certain alleged occurrences in the State of Mississippi and into the constitutional rights of the people of that State," reported May 6, 1884. The report is signed by Senators Hoar, Cameron of Wisconsin, Sherman, Frye, and Lapham, and is as follows:

The committee entered upon its task with almost inexpressible repugnance. Important public duties demanded the constant presence of all its members in the Senate. An investigation of the question whether communities of our countrymen have committed crimes like those supposed in the resolution,

brings with it to all of us a deep sense of personal humiliation. The American people desire, in this time of unexampled peace and prosperity, to debate and settle other questions than those merely to name which brings disgrace to the republic itself.

Nothing can be more justly odious than to use such investigations and disclosures as political instruments, unless it be to commit, profit by, or screen the crimes which are investigated. But the rights invaded are rights declared by the National Constitution, and which the National Congress is bound to secure, by appropriate legislation, against infringement or violation by any State. If the powers already conferred upon Congress by the Constitution be not ample for their protection, it will be our duty to propose to the people of the United States the granting of further powers, that the blessings of liberty and the equal protection of the laws which are the great objects of the Constitution, and the right to vote without distinction of race or color, on which the preservation of the Constitution depends, may not fail through the neglect of any State in its duty.

* * * * *

Character of Copiah County.

Copiah is a county of a little less than 35 by 40 miles in extent. It contained in 1880 a total population of 27,552, of which 13,101 were whites and 14,442 colored. Its county seat was Hazellhurst, a little town containing 463 inhabitants. It is divided for election purposes into five precincts, called beats, whose population, according to the census of 1880, was as follows:

BEAT.	White.	Colored.	Indians.	Total.
1.....	3,414	4,104	.....	7,518
2.....	4,520	1,403	.....	5,523
3.....	1,536	2,338	8	3,882
4.....	1,294	2,576	1	4,171
5.....	2,737	3,721	.....	6,458
Total	13,101	14,442	9	27,552

The population is chiefly farmers and planters of cotton. The whites were shown by the testimony of many Democratic witnesses to stand high in character and intelligence, as compared with the people of their race throughout the State. No question was made that the colored people were quiet, orderly, industrious, and law-abiding. The superintendent of schools testified that there were sixty-five colored schools in 1883, which number increased in 1884, with an average of thirty to thirty-five scholars. He further testified that the teachers of these schools were all colored, generally, perhaps altogether, Republicans in politics, coming up to a high and strict standard of moral character and of literary attainment, and of great influence with their race.

The county had been Republican since the readmission of the State until 1875. In that year the State was carried by the Democrats by the processes which have been made familiar by the report of the special committee of the Senate who investigated the election. Since then the vote has been close. The majority of the county officers have been Democrats; but the Republicans had chosen a majority of the supervisors; a board invested with the power of assessing taxes, directing the county expenditure, and selecting grand jurors.

Preparing for the election.

November 6, 1883, an election was held for county officers, including sheriff, district attorney, supervisors, and clerk of the courts, and for members of the State legislature. The Republicans made no nominations of their own for these offices, but all the opponents of the Democratic Party united under the name of Independents, and placed in nomination a ticket composed entirely of white men, who were conceded by the Democratic witnesses before the committee to be excellent men, unexceptionable in point of character and ability. The Democratic candidate for district attorney stated in his campaign speech that "there could be no objections made against the Independent ticket, and if the county affairs fell into their hands, they could rest assured they were in safe and good hands." All were natives of the county, belonging to respectable families. As the canvass went on, it became known that some five to seven hundred white men, who had previously acted with the Democratic Party, had joined the Independents, and that this was likely to render certain the defeat of the Democrats. To prevent this result, and maintain Democratic ascendancy, was unquestionably the motive for the crimes which it becomes our duty to detail.

Proceedings of the armed company.

A company, consisting of about one hundred and fifty persons, was organized under the command of Erastus Wheeler, who had the title of major. These men were mounted, ninety of them armed with guns, the remainder with pistols, buckled round them, army style, or hanging on the horns of their saddles. Of this company, Mr. Harkdale, the member of Congress from that district, testified: "The procession, so far as I knew, the citizens who composed it, were among the best in the county, a good many of them planters and men of various professions, living in the country." This opinion is abundantly supported by that of many other witnesses, and controverted by none.

This company began its operations about the time when the debate closed, some fourteen days before the election. It does not appear that any Republican speech was made in the county after the Democratic "procession," to use the euphemism of their member of Congress, began to move.

Beat 3 had been a Republican stronghold. The population consisted of 2334 colored persons and 1316 whites. But parties in this precinct were by no means divided by a color line. A considerable number of white men, formerly Democrats, were enlisted in the Independent movement. About two weeks before the election, the armed company above named began riding about the country, taking with them a cannon. They began operations at the lower end of Beat 3, but for twelve days ranged over the county. Their operations were very largely conducted at night. They kept up a constant firing with their guns and cannon. The cannon was burst, but was replaced by another. These disturbances, which are compared by several witnesses who had been soldiers to the firing in a hotly-contested battle, were committed in the dead of night in the localities where the colored people dwelt in large numbers. They killed, wounded, whipped, and otherwise outraged a large number of persons. In two or three cases it is claimed that the person injured had a personal enemy who had joined the Democratic mob, and under the cover of their society had gratified his own hatred. In one instance and perhaps in two this may be true, but in every case proved before the committee the persons committing the crimes avowed it as their

purpose to carry the election for the Democrats. In every instance the person committing the offence was a Democrat and the victim a Republican or Independent.

Murder of Tom Wallis.

Between one and two o'clock of Thursday night, ten days before the election, Tom Wallis, a respectable colored man, was in bed in his own house with his wife; their baby and a little son were with them at that end of the house; two sons occupied the other part of the dwelling. He was a Republican, and had taken a good deal of interest in politics. The mob broke into his house, took him from his bed, and attempted to throw a rope over his neck. As he threw up his arm to prevent them he was shot, five guns being fired, and instantly killed, falling upon the skirt of his wife's dress. One ball went through the neck of the husband and the arm of the wife. There were about twenty persons armed and mounted who came to the house. The road for thirty yards from the gate was full of armed horsemen. They left at the house a rope, and a leather strap made of a piece which looked like a gin belt, with a handle about eighteen inches long. They subsequently passed resolutions, which were sent to Mr. Erastus Matthews by five or six men "with guns at their hips," that if "Frank Thompson, Marion McCree, Joel East, or Tom Wharton," who were four of the principals in the transaction, "was injured in any way, they would hold the Matthews brothers responsible." The Matthews brothers, as will hereafter appear, were prominent Republicans. The newspapers state that Mrs. Wallis has died of her wounds since her examination by the committee.

On the Friday night before the election they came to the Isham Gilmore house again, firing off their guns about it; some of the shot struck the house. At the same time they burst open the door of Isham Gilmore, a colored man in the neighborhood. There were twenty or thirty of them. Wheeler, who was in command, took a light and said (we give Gilmore's narrative):

"Hello, Isham, come out and set down, and let us talk about politics." I wouldn't go out. The reason I wouldn't go out, I thought of old man Wallis, and thought if I got out there, while I was talking with him some of them might come and throw a rope over my head, and so I told them, "No, I didn't want to talk about politics; I had no politics to talk about." He says, "Well, by God, what is you gwine to vote?" I said, "I don't know what I'm gwine to vote." He answered me back, and says, "By God, if you are going to vote the Radical ticket you needn't come on the ground, but if you are going to vote the Democratic ticket you can come; by God, we are going to kill out the whole God damn seed and generation of Radicalism." . . . When they went out the gate that night I went out the back door, and I never went back, but strayed out and only went in the day, and lay around in the fields. . . . The day I went there, Mr. Matthews there gave me the ticket, and I simply thought to myself, now I have got the ticket in my hand, and rather than to take the ticket and go back home I am going to vote the ticket. If they don't kill me here to day they won't see me till the thing will be done."

Gilmore voted, but he stayed in the woods for three weeks. He testified that nearly the whole settlement, a large settlement of colored people, did the same.

Whipping of Handy Fortner.

On the night that Wallis was killed, a little before ten o'clock, the same crowd went to the house of an old man named Handy Fortner. About twenty of them took Fortner from his house three or four hundred yards to a place in the woods. They compelled two other colored men whom they found in the house to hold him on the ground while they inflicted a most brutal and cruel whipping. This was partly done with a rope and partly with a strap, probably the same that was afterward left at the scene of the murder of Wallis. He was terribly lacerated. While they were beating him they asked him "how he was going to vote." He was a Republican, but he told them, in his terror and agony,

that "he was going to vote the Democratic ticket." They told him "if he voted the Republican ticket they would blow his brains out." They also whipped the two colored men whom they found in the house, to compel them to hold Fortner, and accused them of being Republicans, and of voting with Matthews. The colored men, though in fact Republicans, promised to vote the Democratic ticket.

Some of the guns in the hands of these ruffians were new, and seemed like Army or State guns.

Shooting of Frank Hayes.

The Saturday night before the election, about fifty of the same party broke into the house of Frank Hayes, a colored Republican, where he and his wife were in bed asleep. They shot him in the leg, which was broken by the shot. His wife was also shot in the throat and through the shoulder. Hayes was badly wounded, and disabled for any work, when he appeared before the committee on the 23d of February.

Burning of Daniel Crump's house.

About a week before the election a party of Democrats set fire to the house of Daniel Crump. This was about 10 o'clock at night. Crump and his sons tried to extinguish the flames, but were shot at by the crowd and prevented. The house was totally destroyed. About twenty persons were said to have been there, of whom Crump recognized two, Little and Norman. His house and all his clothing and property were burned up. This was a clear, plain case of arson, which, by the law of Mississippi, is capital and not bailable. Crump made a complaint to Miller, the Democratic district attorney. They were arrested, but were allowed bail. A few nights after twenty-five men came to his place and threatened to kill Crump if he did not withdraw his complaint, which he did. They told him Matthews was dead, they thought Oliver was dead, and Mose Smith about dead. They reckoned to kill him that night, and then the main people would be dead. They visited him again the Wednesday after the election and beat his son and son-in-law, who voted the Independent ticket, saying they were going to whip every one who voted. Crump had a lawsuit pending with Little, which, in all probability, increased Little's rancor. But there can be no doubt that the crime was one of the series of outrages committed for the purpose of striking terror into the opponents of Democracy in Copiah County.

Taking Republican tickets.

Orange Catchings was an old man living in Beat 5. The Republican tickets were sent out to him on the Saturday before the election. He had given them to a neighbor named William Campbell to distribute election day. On Monday night he heard the Democratic mob shooting in his vicinity and saw them ride by "like men on dress parade." They were armed with guns. About 4 o'clock Tuesday morning they came to his house, cursed him, and threatened to shoot him, telling him if he did not produce the tickets they would kill him. Catchings's wife told them the tickets had been sent to Campbell. The crowd took Catchings with them down to Campbell's and there took the tickets and allowed him to return home. They further said, "Don't you go to the polls. If you are going to vote the Democratic ticket, come on, and tell all the balance of the negroes if they are going to vote the Democratic ticket to come on to the polls; if not, stay away." Catchings did not vote. The other colored people in his neighborhood fled to the woods.

Jack Thompson warned to leave the country.

Jack Thompson was a colored man fifty years old, living in Beat 3, and owning property there. He had canvassed the county for seven weeks. He was warned by a white Democratic friend with whom he was raised, and who had known him all his life, that he had better leave the county, and by a woman who lived with a colored man who had been with the bulldozing crowd that they were going to make him vote the Democratic ticket or kill him. He saw a large number of them ride by on Sunday evening

armed, about one hundred in number, some with veils over their faces. The cannon and guns were firing. He mounted his horse and left the country.

Sworn not to vote.

At one o'clock Monday night before the election the "procession" visited the house of Benjamin Sandiford, a colored Republican, in Beat 5. His yard was filled with horses and men. They dragged him undressed from his bed into the yard, seriously injuring him by striking against the doorpost, and compelled him to swear that he would not go to the polls. They returned two hours later and cried "Bring in your rope and let us hang the damned son of a bitch." The negro had left his house and lay concealed in his garden, and so escaped.

Visitation of Solomon Smith.

Solomon Smith lived in Beat 2. They came to his house Monday night, just at dawn of day. He had heard them riding round and firing all night. They rode round his house, broke down the door, went in, and asked him for the tickets. He was the Republican ticket-distributor. They said, "God damn you, give up the tickets, or we will shoot you." He gave up the tickets. One of the ruffians knocked him down and beat him over the head with a large horse-pistol. They took the tickets away. He thinks they "made a clean sweep" of the houses in his neighborhood. Their horses seemed "clean rode to death." He was too badly injured to go to vote the next day.

The "procession" at Wallace Gilmore's.

About two or three o'clock on the night before the election the "procession" visited the house of Wallace Gilmore, an old colored man. They broke in his door as he lay in bed with his wife. He counted nine who came into the house, and fifteen more at the door, besides a large crowd out at the fence. They were armed with double-barrelled guns and pistols. They dragged him out of the house, compelled him to get on his knees, presented pistols to his face, demanded how he was going to vote, and told him if he was going to vote the Independent ticket he had better "dig his hole and make his box before he went." They also told him Print Matthews would be killed the next day.

Thomas Sinclair's experience.

Thomas Sinclair, a colored man, living in Beat 3, was the Democratic candidate for secretary of state in 1863. He owns about a thousand acres of land, a steam mill, and good stock of all kinds—sheep, cows, hogs, oxen, wagons, mules, and horses. He had joined the Independent Party, but left the county for fear of injury. He saw these bands riding by his door. They were all white Democrats. He says the colored people generally left their homes and fled to the woods. He would gladly sell his property for half its value and go where he could feel that he is a citizen of the country he lives in.

Methods of the armed company.

William Jordan was a colored man living in Beat 3. About one hour before day, Sunday morning before election, the door of his house was broken open by a crowd. Six or seven presented pistols at his head. About twenty entered his house. They told him to go to the door and look; that they had 600 outside. He looked out and saw a large crowd on horseback. He tells the rest of the story as follows:

"They asked me how it was with me and politics to-night. I told them I didn't know anything about politics. They asked me didn't I join a club down here at John Smith's. I told them no, I never joined a club in my life. They said they were going around to tell we black people how to vote, and they said they were not going to vote but one ticket at Tallholt, Tuesday morning, and that was the Democratic ticket, and if I thought I couldn't stomach the Democratic ticket I hadn't better come around at all; if I voted any other ticket except the Democratic ticket they were going to start Wednesday night after the election and have a regular hog-killing time; and they said they were going to take some of the leaders first. They told me to stay in my house. If I went

to running about I mought get shot, and they would be back betwixt now and election to see. So I went to the woods.

"Q. How long did you stay in the woods?—A. Exactly one week."

Store shot into.

John Smith has lived in Beat 3 fifty years. Owns land, houses, and cattle. He slept on the counter in his store. Saturday or Sunday, in the night, they shot into his store. The bullets ranged along where he was in the habit of sleeping. He got news that they were going to kill him, and took to the woods, where he remained a little more than a week.

Meaning of the night-riding.

Alex. Gohagen, colored, owned property in Beat 3, for which he paid about ten thousand dollars. Five men came to his door Sunday night before the election. They told him they had 144 men altogether. There was a gang at the gate. He afterward heard the firing, and judged the number stated was correct. The men who came to his door went in, sat down, and asked him how politics was running in that part of the county, and told him, "All we mean is this—we mean to carry this election at all hazards. We are tired of Republican rule here and we don't intend to have any more of it." They then asked if he had heard of the killing of Tom Wallis. He went to the polls, but did not vote.

How colored men were induced not to vote.

Very early on the same Sunday night six men entered the house of Jeff Shields, who lived in Beat 3. There were about one hundred outside armed with guns and pistols. They told him they were round electioneering, and demanded whom he was going to vote for. One of them put a pistol to his breast and demanded that he should promise to vote the Democratic ticket, and threatened to kill him if he refused. He said "I can't do that; I never did it in my life." One of them said, "Throw that rope in here; we will hang him." They began to prepare the rope, and he finally promised that he would stay at home and not vote. Erastus Wheeler, the murderer, came onto the door-step and said, "Old man, by God, I want to know how you are going to vote." Shields replied, "I told those gentlemen; I can tell you no more." Wheeler replied, "If you leave here Tuesday to go to Tailholz, intentionally to vote the Independent ticket, you will have somebody digging your grave, for I will put you into the earth as certain as hell." Shields thinks no colored men voted the Democratic ticket but those that were over-powered.

Forced to swear to the Democratic Ticket.

Just before midnight on Saturday they broke open the house of Napoleon Demar, a colored man. They threw a rope round his neck, struck him with a gun, and compelled him to hold up his hand and swear to vote the Democratic ticket. His house was surrounded by armed men on horseback. He voted the Democratic ticket at the election.

On Sunday night thirty-five or forty of them went to the house of Henry Edwards, a colored Republican. This was about an hour before midnight. One of them presented a pistol to his face; asked him if he was going to vote the Democratic ticket. The negro at first not replying, they threw a rope round his neck and choked him till he promised to vote the Democratic ticket. They then left him with the warning that if he voted any other way they would return Wednesday night.

Other assaults.

One of the party was seen on election day with blood on his shirt, which he said came from a negro named Mose Smith, from whom he had taken Republican tickets, and whom he had knocked down with a "navy six."

Shortly before the election a meeting was appointed for the organization of a colored Republican club. A party of white Democrats, including Hargraves, brother of the Democratic sheriff; Hart, who shot Burnett; Bailey and Morrison, two

Democratic lawyers, and others, rode over, broke up the meeting, and compelled Oliver, who was to speak, to ride before them back to Hazelhurst. The church was burned the following night. Oliver fled to the woods, where he lay several weeks, only returning after getting a promise of protection from Meade, the chairman of the Democratic executive committee.

David Bell was chairman of the Republican executive committee, and inspector of the polls at Galinan precinct. The Monday night before the election some fifteen or twenty men broke into his house. He made his escape in his night-clothes with one severe blow. He supported the Independent ticket, except district attorney, for which office he supported Miller, the Democrat. Miller obtained for him the place of messenger at the State-house. He refused to give the committee the names of the persons who drove him from his house.

The band at Ainsworth's store.

J. W. Bondurant is an active Republican, a white man, dwelling in Beat 3. On Friday night before the election he saw this armed and mounted band, about 150 in number, at Ainsworth's store, a neighborhood where many colored people live. The mob shot off their pistols and cannon, and "hollered and whooped and yelled around." Ormond had made a Republican speech, and it was reported that they were trying to get hold of him. Bondurant, and Ormond, and Erastus Matthews, a brother of Print Matthews, who was afterwards murdered, went up to Erastus Matthews' store. The Democratic band came round the store shouting, "Somebody had better get away from here." They turned their cannon toward the store and shot it, one of them crying, "Put a log-chain in it and shoot the damn thing." Wheeler was in command. They rode away and rode back and fired their guns into the store, first two pistols or guns, and then a continual firing. Two balls passed between Erastus Matthews and Bondurant, who were about a foot apart. There were also cries, "Bring them out and swing them up to a limb." This was between nine and ten o'clock Friday night before the election.

The next Monday Bondurant saw a young man named Higdon, whom he knew, who belonged to the company, and told him of the alarm felt by his sisters and other female relatives in his house. The reply was that "no Democratic women were scared." Dr. Jones asked young Higdon what his father thought of it. He replied, "He told me to go ahead and carry the election."

Tactics at political meetings.

It is impracticable to relate with full detail the greater part of the outrages. Burnet, the chairman of the Independent executive committee, was advertised to speak at White Oak Church. When he got there he found Hargraves, the Democratic sheriff, Meade, the chairman of the Democratic executive committee, and Dodds, a prominent Democratic lawyer, and Fulgum, Democratic candidate for supervisor in Beat 4. The Democrats came in whooping and yelling in crowds. Fulgum accosted Burnet and told him, "We are having peace and quiet down here, and we don't want any speaking." Burnet replied, "Mr. Fulgum, I want you to understand that I didn't come here to break up your peace and quiet; I did not come here to make any incendiary speeches or anything of that kind, but I came here to exercise a right that is guaranteed by the Constitution." "Well," he said, "I have come to you to tell you that we don't want any speaking, and you had better not speak." Burnet replied, "I came here to speak, and I am going to speak, and you men here can murder me if you feel so disposed; but I will guarantee to you one thing, that I am going to kill some of you whenever you attempt to do it; I am going to speak right here on this ground. It is my meeting; you were not invited here, and you are trying to intimidate me and keep me from speaking." The ruffians seem to have been somewhat daunted, but demanded a division of time, to which Burnet consented. But, in violation of the agreement, Meade made a vio-

lent and abusive speech after the close of the meeting.

The inetting of the Independent executive committee, held at Hazelhurst the day before election, was broken up by the approach of the armed mob. Enoch, the Independent candidate for chancery clerk, was advised by a Democratic friend to leave town the day before election, which he did.

Escape of Independent leaders.

Joseph P. Jones, the President of the Board of Supervisors, who had lived in the county from infancy, was warned that three men had been elected to kill him on the first opportunity. On Tuesday evening, about two weeks before the election, he rode up to a place by the road-side where about forty Democrats were in consultation. A proposition was made to take him off his horse and hang him, but the majority, fortunately, were against it. After the election forty or fifty men went to his house armed, for the purpose of hanging him, but he had received warning and made his escape from the county.

At a political meeting held some time before election near Erastus Matthews's store, Charles Allen, then and now clerk of the Democratic executive committee, moved that they "go into Matthews's store and buy a rope and take Bufkin out and hang him." Bufkin was an influential Independent; served in the Confederate army; had been treasurer of the county, and was then supervisor in Beat 3.

Purpose and result of these offences.

As a result of all these proceedings the Republican meetings ceased a fortnight before the election. There was a reign of terror all through the county. The negroes fled to the woods. There was no desire to conceal the purpose of these crimes by the men who committed them. Williamson, the mayor of Hazelhurst, a Democrat, testified that their purpose was to carry the election.

Bufkin, a Democrat, testified that he asked Higdon, one of the leaders, if they were going to kill anybody, and he said yes. As he passed a mounted crowd, Womack, a Democrat, asked him if he didn't know what was up; said they were going to clean out Beat 3; going to clean it out by Monday night; going to be ready by Tuesday morning to carry their beat.

A Democratic newspaper said: "The Crystal Springs cannon is doing good work for us in Beat 3."

The Republicans sat in their houses every night expecting to be taken out and killed. The crowd was heard to say they would carry the election or kill every Republican in Beat 3.

Wheeler made several speeches. In one he said they had spent a good deal of time trying to persuade the negro to vote their way, and now they had set out to undertake to make him. In another he said:

"They were out electioneering; that they didn't expect to coax these colored people any longer to vote; they expected them to vote the Democratic ticket, and if they did not, he would kill them outright, that he had pulled several of them out and made them say they would do it, and that that election had to be carried at all hazards."

The audience "cheered him terribly." At the same or another speech he said, "They were going to carry Beat 3. If they could not persuade the negroes, they were going to kill out the leaders."

A conversation was overheard between Thompson and Beacham, two leading Democrats, shortly before election. One said to the other, "We must carry this election at all hazards, and the only way to do it is to kill the ringleaders." The other replied, "Yes, and the quicker it is done the better."

The Democratic newspapers seem to have carefully suppressed any mention of the crimes which would call attention from the rest of the country. The *Copiah Signal*, edited by Meade, chairman of the Democratic county committee, said on the 18th October—

"The Independents out in Beat 3 imagine they are entitled to full possession of the affairs in that locality, but they are laboring under a grave mistake. The Democrats are not going to be ruled or dictated to by them any longer. The negroes had as well understand this now. If they will not vote with the

Democrats it would be best for them and the country that they refuse to participate in the election. The weather might be warm that day, and they might possibly get sunstruck."

The murder of J. P. Matthews.

But the most conspicuous crime is yet to be reported. J. P. Matthews was a merchant about forty-five or six years of age, of great capacity and energy and of large property. He and his wife belonged to old and respectable Mississippi families. He was a native of Copiah County, as was his father before him. He had been a Union man through the war. He had two sons in college and two daughters aged about nineteen and sixteen years. The wife and children all testified before the committee. It would be difficult to find anywhere a family whose impression as they appeared before the committee could be more attractive. There is no member of the Senate who might not be proud to introduce anywhere as his own the four children who came to tell us the story of the murder of their father for no other offence but that of being a Republican.

Matthews's character.

Mr. Matthews was one of the wealthiest and most successful business men in Copiah County. His dealings were largely with Democrats. He had been sheriff of the county six years by appointment from the Governor and once or twice by popular election. He was alderman of the city of Hazelhurst year before last. He was extremely public-spirited, taking a great interest in schools and a liberal benefactor to churches. Persons in trouble and distress were wont to resort to him for sympathy and aid. The man who killed him was his debtor, and had been hospitably entertained beneath his roof a fortnight before the murder. There never was a charge against him of dishonorable conduct, or of an offence against the law. He was extremely hospitable, entertaining much company. He had more influence with both whites and blacks than any other man in the county. Many Democrats would vote for him who would vote for no other Republican. Wheeler, who killed him, had solicited his support for the office of mayor, for which he proposed to be candidate, and had said, "I had rather vote for him than for any man that is running for office, from the simple fact that I never went to him in my life to get an accommodation that I didn't get it." His wife said, "He always helped anybody who was in distress, no matter who it was. They never came to him and went off without anything." Mr. Millaps, a Democratic clergyman who had known Matthews since he was a boy and to whom he went to school, testified:

"He was a very pleasant, peaceable, quiet, good man, very charitable, generous, and social in his disposition. I can say generally that he was as good a man as was in Hazelhurst, leaving out all idea of religion."

Mitchell, editor of the *Copiah Signal*, the Democratic paper, testified:

"J. P. Matthews, personally, was a very clever, social man, but the people there regarded him as an agitator."

Judge Bridewell, an intelligent and able lawyer, who had been an officer on General Hardee's staff, testified:

"I can express his character in three words: He was a man who had the courage of his convictions. He was perfectly honest. I never heard his integrity called in question. He was a very generous man. He possessed beyond contradiction the qualities which are described by the word 'manly.'"

Williamson, the mayor of Hazelhurst, a Democrat, testified:

"He was a man who was regarded as a very clever man, personally and socially. He was generous; a man who had a good many friends belonging to the different parties in the county. Outside of his politics Mr. Matthews was very well liked. Of course they didn't like his politics."

He was of small stature; he weighed only one hundred and thirty pounds, and was quite lame.

There was a little evidence from Mr. Matthews's political opponents that he was regarded as overbearing and violent in speech and had made threats

of violence. There was no evidence to sustain this charge other than mere hearsay, and very little of that, except the statement from two or three witnesses that Matthews, in expectation of being killed on account of his political opinions, had declared he would not die unavenged, and had instructed his family to hold leading Democrats responsible if he were murdered. If there be any truth in these statements we believe them greatly exaggerated. Whether exaggerated or not, few persons who consider the provocation will be disposed to blame him severely.

Determination to murder Matthews unless he kept out of politics.

The Democratic minority of Copiah County regarded Mr. Matthews as the leader of their opponents and the great obstacle to their taking possession of the offices in spite of the will of the majority. They determined to kill him unless he would abandon politics, and so to strike terror into his supporters.

As the election approached this purpose became well known. The conversation between two active Democrats, to the effect that the leaders of the Republicans must be killed, has been already related. The night before the election, Woods, the Democratic candidate for coroner and ranger, said that Matthews would be killed. Hartley, one of the Democratic procession, said, after the death of Matthews, that he knew he was to be killed on that day for a week beforehand. At the polls at Tallibolt, early in the morning of election, in a crowd of Democrats, who were swearing and firing their pistols, one was heard to say:

"Oh, yes, by God, we will get some of them to-day. We would have got Print Matthews yesterday; God damn him, if he hadn't crawled into his hole."

The armed crowd who broke into Wallace Gillmore's house in Beat 8 told him they were going to kill Print Matthews to-morrow. William P. Ware, highly respectable Democratic merchant, testified that he heard before the election that the crowd had passed a resolution to kill Matthews, and that the sheriff had been notified and had said it was out of his power to stop it. Ware warned Matthews, who told him the sheriff had promised him protection if he would stay in town. Williamson, the Democratic mayor, heard Matthews say he expected to be killed. Myers, the Democratic Secretary of State, met young Matthews the day of the murder, as he was taking the train at Oxford. He asked Matthews what he was going home for; and being told, said:

"He knew it would be done, though he hadn't heard of it; he knew it would be done that day."

The Armed Band at Hazlehurst.

The armed band we have described came into Hazlehurst with their guns and cannon on Monday, the day before election. The statement that they passed a resolution to kill Matthews before they entered the town rests upon hearsay only. But as they approached the town one of them was heard to say, as he rode along the line, "If I can get ten men to go with me we will wind matters up." The reply was, "You can get as many backers as you want." After they disbanded in the evening they were heard cursing one another for cowards, and saying, "We knew you would not do it after you promised." Both these declarations probably related to the purpose to kill Matthews that day. When they were within a short distance of the town a colored man came to Matthews, who was in his house, and told him he had just overheard a plot between Meade, the chairman of the Democratic committee, and several others, to deputize Matthews to quell the mob, and to have it arranged that he should be killed on his way to meet them. A few minutes after this notice, Sheriff Hargraves and Meade arrived at the house. Hargraves said:

"He had tried to get somebody to go out and make the arrests, and that he would deputize him to go out and arrest the mob; he was an old sheriff, and a suitable person."

Matthews warned not to Vote.

Matthews had received three letters, one signed "150," threatening his life. He told Hargraves,

pointing to Meade, that not half an hour before he had been informed that Meade and others had made a plot to assassinate him. If they were going to murder him they might just as well come there and murder him as to get him off there and assassinate him. Matthews had a daughter sick in his house. He had previously demanded protection from the sheriff and from the city marshal. The city marshal had reported this request to Meade, who had said he believed there was no danger, and had called at Matthews's store to assure him he would aid in protecting his family. Matthews's brother said they would protect themselves. Meade told him he "would play hell at that." As the crowd came into town Meade went out and met them and guided them away from Matthews's house, telling them of the pledge he had made in their behalf. They went to the court-house and were addressed, as they sat on their horses, by Mr. Barksdale, the Democratic member of Congress for that district. There is a conflict of evidence as to his speech, and we content ourselves with referring to his own testimony, which will be found exceedingly instructive. After the speech they passed directly by Matthews's house, saying as they passed, "Somebody had better get away from here." After passing the house they halted and passed the following resolution, which was handed by Meade to one McLemore and by him brought to Matthews's house: "Whereas it is thought that the public interest will be subserved by Print Matthews absenting himself from the polls on election: Therefore

"Be it resolved, That Print Matthews be ordered to keep within his own inclosure to-morrow.

"Adopted by citizens of Copiah County, this the 5th day of November, 1883."

Matthews replied:

"This is a very strange proceeding in a republican government. I think I have as much right to vote as any one of you. I have never done any of you any harm. I have tried to be useful to society in every way that I could. Now, John, you have got it in your power to murder me. I admit. But I am going to vote to-morrow, unless you do kill me."

This message was delivered to Matthews in his own house in the presence of his wife and daughter.

Matthews murdered.

The hour of his doom approached. After breakfast, not far from nine in the morning, the election officers opened the polls just across the street from his house. By the custom of Mississippi no persons are admitted to remain in the room where the election is held but three inspectors, the clerk, and a challenger representing each party. Into their presence the voters are admitted, who deposit their ballots and depart. A double-barrelled shotgun had been secretly conveyed beforehand into the room and concealed in a wood-box. There were some Democrats with shotguns, friends of Wheeler, at the door. Wheeler had been constituted the Democratic challenger. Matthews was selected by the Republicans present when the polls opened to act as their representative. He said he had to go home, that his daughter was sick, but he would vote before he went. Wheeler and he sat down together on a bench and talked pleasantly in an ordinary tone. What they said was not overheard. But Wheeler himself afterward said that he said to Matthews, "Print, I would not vote to-day if I were you." Matthews went to the table and handed his vote, open, to the election officer. The officer handed it back to him and asked him to fold it. He took the ballot in both hands, when Wheeler, who stood at a distance of eighteen feet, shot him with both barrels in the breast. Twenty-four buckshot lodged in him, one charge just below the throat, the other between the breasts. He fell instantly dead to the floor, an American citizen, on his native soil, within earshot of his home, in the act of casting his ballot. A man braver or kinder never consecrated battlefield with his blood.

Wheeler's son-in-law and other young men with arms instantly pressed into the polling room, by the back door, through which the voters were to go out. The front door was at once locked.

Matthews's daughter Mary, a girl of nineteen, heard the sound of the gun as she sat on her father's porch. She says in her testimony:

"I did not know he had gone until I went through the house to look for him, and I went back and asked ma if he had gone; she said she reckoned so. I looked all through the house, and could not see him anywhere, and then I went out on the front porch and sat down, and directly I heard a gun fire, and I knew what it was as soon as I heard it. I told ma I heard the gun, and I knew what they had done; and I went up town where he was, and they had the front door locked. Mr. Coggswell, one of the inspectors, was on the outside, with the door locked. He told me I could not come in there, and I told him I was coming in anyway. He said I had no business in there, and could not come in. I told him I knew pa was in there, and that they had murdered him, and that I was going in. Mr. Groome came along and caught hold of me, and carried me half way to the store, and I turned round and went back, and Mr. Coggswell told me he thought I had better go home, and stay there. I told him I didn't care what he thought, that I was going in there; that it was none of his business. The door was still locked, and my Uncle Leon came in a few minutes and they broke the door open then, and we went in and found my father dead."

Wheeler sat unmolested in the room for some time, quietly reloading his gun, until one of his friends suggested he had better go to the sheriff and deliver himself up. He went to the sheriff accordingly; was taken before Lowe, a Democratic magistrate, then a candidate for re-election and re-elected, who afterward united in electing him city marshal. Lowe went through some form of holding him to bail in the sum of \$5000, which was promptly furnished by three leading citizens, although murder is not bailable in Mississippi, and the whole transaction was unlawful. The sheriff suffered Wheeler all the time to retain his gun. Twenty minutes after the murder he was seen sitting at a grocery store with Meade, the chairman of the Democratic committee, each with a double-barrelled gun in his lap. He remained about the streets of the town during the day; stood with the sheriff for an hour on the street corner with his gun in his hand, "for fear," as the sheriff said, "that he might be attacked;" attended a public meeting in Hazelhurst the next day, and was in New Orleans during the sessions of the committee there. He has remained wholly unmolested in Copiah County from that day to this.

How the news of Matthews's murder was received.

The tidings of Matthews's death was received by the Democrats throughout Copiah County with extravagant demonstrations of joy. Meade, the Democratic chairman, at once telegraphed the news to other voting places. It was received at Crystal Springs at about a quarter past nine. A gun was then fired and the band ordered out who played martial music for an hour. At Martinsville when the news came there was a proposition for a salute, but a man, who had been a leading Democrat, told them if there was a salute fired he would kill the first man who did it. At Taitholt, in Beat 3, a note came bringing the news. It was received with great rejoicing, shouting, and yelling for joy. They waved their hats and formed a procession. In the language of one witness:

"Old men and leading men, that you would think would shudder at murder and be horror-struck, just yelled and fairly shouted."

In Hazelhurst, the scene of the murder, a cannon was at once fired. Mr. Ware, a Democratic merchant, testifies that Meade told him that the cannon was fired in consequence of an understanding that if Matthews was killed they were to fire the cannon. Meade denies this; but on careful re-examination of his testimony, recalling his manner and appearance on the stand, and the evidence which seems to connect him with these transactions almost at every step, we are constrained to withhold credit from his denial. At any rate, the demonstrations of joy were abundant. The band was kept playing on the streets. Crowds, excited and jubilant, thronged into Matthews's yard, and about his house, where his dead body had been carried. One band, in some sort of military array, marched to his house, where they were halted by their com-

mander, and poured forth a flood of profane and indecent language in the hearing of the family. A crowd of 150 presented arms to Matthews's brother as he rode into Hazelhurst with his family after the murder.

Resolutions of the mass-meeting.

On the next day a large and enthusiastic public meeting was held in the court-house at Hazelhurst, at which Meade presided, and Allen, Secretary of the Democratic committee, was secretary. The following resolutions were passed, which were copied in the handwriting of Dodds, an eminent Democratic lawyer, chairman of the Democratic committee in the absence of Meade, who sat by the side of the minority of the Senate committee at the hearing as their adviser in the conduct of the case. The reputed author of the resolutions was Mr. Miller, the district attorney. Mr. Dodds, who copied them, refused to tell who was their author, and refused to say that Miller was not their author:

"Whereas certain rumors are current that the relatives of the late J. P. Matthews have threatened the peace of society, in order to avenge his death, by killing Democrats and destroying their property: Now, therefore,

"Be it resolved by the people of Copiah County in mass-meeting assembled this day, at the court-house of said county, That if any person shall be injured, or an attempt made to injure him, either in person or in property, in any manner, by the said relatives or friends of said J. P. Matthews, that we hereby declare that we will hold his said relatives and friends who participate accountable for the same, and that we will regard them as without the pale and protection of the law and common enemies of society, and that we will visit upon them certain swift retribution.

"Be it further resolved, That so long as the friends and relatives of the said J. P. Matthews obey the laws and become good citizens, we hereby pledge them the protection of the law.

"Resolved further, That in the opinion of this meeting it is necessary to the safety of society and the welfare of all races and classes in this county that the Matthews family shall keep out of politics in Copiah County.

"Resolved further, That from henceforth no man or set of men shall organize the negro race against the whites in this county, and if it shall be attempted in the future, we hereby give notice that it shall be at the peril of the person or persons attempting so to do.

"Resolved, That we do hereby pledge ourselves, each to the other, our lives and fortunes and our sacred honor, that we will, all and individually, from henceforth, hold ourselves in readiness to enforce the foregoing resolutions, and to meet at any time upon the call of the chairman of this meeting.

"Resolved, That a committee of twenty-four from each supervisor's district be appointed by the chair to present a copy of these resolutions to the brothers and sons of the late J. P. Matthews, and that the same be published in the Copiah *Signal* and the *Crystal Springs Meteor*.

"Resolved by the citizens of Copiah County in mass-meeting assembled, That the honors heretofore worn and worthily so, by Beat No. 2, be, and the same are hereby, awarded to Beat No. 3.

"Be it further resolved, That this resolution is by no means intended to reflect upon the past and present services of Beat No. 2, but to show our appreciation of the result of the election of the ticket in Beat No. 3.

"It is also resolved, That the clubs continue their organizations, and consider themselves not disbanded, subject to the call of the chairman of the Democratic executive committee.

"Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be extended to the Hazelhurst brass band for their services on this occasion.

J. L. MEADE,
Chairman.

JESSE THOMPSON, JR.,

C. J. ALLEN,
Secretaries."

These resolutions were served on the family of Mr. Matthews as they returned from the funeral. They need no comment.

Yazoo, with which Copiah desired to shake hands,

is the county with whose history of crime and blood the country is familiar; the county where Dixon was shot in the back, the county whose "best citizens" celebrated last Christmas eve by murdering the United States collector of internal revenue with three other colored citizens.

At this meeting Bailey, the lawyer, and captain of the company of which Wheeler was major, made a speech. He was received with tumultuous applause, and said:

"My friends, you have won a great victory. Democrats we were and Democrats we are. We have got a Democratic stock of officers. By the next election we hope to have a Democratic Congress."

Some one called out, "Tell us about Beat 3." He went on:

"Now, I will tell you something about Beat 3. I went down in Beat 3, me and my friend Wheeler. I had thought to stump the beat, but after I got down there in a portion of that country, we came to the conclusion that I could do more in the saddle than I could on the stump. Therefore, we went round to electioneer, and I tell you when we started out we took along with us something like this [pulling out a pistol]. I tell you, my friends, it is the best method of electioneering I have ever seen. My friend Wheeler is a noble hand to electioneer. We would come to a house, and my friend Wheeler would get right down and go right in and take a seat right by the fire with those persons. He would electioneer a few minutes, and they most invariably agreed to vote the ticket before we left. Oh, we didn't hurt anybody."

He continued:

"It would be well for some persons to go around and see those people who affiliate with the opposite party and are voting different to us, and encourage them to come together and vote with us. If they agree to come back and vote with us, grant them all courtesy and be peaceable with them, but in the event that that should fail, then what shall we do? [Loud cries, 'Kill them out, kill them out; cheering, and after the cheering subsided, loud voice, 'Kill them out!'] No; I would not advise you to kill them out; but I believe you will do it without advice."

The resolution "that the clubs continue their organizations, and consider themselves not disbanded, subject to the call of the Democratic executive committee," preserves these associations for future use as the regular Democratic organization of Copiah County.

There was no coroner's inquest; Dodds and other lawyers advised that officer that, as Wheeler said he did it, such a proceeding was unnecessary.

Honoring the Murderer.

Wheeler was elected city marshal of Hazlehurst, about three weeks after the murder, by the Mayor and aldermen. The board who elected him consisted of the mayor, J. M. Norman, chancery clerk; I. N. Ellis, cashier of the Merchants' and Planters' Bank; D. S. Rurch, a school-teacher, now appointed by the governor superintendent of education for the county; and Mr. Lowe, justice of the peace, chosen to that office by the people of Beat 1; these were all eminent Democrats. Wheeler was also, on the 6th of February, 1884, elected a delegate by the temperance people of Copiah County to appear before the legislature with a memorial in their behalf.

Jordan, the city marshal of Crystal Springs, met young Matthews on the cars as he was on his way home on the day of his father's murder, and said to him, "Well, by God, you need not kick, you can't do a damned thing now."

Shooting of A. W. Burnet.

On the 6th of September, just two months before the election, Burnet, the chairman of the independent executive committee, learned that an ignorant Democratic negro had been recommended to the governor as Republican inspector by the Democratic committee. He waited on Governor Lowrie and remonstrated against the transaction. He was waylaid on his return and shot by Charles Hart, an active Democrat, afterwards conspicuous in the armed mob. Burnet was active in politics. An at-

tempt was made to impeach his character. But it was abundantly shown, even from the most hostile sources, that his character stood high, except as affected by political prejudice. He was the only lawyer at Hazlehurst who was not a Democrat, and had a large and growing practice. He had made some political speeches, and on one occasion met Governor Lowrie in debate and divided with him the time. Hart was in company with eight Democrats, among them Bailey, who made the principal speech at the meeting of November 7, and who acted under Wheeler as captain of the Democratic company. As Burnet passed them, near the corner of the hotel in the street, Hart said, "I understand you say you didn't make sport of Bailey the other night." Burnet replied that he had not, and could prove that he had not mentioned Bailey's name. Hart replied, "You are a God damned liar," and began to draw his pistol. The weapon caught in his pocket, when Burnet drew a knife and struck at Hart, cutting his clothes in the shoulder, but not wounding him. Burnet then ran and had got about twenty feet and was entering the hotel when Hart shot him through the groin. The men who were with Hart separated in different directions, as if to surround and head off Burnet in whichever direction he might attempt to escape. He lay several weeks in great danger of his life, but recovered.

Effect on the Election.

The effect on the election it is hardly necessary to state. Instead of the anticipated independent majority of 300 to 500, the Democrats carried the county by 2000. They went to many of the polling-places armed with guns, and frightened the independents from the polls. At Spencer's Mills there was an independent majority of 70 at noon, but the returns indicated a total independent vote of only about 23 votes when the polls closed. From one poll the independent election officer was driven away. At another the Democrats had their guns concealed in large quantities in a house near by. One prominent Democrat remarked at Spencer's Mills, when the news of Matthews's death was received, "All we have to do hereafter is just to appoint our men and let them take their seats." At several polling-places the negroes either refrained from voting or voted the Democratic ticket on compulsion. At one the Democrats' present put it to vote whether individual negroes might put in their ballots, and admitted only such as voted their way. Wheeler himself was one of a squad of armed men who after the murder led up negroes to the ballot-box.

Why Matthews was killed.

Matthews was slain solely because he was an eminent and influential Republican, that his death might strike terror into the opponents of the Democratic Party, and enable that party, being in a minority of legal votes, to take possession of Copiah County. He was not murdered for any intemperance of speech. He was not murdered for any personal quality of character. He was not murdered because he advised the negro to vote. If, every fault imputed to him being intensified tenfold, he had advised the negro to vote the Democratic ticket, the minority now calling itself Mississippi would have been ready to clothe him with office and honor. He was murdered that the Democratic Party, though a minority, might possess the Government of the county of Copiah and the State of Mississippi, and might send Representatives and Senators to the National Congress without constitutional right.

No national election was pending, except an election of a legislature authorized to elect a Senator of the United States in case of a vacancy. But these crimes, if successful, render a fair national election impossible. They enabled the minority to appoint the officers of justice who should protect the citizen in his franchise. We believe that the result of the next election in Mississippi will have no relation whatever to the will of a majority of her people.

They say in defence of these practices that they are necessary to preserve their civilization. We do

not see the necessity. The sooner a civilization perishes which is founded on cheating and murder the better. Better that the waters of the great river should again cover the land, which in ages it has formed, than that it should be occupied by a State which breeds her youth to fraud and assassination.

The census shows nine Indians in Copiah County. We are happy to report that there was no evidence implicating any of them, or which tended to induce the belief that any one of them was capable of the barbarities which are disclosed.

Barbarities proposed by the Committee.

* * * * *

It is asked, sometimes with a tone of exultation and defiance, what remedy we can propose for these things? Unquestionably, so long as any considerable political party shall deem it for its interest to countenance such crimes, the remedy will be attended with difficulty.

But they little understand the spirit of the age, the temper of the American people, or the power of education and freedom, who believe these things can long endure when held up to the daylight. The communities that perpetrate them cannot long withstand the abhorrence and indignation of the country. The power of the moral sense of mankind, the sting which belongs to the consciousness of having outraged it, which Mr. Webster, sixty years ago, deemed strong enough to turn the sceptre which Turkish oppression held over prostrate Greece to ashes in the grasp of the tyrant, is not likely long to fail of full effect upon the people of an American State. It is noticeable with what care the events of the election of 1883 in Mississippi have been kept from the columns of the newspapers. The sensitiveness of most of the Democratic witnesses, who were above the level of mere ruffianism, to their condition, showed itself through their tone of bravado and defiance.

If the Constitution has not powers enough in its arsenal for the protection of all the rights it confers or recognizes, the people on being satisfied of the fact will confer others.

The great prizes for which these crimes are committed can be kept from the grasp of those who commit them by the exertion of an unquestioned constitutional authority. Each House of Congress is imperatively required, by its duty, to refuse seats to persons whose election is directly or indirectly due to crime, either of violence or fraud. The boast of the orator at the meeting held on the day after election to ratify the murder of Matthews, and the proceedings of what Mr. Barksdale calls "the procession" in Beat 3 must not be realized.

The committee recommend the publication, for the information of the American people, of the testimony they have taken.

They further recommend the passage of Senate bill No. 15, which is designed to afford a remedy for some of the evils which are disclosed.

They further recommend that after the next election in Mississippi, unless the same shall be unquestionably fair and free, there shall be a full investigation of the condition of things in that State, with a view to determining the question whether Republican government exists there, and whether it is entitled to its existing representation or has forfeited it in whole or in part by reason of the denial or infringement of the right to vote of any portion of its people.

The questions of submitting to the Senate further legislation and of the necessity of conferring new powers on Congress by an amendment to the Constitution to afford further protection to the rights of citizens, we reserve for further consideration.

PART II.

The Danville Massacre of 1883—Virginia Bourbon Methods—Republican Negroes Terrorized—The Remedy.

The report of the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections to the United

States Senate, May 27, 1884, upon the "alleged massacre of colored men at Danville, in the State of Virginia, on the 3d day of November last"—signed by Messrs. Lapham, Sherman, Hoar, Cameron (of Wisconsin), and Frye—is also a most interesting document (S. Report No. 579, 1st Sess. 48th Congress), as showing by the sworn testimony of one hundred and sixty witnesses the desperate and bloody methods by which Virginia Bourbon Democrats terrorized the blacks and by false and inflammatory circulars inflamed the whites in order to carry the election of November, 1883. Space will admit of but few extracts from the committee's report, but these will sufficiently show the main points. Says the committee:

It appears from the evidence that during the control of the affairs of the State by the Democratic or Funder Party a constitutional amendment had been adopted in 1876 imposing the payment of a capitation tax of one dollar as a prerequisite to the right to vote, and a law had been enacted establishing the whipping-post as a punishment for minor offences and disfranchising every person subjected by law to that punishment for certain of such offences.

The constitution, after the ascendency of the Readjuster Party in the State, had been amended, abolishing the capitation tax, and the law establishing the whipping-post had been repealed; and for the first time in the history of the State since the amendment of 1876 was adopted suffrage at the election in November, 1883, was to be free from such restrictions.

The race issue.

Accordingly the Democratic Party early in the canvass of last year renewed the efforts, which had before been made to some extent, to intensify and excite the race issue in the contest. This became necessary from the fact that white voters of the State had left their former political associations in such numbers as enabled them, with the aid of the colored voters, to secure a majority in the State and elect the officers of their choice.

Without such division of the white vote success in the State by the Coalitionists would have been impossible, as by the census of 1880 the colored voting population of Virginia was only 128,257, while that of the whites, according to the same census, was 206,048.

While there was no motive, therefore, on the part of the Coalition Party to excite the race issue, which would inevitably have the effect to alienate the support of the white voters, there was every inducement on the part of the Democrats to raise and intensify that issue with a view of recovering the votes of those among the white people who had been supporting the Coalition Party. In 1881, under date of June 6, the *Richmond State*, an accredited organ of the Democratic Party, printed caricatures like this:

[Here is given a woodcut (entitled "The late Convention of Whitewash") of a white man about to whitewash the face of a jet-black negro while saying, "Just hold still, my man! A few more applications of this lovely whitewash and the last remaining point of difference between us will be entirely removed."]

[Here follows a circular entitled "Pause, Virginian! Read before you vote. Remember, if you vote the Cameron ticket this day—

"1. You vote yourself and your State a repudiation.

"2. You vote for mixed schools now and mixed marriages in the future.

"3. You take the African side in Cameron's war on your own race."

—with nine other specifications. And it is followed by a number of extracts from Virginia papers inciting the whites to band together against the blacks—drawing the color line. Also another wood-cut caricature, widely distributed during the campaign, of a school-room, in the background of which is a blackboard with the word "Coalition" chalked on it; while in the foreground is seated a black man, armed with a ponderous upraised bludgeon, in the act of beating a little white girl who, book in hand, stands crying before him.]

The Danville *Times* of March, 1883, published an article from which we make the following extract:

"It will not be long before you will see the Coalitionists advocating the repeal of the law forbidding the intermarriage of the two races.

"They will say, Why should not a white man marry an African if he wants to? And they will insist on arguing with you on a question you have instinctive horror of.

"If you want to protect your wives and daughters and keep off bloodshed you must stand up like men for your race and your civilization.

"Everything will look like Africa."

"A black boy will wait on the ladies at the different post-offices. A black boy will search the records for you in the clerk's office. Your bench of magistrates will be 'half and half.' Your commonwealth's attorney may be a negro, and a negro will surely visit your houses collecting your taxes."

On the 29th of October, 1883, the executive committee of the Waynesboro' Democratic club, a county where the population is nearly all white, issued the following:

"WAYNESBORO' DEMOCRATIC CLUB.
"October 29, 1883.

"MR. MATHIAS ABLE:

"The election which takes place on Tuesday, November 6, 1883, is one of the most important which has occurred in our State since Governor Wells ran in 1869. Then the issue was *white government or negro*. The same issues are involved now. Our brethren in the eastern counties are calling on us to come to their relief. We, your committee, urge upon you to be sure and come on election day, rain or shine, and vote for the white man's party, and bring your friend. Under no circumstance trade your vote off with a Republican, but vote your own ballot.

"R. G. WRIGHT.

"J. A. PATTERSON, JR.

"J. S. MYERS,

"Executive Committee."

In Danville the colored voters outnumbered the whites, and early in the canvass the Democrats sought to raise and intensify the race issue in that locality. With a view to this the Democratic clubs in the second and third wards of that city unanimously passed resolutions as early as September or October, the precise date does not appear, withdrawing all support and patronage in business from the Coalitionists, both white and colored. . . .

These resolutions were carried into execution, and the patronage was accordingly, to a great extent, so withdrawn.

About the same time another proposition was made by which the Democrats, who were the principal real-estate owners, should refuse to rent their premises to colored people or Coalitionists, and a subscription paper was put in circulation with a view to raise a fund to reimburse them for any losses they might sustain by reason of such refusal. The evidence shows that this latter proposition was not consummated or carried into effect.

About the same time the Third Ward Democratic Club instructed Mr. W. N. Ruffin, one of its mem-

bers, to prepare for circulation in Southwestern Virginia what is known in the evidence as

The Danville circular,

which is as follows:

"COALITION RULE IN DANVILLE.

"To the Citizens of the Southwest and Valley of Virginia:

"We, the undersigned, of the merchants and manufacturers and mechanics of the town of Danville, Va., earnestly request that you will permit us to lay before you a few facts from which you can form some idea of the injustice and humiliation to which our white people have been subjected and are daily undergoing by the domination and misrule of the Radical or negro party, now in absolute power in our town, and, under the leadership of William Mahone, seeking to extend and perpetuate its power all over the commonwealth.

"By the census of 1880 Danville contained 7385 persons, of whom 437 were colored and 3129 were white. The population of the town has increased greatly since that time, and the proportion between the numbers of whites and blacks has also increased, there being a much larger proportion of blacks now than in the year 1880.

"The taxes actually paid by the inhabitants of the town for the year 1882 upon property, exclusive of license taxes for its corporate uses, exclusive of taxes paid to the State, amounted to over \$40,000, in round numbers, of which only \$1200.63 were paid by the blacks, making \$38,894 more of money paid for the support of the town by the white people than was paid by the negroes. Out of the total sum derived from taxation upon property, \$2000 was appropriated to the education of the negro children of the town—a sum, it will be seen, \$794 more than the entire amount of tax paid by the whole negro population. So it appears that the negroes of the town do not contribute one single dollar to the use of the town, toward paying the interest upon its corporate debt, the improvements of its streets, the maintenance of its public work, the pay of its officers, and its incidental expenses of government. But, on the contrary, every dollar, and much more besides, paid by the members of that race in the nature of taxes, is returned to them and applied to the education of their children.

"Up to the session of the last legislature the town was not divided into wards, but voted as a single precinct; and in that way the council was generally kept in the hands of the white people. But the negro party, desiring to get complete possession of the town government, that they might share in the offices as well as levy upon the treasury of the whites whatever they thought proper, applied to the legislature and obtained an amendment to the town charter requiring that the town should be divided into three wards, and that four councilmen and one justice of the peace should be elected from each ward. From the localities in which the negroes had herded themselves, it was totally impracticable to so run the ward lines without creating two wards in which the negroes had a large majority, and this they and their white leaders knew. The result was that they elected seven out of twelve of their candidates for the council and their candidates for justice of the peace from each ward.

"Then began the deeds which have so humiliated us in our own estimation, and made our town, once so noted for wealth and enterprise, a by-word for shame and reproach from one end of this land to the other. Wherever it was possible for anything to be done by the council or its magistrates that would irritate and wound the pride of the whites it was executed with the keenest relish. Out of nine policemen four negroes were chosen—something before that time unknown to the history of the town—two of them acting not only as policemen, but one as a health officer, and the other as weighmaster of the public scales and clerk of the market. Out of the twenty-four stalls and stands at the market-place, twenty are rented out by the council to the negroes. The scenes about this important and attractive institution (attractive in all cities) will give any person visiting the town a fair idea of the general state of the government under the negro rule.

The market, once occupied in all its stalls by polite white gentlemen, with their clean white aprons, and the most enticing meats and vegetables upon their boards, is now the scene of filth, stench, crowds of loitering and idle negroes, drunkenness, obscene language, and petit thieves. The white men have been driven out and forced to take up private places for vending their meats and vegetables, and the public market, erected by the money of the white people and intended to be occupied by men at least courteous and cleanly, has been converted to the use of squalid negro hucksters, and presents a spectacle of leathomeness positively repulsive to any person who has the least idea of how a market should be kept.

The whites of the town are powerless to prevent this outrage upon their rights. In fact, it is believed that their well-known objection to such an indignity is the principal cause of its infliction. The council, which has the power of regulating the conduct of the market, is presided over by a carpet-bagger—J. B. Raulston—McHone's collector of internal revenue for the Danville district, and the patronage of his Federal office enables him to control the council with the same undisputed power that the general does his party. Raulston is exceedingly offensive to the white people, and it is well known he takes no pains to carry out any of their wishes. Two of the negro members of the council hold positions under him at the custom-house, and they are as obedient to his will in the council as they are in the revenue office.

"It is seen, therefore, that our town is practically in the hands of and actually controlled by the officers and slaves of the Federal Government, not one of whom has a dollar's worth of visible property within its limits, and this too by the most shameless usurpation; for the constitution and law of the State and the Presidential order by which the Norfolk postmaster was removed, all declare that such officials shall hold no office under the government of this commonwealth. The Federal Government, through its internal-revenue collector and the negro councilmen hired by him to scrub the floor of the custom-house and make incendiary speeches against the white people of the town, make our town laws, levy and collect our taxes, distribute our money, and elect negro policemen to watch our town while its inhabitants are asleep. This revenue collector declared, when he was elected president of the town council, that it was his intention to use the patronage of the council to build up the Radical negro party.

"The police court of the town is another scene of perpetual mockery and disgrace. There the most active justice is a young negro named Jones, who first became famous by seducing a girl under promise of marriage, and was only saved from conviction upon indictment by the evidence of his partner in a junk-shop, who swore that he had had criminal intercourse with her before Jones. This court which, before the negro régime came into power, was only open a few hours every morning, is now practically open from morning till night, and nothing but actual observation can convey the least idea of the travesty of its transactions. Malice and partiality, whenever there is a motive, and ignorance, in its absence, are the rules of decision. The officials of the court, justices, and policemen co-operate in the work to make fees, and every act or word or deed of the citizen, whether atrocious in its character or too frivolous for the law to take notice of, is brought before a justice, and the party, if not fined, is required to pay the costs; and if there is more than one party the cost is doubled, and both parties made to pay costs. White men are arrested for the most frivolous acts by negro policemen and borne along to the mayor's office, followed by swarms of jeering and hooting and mocking negroes, and tried, fined, and lectured and imprisoned by a negro justice, and then followed to the jail by the same insulting rabble.

"At the October court of this year two of the party magistrates were removed from office by the judge of the hustings court, one for embezzling the money of the commonwealth, the other for 'causes sufficient to the court,' and one of them has fled the town to avoid indictment.

"The notoriety which this state of things in our town has produced has attracted to the town large

numbers of idle and filthy negroes from the border counties of North Carolina, and from Halifax, Mecklenburg, and Charlotte, Va. Although there is a law against vagrants, they are never disturbed. They infest the streets and sidewalks in squads, hover about public-houses, and sleep on the doorsteps of storehouses and the benches of the market-place. They impede the travel of ladies and gentlemen, very frequently forcing them from the sidewalk into the street. *Negro women* have been known to force *ladies* from the pavement, and remind them that they will 'learn to step aside the next time.' In several instances white children have been struck by *green negroes*. We know of several cases where the tie has been given to a white lady to her face by a negro. It is a very common practice for the negroes who are employed about our houses to allude to white ladies and gentlemen as *men* and *women* and to negroes as *ladies* and *gentlemen*. This is a practice almost without exception with the negro women. They do it to irritate and throw contempt upon the white race. A short time since, when the town was in great excitement over the murder of a respectable gentleman and farmer of Pittsylvania County, in his wagon, while on his way home from Danville, by *three negro highwaymen*, a negro man in the town stood in the centre of a crowd of his friends, with a pistol exhibited on his person, and with threatening gestures and loud oaths declared that he wanted to 'start a row with some d—d son of a b—h of a white man that he might kill him.'

"A few nights ago the negroes were very indignant because they heard of the earnest work that was going on by the whites to register all of their voting strength, and called a meeting, which was addressed by an incendiary negro named Pleasants, a postal agent, and one of the town-councilmen, hired at the custom-house, and they passed a resolution requesting the Governor to have Federal troops sent to our town on election day, to intimidate the white people at the polls.

"They have also a scheme to amend the town charter if they elect the legislature this fall, and take into the town a large negro settlement, outside of the town limits, called *Jacksonville*, by which they will get several hundred more black voters, and then it will be impossible for any white man to hold office in the town. We know this is their plan.

"It is well known that hundreds of the North Carolina tobacco-raisers who live within a few miles of Danville, and used to sell their tobacco in our market, now go five times as far to a market in their own State, on account of the negro rule in our town. At the negro meeting referred to above, one of their speakers said they did not want the people of North Carolina to come here any way.

"Now, fellow-citizens of the Valley and southwest, we cry out to you in our affliction to deliver us from this awful state of *humiliation and wretchedness*. We know that, as a rule, the cries of the wretched make but little interruption of the general progress of things. The sun rises and sets all the same, and the work of the Government, and the work of the feast and the torture goes on with exactness and tranquillity. But we appeal to you that sympathy which constitutes the bond of union between honorable men struggling in the cause of freedom, to help us throttle this viper of *negroism* that is stinging us to madness and to death, by voting against the Coalition-Radical candidates who are yelling and screaming with delight at the prospect of fastening its fangs into us forever.

"We appeal to you to say, do you think its just that we should contribute every cent to the maintenance of our town, pay our town debt, and appropriate not only all the negro pays in the way of tax, but much more besides, of our own money, to the education of his children whom he raises upon our money to be our bitterest enemies, and then let him have possession of our town government too? Is it right that the negro should have all this given him, and then be allowed to control our offices and plunder our treasury besides?

"It is an injustice at which we know your humanity will revolt.

"It is the injustice of the frozen serpent, which, after being warmed into life by its benefactor, stings him to death.

"Help us, fellow-citizens, by voting for the Con-

servative-Democratic candidates for the legislature, for unless they are elected we are doomed.

" W. T. CLARK, Merchant.
 " JAMES W. BRUCE, Merchant.
 " C. M. HENDRICK, Builder.
 " J. G. COVINGTON, Tobacconist.
 " REDD & JORDAN, Warehousemen.
 " DANIEL COLEMAN.
 " J. E. SCHOOLFIELD, Merchant.
 " A. G. FULLER, Tobacconist.
 " HAMIL & HINTON, Merchants.
 " C. H. NORTON, Contractor.
 " GEO. A. LEE, Tobacconist.
 " GRAVELY & BURTON, Grocers.
 " J. B. WESTHROOKS, Foundryman.
 " THOS. L. POINDEXTER & SON, Warehousemen.
 " RUFFIN, WOOLFOLK & BLAIR, Real Estate and Insurance Agents.
 " JOHN W. HOLLAND, Tobacconist.
 " W. P. GRAVES, Warehouseman.
 " J. M. COVINGTON, Tobacconist.
 " H. B. GRAHAM & BRO., Builders.
 " S. H. HOLLAND.
 " E. L. & A. GERST, Tanners.
 " MOROTOC MANUFACTURING CO.
 " BOOTH, WOODING & BOOTH, Merchants.
 " ESTER & WOODING, Merchants.
 " W. N. SHELTON, Tobacconist.
 " LEA & JORDAN, Warehousemen.
 " HARRY WALKER.
 " ED. S. RAGLAND, Foundryman."

Its falsity—The perjured verification—Democratic responsibility for what followed.

The evidence is entirely satisfactory that, with the exception of the statistics given in the opening paragraph of the circular, it is a false presentation of the state of things at Danville, and most of its statements wholly without any substantial foundation in fact. Yet so vital was it deemed to the interests of the Democratic Party that Mr. Ruffin states in his testimony, after its correctness had been challenged by the Coalitionists, he prepared what is known in the evidence as the "Ruffin Circular," which were the affidavits of the subscribers of the Danville circular verifying the truth of the statements contained in it; and although, as he states, he did not sign the original, he did sign the affidavit of verification, and, while he did not fully agree with the accuracy of the circular as altered by Judge Aiken and signed by his partner, yet he joined in the verification as to the truth of the same without any exception. His partner, Mr. Blair, testifies that the original was signed by Mr. Ruffin himself.

In giving the reasons for this verification the witness testified as follows:

"Mr. Seldon of Harrisburg, in Rockingham county, informed me that if we could authenticate that circular it would carry Rockingham county and save all the other counties in the valley."

He also stated that on Wednesday prior to the riot he went to Harrisburg (200 miles from Danville) taking with him 2000 copies of the Danville circular, and sending them all over the county.

The evidence conclusively shows that the Danville circular, though printed in Danville in large numbers, and widely circulated in other portions of the State, was not designed for circulation in Danville, yet its existence there became known soon after its publication. The evidence also shows that the affidavit of verification, together with letters from the witness Ruffin and Dr. Harvie, were published in Waynesboro, and circulated in large numbers prior to the election in that portion of the State.

The excitement its circulation caused at Danville and elsewhere.

This circular added much to the excitement in and about Danville. On the evening of the 21 of November Col. W. E. Sims, who was a candidate for the State Senate, addressed a meeting at Danville, and criticised said circular and those whose names appeared as the signers, characterizing most of its statements as falsehoods, and stating that the signers must have known they were false when

they signed it. The evidence shows that the meeting was called because the people inviting him had just heard of the circular. The following notice of the intended meeting was published:

"Col. W. E. Sims will speak to-night at 8 o'clock in front of the old post-office building to answer the circular entitled, 'Coalition rule in Danville,' sent to the Southwest, and the Valley, by the Democratic State committee. This circular contains injurious allegations against the town of Danville, but has been concealed from the people of Danville. They ought therefore to attend the speaking and learn what is said against them for political effect by their pretended political friends. Come one! come all!" (Date Friday, November 2, 1883.)"

When the meeting was about to assemble at the place named, the Democrats stated it was the night for their meeting to practise at the place named, and requested that the meeting be held at the courthouse instead. This was assented to. It is proven and not contradicted that Col. W. P. Graves, who, it was shown, was chairman of the advisory committee of the Democratic Party, said . . . at one time during the speech of Sims, "that his men were formed in line from the old brick building on the corner clean up to near the hall." The evidence shows that more or less of them were armed, and that some drew their pistols during the speech. Threats were made that night and the next morning that Sims would be lynched before he left town, but he went away about noon on Saturday, and it was then supposed the excitement would subside.

The Danville massacre.

Not long after this, however, a white Democrat by the name of Noel was rapidly passing down Main Street and met two colored men, Lawson and Lewellyn, going up said street. Lawson stepped one side to get out of the way of some ladies, and hit Noel's foot. Noel said, "What in hell do you mean?" to which Lawson replied, "I was getting out of the way of that lady; excuse me." Thereupon Lewellyn said, "Go ahead, Lawson, don't ask any pardon." Noel struck Lewellyn, and the latter knocked Noel into the gutter twice. Noel then passed on, went and got his pistol, and was seen by these colored men passing down toward the opera house, on Main Street, in a buggy wagon, looking back at them as he rode down. There was a Democratic meeting at the opera house that afternoon to endorse the Danville circular and to denounce Sims for his speech the evening before. At this meeting five hundred or more had assembled. Two young men, Lea and Taylor, armed with revolvers, were stationed in the gallery to keep out all but Democrats. No Coalitionist or colored man was allowed to attend. Noel went to them as his friends. They badgered him about his scuffle in the street, and Lea gives his reply as follows:

"Well, I have concluded to postpone it, as the very heated excitement in town," he says, "and if we were to resent that injury, I am fearful it will bring on a riot, and I will wait until after the election to resent the injury." I says, "It is very hard to take such an insult;" whereupon he left me.

In a few moments he returned and said to Lea and Taylor, "This nigger has insulted me again; I want you to come and see fair-play." Noel, Lea, and Taylor left the opera-house and went up street where Lawson was. It appears from the evidence that they were all three armed with Smith & Wesson's revolvers.

Taylor swears that Lawson had insulted him a short time before. Noel then asked Lawson what he meant by speaking to him as he did—insulting him. Lawson denied having done so. Thereupon Noel struck Lawson and seized him by the collar. All admit that Noel being taller and having longer arms, held Lawson so he could not reach Noel. How many times he struck Lawson, Noel is unable to tell. He was beaten so that after they were separated he was picked up on the street. A witness states: "He looked like he was nearly dead; his face all bruised; he couldn't see." Lea admits he was afraid Noel would kill Lawson. While Noel was thus beating Lawson, Lea stood on one side and Taylor on the other with their revolvers drawn, warning the colored men to stand back or they would kill every one of them. At the same time a white Democrat was standing near, in the office

door, with a double-barrelled shot-gun. A colored policeman by the name of Adams made his way up to where this was going on and said, "Peace here, gentlemen; this won't do; this won't do." One of the white men replied, "Go away; you ain't going to rule this town; you niggers can't rule this town." The policeman replied, "Well, I can't help it; you must stop it;" and he seized the men and tried to pull them apart.

While he was doing this a colored man by the name of George Adams came up and said, "Are you all going to stand and let that man kill that man?" Just at that time another policeman, by the name of Freeman, a white man and a Democrat, came up and said, "Come up, men, and let us part these men." Adams started up and seized Lea's arm and tried to wrest his revolver from him. In the struggle they fell, and Taylor struck Adams over the head with his cane. Thereupon Adams sprang to his feet and ran. When about 30 feet off, Lea took deliberate aim and fired. He did not hit Adams, but Jerry Smith fell at his side. He was the first man killed, and was probably shot by Lea. Lea when asked if he fired refused to answer, as did most of the white men who were armed, acting, as they stated, under the advice of Senator Vance. Indeed, the Senator openly said in committee that the witnesses ought not to be interrogated on that subject, as they were privileged from answering. The evidence that Lea fired and took aim at Adams as he fired is conclusive. The colored men demanded to know who the man was who fired that pistol. Some one said it was Lea. Another pointed out Taylor and said he was the man. The colored policemen about this time left the crowd from fear of their safety. The colored men continued the demand to know who it was that fired, and one again pointed out Taylor as the man. Taylor thereupon stepped out and said, "I have not fired my pistol; I have mine here, and if you want the contents you can have it." About that time the negroes demanded the arrest of the person who fired the pistol, and during the colloquy the order to fire was given. That order was given by Lea up in front of Woolfolk & Blair's office, and farther down Main Street by one Hatcher, and there was a simultaneous firing from the whites all along the line from said office down towards Market Street. The number of shots is variously estimated at from seventy-five to two hundred and fifty. It is described as sounding like the firing of fire-crackers thrown in a barrel. Judge Blackwell, who was looking on the scene, testified—

"The discharge was a volley that was delivered as if it had been by disciplined soldiers. I never on a battle-field heard a volley delivered as well together as that was. After that it was continuous firing, as if soldiers were firing at will."

When Lea fired his pistol the colored people began to flee. Others, hearing the noise and the policeman's whistle, continued to gather from all directions—men, women, and children—and the whites came from the opera-house and court-house. There were no white women on the street that day. The moment the general firing began the colored men, in the language of one of the witnesses, "ran like rabbits." They ran up and down Main Street and into Union and Market streets, and through the stores and offices to make their escape. They were pursued by the whites, firing at them as they ran. Two colored men were shot dead as they were entering Union Street.

Captain Graves, as the negroes fled, ran down to the corner of Market and Main streets, and there shot an unoffending colored man in the arm. He was a teamster who came out of Nicholas & Hessberg's door on Market Street to look for his team. When he was ordered to leave by Captain Graves he threw up his hands and said, "My God, captain, don't shoot me; I just ran out to catch my horses." The captain fired at him as he was backing into the door with his hands upraised, and hit him in the arm above the wrist, breaking the smaller bone. Captain Graves also ordered Adams's brother, the policeman, to leave, and shot at him as he was running. The evidence is entirely conclusive on this point, although Captain Graves denies it. He does not, however, deny firing, but admitted he shot four times.

Robert I. Adams, one of the policemen, who had

left from fear after Lea fired at George Adams, was at the time in Market Street.

Captain Oliver, of the Union Grays, a white military company, was on trial at the court-house for having concealed weapons the night before, when Sims was speaking. As he came up to this policeman he said to him, "Damn it, get off the street." The policeman said, "I am trying to keep the peace the best I can." Captain Oliver replied, "We don't want none of your damned peace; get out of the way." Hatcher, another white man, came up and said, "Damn it, make these niggers get off the street." Freeman, a white policeman and a Democrat, said, "The colored people ain't doing anything; if you all don't bother them they won't bother you." To this the Democrat replied, "Damn it, we are going to kill them and all their backers." George Adams, at whom Lea shot, came to this policeman and demanded to know who the man was that shot at him. Lea stepped out and said, "Yes, damn you, I'm the man," and the firing commenced.

The evidence shows that one of the whites, who appeared to be in the office of Woolfolk & Blair, said, "Go ahead when you get ready." It also shows that Mr. Freeman told one Hatcher, a white leader, not to have any fuss. Hatcher replied, "Don't come after us now; make them damned niggers leave." Freeman said, "They ain't doing anything now; you must all get off the street." Hatcher started out and told the men "to stand with him and we will kill the last one of them." Hatcher admits he was one of those who gave the order to fire, and it is abundantly proved by others. One witness states Hatcher raised his pistol and fired, and said, "Boys, now is the time." They all fired, and it looked like it was hail falling up against the bricks.

When Lea fired at Adams, another witness testified he heard Hatcher say, "We'll give them hell to-day." Although Hatcher denies that he had a pistol, he was not called to deny he made these declarations.

Innocence of the negroes—The massacre pre-arranged by Democrats.

There was no evidence that the negroes fired a shot until after the whites fired the general volley at them, and the weight of the evidence is that very few had any weapons, but that they were unarmed and defenceless, gathered there in their working clothes as they had come out of the factories, of all ages and both sexes, and unquestionably gathered from curiosity and not with any view or purpose of violence or preparation for it. The whites, on the contrary, were generally armed, were expecting an outbreak, and obviously seeking a pretext for resorting to violence, as will be seen later in this report. Many of the whites emptied their revolvers, and the evidence shows that Captain Graves was seen reloading his. There was conflicting evidence as to the negroes having arms. Only one is shown to have exhibited any before the firing, and the colored witnesses and many of the whites, including some of the policemen, say they saw no arms in the hands of the colored men except the one named, and there is no reliable evidence he fired it. There was no evidence to be relied on that any of the colored men fired, except some witnesses state that they fired shots as they were running, fired over their shoulders. Most of the witnesses state they did not even see that. Judge Blackwell and Mr. Dugger, who were looking directly on from an upper window, say they saw no such shooting.

* * * * *

[Here follows a mass of evidence proving predestination to perpetrate the massacre, but that according to the witnesses "It came three days too soon."]

The foregoing is the substance of what was proven, going to show the preparations which were made for the massacre which took place at Danville on the 3d of November, and the expectation throughout nearly the whole State that such a conflict was contemplated. We submit, it is shown very conclusively that the Democrats had planned a resort to

such violence in order to raise the race issue and lay the foundation for an appeal to white men to throw off their allegiance to the Coalition Party and to stand with the whites in the contest then pending, while at the same time alarming the blacks in order to deter them from voting. It will be seen that in nearly every instance the names of persons were given by the witnesses, so that ample opportunity was afforded to disprove the facts stated. No attempt was made to do so, and the proof on the subject should be regarded as entirely reliable and not open to criticism.

How the Democrats made use of the occurrences at Danville.

In almost every part of the State exaggerated reports of the massacre were circulated by telegrams and printed circulars. A witness testified that on Monday before the election he heard a Democrat by the name of McKinney, in Pulaski County, over a hundred miles from Danville, declare that the white men were wading in blood in the city of Danville to assert their rights. At a jollification meeting in Waynesboro', where the Ruffin circular was published, Mr. Ogle, a Democratic member-elect to the legislature, in the course of his speech said, "He thanked God from the bottom of his heart for the Danville riot; that it was God's blessing in disguise." The news of the massacre reached Lynchburg the same afternoon that it occurred. The Democrats were exultant, and received the news in a spirit of rejoicing. They said, "That secured the State to the Democrats." The reports were exaggerated that from five to eight persons and one white man were killed. The telegrams were posted on the bulletins. . . . In Culpepper County, 175 miles from Danville, circulars were distributed saying that a good many white people were killed at Danville.

In another locality it was shown there was a report that from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons were killed at Danville. The Hon. John S. Wise, in his testimony, states that the appeals like the one sent by Mr. Robertson to Perkins, and before referred to, were printed and sent all over the State in the southwest where the coalition strength, amongst the whites, was the greatest. They were distributed by riders and Democratic clubs. He produced a copy, which is as follows:

"DANVILLE, November 5, 1883.

"For God's sake help us with your votes to-morrow. We are standing in our doors, shot-gun in hand, trying to protect our families."

"See these precious morsels from the 'high morality dish' (Lynchburg *News* supplement), cooked by the Democratic State Committee of Virginia, on Sunday, the 4th, and served to the people of Southwestern Virginia on Monday, the 5th day of November, 1883:

"Riot in Danville.

"Mahoneism has worked out its legitimate result in Danville. Riot and bloodshed have come to pass. Inflamed and crazed by the diabolical speeches which have been addressed to them by the Mahone nihilists, the negroes have precipitated the *bloody issue*. . . . But how can those be fittingly characterized who have brought about this hellish business? . . . The horrors of the inquisition would be too good for them. . . . Let the incendiary devils be crushed beyond the hope of resurrection. . . . People of the valley and the southwest, the east calls upon you to come to its rescue; to help beat back the black wave which threatens to roll over it. . . . Arouse ye, and to the polls!"

The anarchy ensuing in Danville after the massacre.

What, then, it is pertinent to inquire, was the condition of affairs in the city of Danville after the massacre and at the time these telegrams and reports were sent out? The Democrats came from the opera-house shouting and hallooing as they ran. They kept it up on their way up Main Street until they reached the Arlington Hotel. They yelled in

exultation, "Hurrah for us Democrats." The signal bell for the people to fly to arms was sounded. The ringleaders in the massacre were placed on guard to patrol the city, as the mayor states, without his authority and without being sworn. Every white Democrat, and even boys, were armed, some with guns, others with pistols, and still others with bowie-knives. The white mob ruled the town.

When Colonel Sims returned late Saturday night the house at which he stopped was surrounded by one hundred and fifty or two hundred armed men. The negroes fled in terror from the city and to their houses. None of them were on the streets. Lawson went to Boston and Lewellyn to New York or Brooklyn, and have since remained away from Danville. The authority of the mayor was defied. He says he was warned several days before the massacre by Democrats, who were friendly to him, to keep off the streets. He testified that when his little girl notified him they were firing he went down to the scene, and white Democrats were running up and down the street with guns, pistols, and bowie-knives. He was obliged to order the Douglass Guards, a colored company, not to come out. He sent the chief of police, Mr. Hall, to order out the white company, and when he returned Colonel Cabell said to him, "Young man, make yourself small; I have just kept a crowd from mobbing you." The mayor testified that after he was advised to keep off the streets, from what he heard and what came to him officially, he feared there would be trouble on the day of the election, and had selected fifty extra policemen and notified them to come on Monday. He had also notified the captains of both military companies that he feared trouble. The violence came before he expected it. He states that there were from two hundred and fifty to three hundred armed. They circulated all over the town and in the highways leading to the town Saturday night, and he thinks there were five hundred in arms on Sunday. Most of them had new arms. He says he did not see a colored man armed between the massacre and the election, and if one had appeared on the street he would have been riddled with bullets. He stated that when something was said about calling out the colored troops a man said: "If that damned company comes out we will kill the last one of them." He says appeals were frequently made to him by citizens to get the armed men off the streets, but he was powerless. His authority was defied. When he and Judge Blackwell were walking over the town to learn more about the situation, they were arrested by a squad of armed white men. He telegraphed to Governor Cameron for troops, as he had no force to suppress the prevailing violence. The telegrams he sent were as follows:

"DANVILLE, VA., Nov. 8, 1883.

"To Governor W. E. CAMERON:

"Your telegram received. A riot occurred here this afternoon; three negroes killed, two white men and four negroes wounded; the military are on duty, and quiet for the present prevails. I, however, fear another outbreak before the election is over, and hope that you will send me a company of troops as speedily as possible. Our people are so excited that I do not think that they can be safely depended on to preserve order and keep down the riot.

"J. H. JOHNSTON."

[Another telegram of same date to the Governor from the Mayor says: "The election on Tuesday will be a mere farce unless the electors be assured of protection at the polls by foreign troops."]

"Order reigns in Warsaw"—Exaggerated reports and their effect.

This condition of things continued through Sunday night, and it was not until Monday, the 8th of November, that order was so far restored as to enable him to issue his proclamation placing the city under a guard of chiefs and special constables in each ward. . . .

The evidence shows that armed men from Danville went to the polling-places in surrounding precincts in considerable numbers. Forty or fifty are shown to have visited one precinct; most of them were armed.

When the negroes were urged to vote they said: "We are afraid to undertake it; if we vote our strength, no doubt they will shoot us. Just look at the crowd from Danville who don't vote here." This was said to Mr. Corbin, a prominent Democrat, and he was not called to disprove it.

Captain Graves was one who was there. The result was that out of about twelve hundred colored men registered in Danville less than thirty voted. They had registered and intended to vote, but all who were called testified that they were afraid to do so.

* * * * *

The evidence, which is uncontradicted, shows that the counties where the white Coalitionists were the strongest are in the southwest and valley of Virginia. A great change in this vote was caused by these appeals to race prejudice and reports of violence on the part of the negroes in Danville. One witness stated that in the county in which the city of Lynchburg is situated there was a change of 800 votes. In nearly all the counties where the whites are in a majority a change in the results was shown to have taken place.

* * * * *

Mr. Dezendorf, who was called by the defence, stated that nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand colored men, if let alone, would vote the Republican ticket.

The Democratic object in thus raising the race-issue—Conclusions of the Senate Committee.

The object of the Democrats in these efforts to raise the race-issue to alarm the blacks and to excite the whites was twofold:

First. To intimidate the colored voters in localities where they were strong, as in Danville.

Second. But chiefly to produce such a frenzy of feeling in the State as would induce the white electors to join with their own race and escape the contumely and reproach to which they would otherwise be subjected for fraternizing politically with "niggers." The efforts which were made to gloss over this terrible outrage by the committee of forty need only a moment's notice. It was done upon *ex parte* affidavits taken before a magistrate. They were wholly extra-judicial, and no one incurred responsibility for his statements. The real facts were not called out. It was a partisan effort to

screen the perpetrators of the wrong from punishment. The report of the grand jury is equally open to criticism. Three at least of its members were on the committee of forty. The published report of that committee was before them and used by them. There were only seven members, and the foreman was one of the committee of forty. One was a colored man, who was examined as a witness by the committee. He stated that a great many names of witnesses were given them, but they did not consider it necessary to examine them; that he did not think they would get at the truth, and that the published statement that the "negroes advanced upon the whites with drawn pistols" was not read to him, and he thinks it must be the mistake of the printer, as there was no such evidence before the jury.

The transgressions of the law at Copiah are clothed at least with the merit of a frank avowal on the part of those concerned of the purposes they had in view.

Not so in reference to Danville. The guilty authors and instigators of the violence resorted to there, and the murder of four unoffending colored men and the wounding of many others, seek to cover up and conceal their deliberate purposes, and to have it appear they acted only in self-defence. The evidence is entirely satisfactory—indeed, it is overwhelming—that it was the consummation of a deliberate purpose for which they had fully prepared. Hence the effort to magnify and distort the character of the collision, and to make it appear not only that the blacks were the offenders, but also that the whites were "standing in their doors with guns in hand to protect their families" against the violence of a negro mob, when, in truth, the white Democrats were the mob in possession of the town, and no negro dared to make his appearance on the streets. The occurrence was one which caused rejoicing instead of regret, as we have shown.

No one has been arrested, indicted, tried, or punished for the crimes committed on the 3d of November.

* * * * *

There should be found some remedy for such a state of affairs as this investigation discloses. The Constitution of the United States provides that when the right to vote is denied or in any way abridged in any State the basis of representation shall be reduced accordingly.

While these resorts to terrorism and violence are kept up from year to year, and the party in the ascendency instead of providing laws to prevent their recurrence or punishing the offenders, enacts measures designed to throw obstacles in the way of a free ballot and enjoys the benefits, politically, which are the necessary consequences, the States where it occurs should be held responsible for the results.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Liquor-Traffic Question.

"If there be any question that belongs solely to the police power of the State, it is the control of the liquor traffic, and wise men will not neglect National issues in the year of a National contest. Judicious friends of a protective tariff, which is the practical issue of the campaign, will not direct their votes to the question of prohibition, which is not a practical issue in the National campaign."—James G. Blaine, Augusta, Me., Aug. 8, 1884.

PART I.

The Senate Commission Bill of the Forty-Fourth Congress—The Republicans Want Light—The Democrats Opposed even to an Inquiry.

When the Republican Party makes up its mind to act on any question it acts with de-

cision, promptitude, and effect. Before doing so, however, it studies all sides of the question and makes sure that it is "right" before it "goes ahead." It was so in the Chinese Question. The facts had first to be authoritatively ascertained. Then swiftly followed the required legislation. So also with other questions—among them the Alcoholic Liquor Question, which has for many years

been more or less agitated. Before acting upon it that party desired light from an authoritative and impartial source, but the Democratic Party wanted none. Accordingly in the Forty-fourth Congress we find the Republican Senate passed a bill providing for an impartial commission to investigate the subject in all its bearings and report the result to Congress through the President.

**Text of the first alcoholic liquor-traffic bill—
Forty-fourth Congress.**

On the 25th January, 1876, the aforesaid bill (Senate 124) was passed by the Republican Senate in the following words, to wit:

Be it enacted, etc., That for the purpose of obtaining information which may serve as a guide to the system of legislation best fitted for the District of Columbia, the several Territories of the United States, and other places subject to the legislation of Congress in reference to the question of revenue from the manufacture and sale of alcoholic and fermented liquors, and the effect of the use of such liquors upon the morals and welfare of the people of such District, Territories, and places, there shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a commission of five persons, neither of whom shall be the holder of any office of profit or trust in the General or a State Government, and all of whom shall not be advocates of prohibitory legislation or total abstinence in relation to alcoholic or fermented liquors. The said commissioners shall be selected solely with reference to personal fitness and capacity for an honest, impartial, and thorough investigation, and shall hold office until their duties shall be accomplished, but not to exceed one year. It shall be their duty to investigate the alcoholic and fermented liquor traffic and manufacture, having special reference to revenue and taxation, distinguishing as far as possible, in the conclusions they arrive at, between the effects produced by the use of distilled or spirituous liquors, and the use of fermented or malt liquors, in their economic, criminal, moral, and scientific aspects, in connection with pauperism, crime, social vice, the public health, and general welfare of the people; and also inquire and take testimony as to the practical results of license and restrictive legislation for the prevention of intemperance in the several States, and the effect produced by such legislation upon the consumption of distilled or spirituous liquors and fermented or malt liquors; also to ascertain whether the evils of drunkenness have been increased or decreased, and whether the public morals have been improved thereby. It shall also be the duty of said commissioners to gather information and take testimony as to whether the evil of drunkenness exists to the same extent, or more so, in other civilized countries, and whether those foreign nations that are considered the most temperate in the use of stimulants are so through prohibitory laws; and also to what degree prohibitory legislation has affected the consumption and manufacture of malt and spirituous liquors in this country.

Sec. 2. That the said commissioners shall serve without salary, shall be authorized to employ a secretary at a reasonable compensation, not to exceed \$2,000 per annum, which, with the necessary expenses incidental to said investigation, in all not exceeding \$10,000, of both the secretary and commissioners, shall be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, upon vouchers to be approved by the Fifth Auditor of the Treasury. It shall be the further duty of said commissioners to report the result of their investigation and the expenses attending the same to the President, to be by him transmitted to Congress."

The vote on its passage—Analysis.

The vote in passing the above bill in the Republican Senate on the mentioned date, was 37 yeas to 20 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Booth, Boutwell, Bruce, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Cameron of Wisconsin, Christianity, Clayton, Conkling, Conover, Cragin, Dawes, Dorsey, Ferry, Frelinghuysen, Hamilton, Hamlin, Harvey, Howe, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, Logan, McMillan, Mitchell, Morrill of Maine, Morrill of Vermont, Morton, Oglesby, Paddock, Patterson, Sargent, Sherman, Spencer, West, Windom, Withers, Wright—37.

NAYS—Messrs. Bayard, Bogy, Caperton, Cooper, Davis, Dennis, Eaton, English, Goldthwaite, Gordon, Johnston, Jones of Florida, Key, McCreary, McDonald, Mazey, Norwood, Ransom, Stevenson, Wallace—20.

Thus it will be seen that only one Democrat voted for the bill while the 20 votes against it were all Democratic votes. On the other hand 36 Republicans voted for the bill and not one against it.

When the bill went to the Democratic House no action whatever was taken on it.

PART II.

**The Senate Liquor-Commission Bill
of the 46th Congress—The Republicans Favor it—The Democrats Oppose it—Motion to Create a House Committee and Votes on Same.**

Again on March 11, 1879, another Alcoholic Liquor-Traffic Investigating Commission bill was passed by the Republican Senate, in these words:

"There shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a commission of five persons, who shall be selected with reference to personal fitness and capacity for an honest, impartial, and thorough investigation, some one of whom shall be a person engaged in said traffic, and who shall hold office until their duties shall be accomplished, but not to exceed two years. It shall be their duty to investigate the alcoholic liquor traffic, primarily in its relations to revenue and also as to taxation, and its general economic and scientific aspects in connection with the public health and general welfare of the people.

"SEC. 2. That the said commissioners, not all of whom shall be advocates of prohibitory legislation or of total abstinence in relation to alcoholic liquors, shall serve without salary; that the necessary expenses incidental to said investigation, not exceeding \$10,000, shall be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, upon vouchers to be approved by the Secretary of the Treasury; and for this purpose the sum of \$10,000 is hereby appropriated. It shall be the further duty of said commissioners to report the result of their investigation, and the expenses attending the same, to the President, to be transmitted by him to Congress."

The vote upon its passage—Analysis.

The above bill was passed by 29 yeas to 19 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Blaine, Burnside, Cameron of Wisconsin, Christianity, Conkling, Davis of Illinois, Dawes, Dorsey, Ferry, Hamlin, Ingalls, Jones of Nevada, Kernan, Kirkwood, McMillan, Matthews, Mitchell, Morrill, Paddock, Patterson, Plumb, Rollins, Sargent, Saunders, Spencer, Teller, Windom—29.

NAYS—Messrs. Bayard, Bogy, Beck, Coke, Davis of West Virginia, Eaton, Eustis, Garland, Gordon, Grover, Hereford, Johnston, Jones of Florida, McCreary, McDonald, Mazey, Merrimon, Voorhees, Withers—19.

Of those voting only one Democrat voted in favor of the bill, and the 19 votes against it were all cast by Democrats, while 28 Republicans voted for it and not one against it.

The Democratic House as usual took no action upon this bill.

Motion for a House committee—Votes and analysis.

On May 16, 1879, Mr. Frye (Republican) from the Committee on Rules reported the following resolution:

"Resolved, That a committee of nine members be appointed by the Speaker, to whom shall be referred all petitions, memorials, bills, and resolutions touching the 'alcoholic traffic,' a commission on the same, any amendments to the Constitution limiting or controlling the importation, manufacture, or sale of the same, whose duty it shall be to consider and report thereupon."

Thereupon Mr. Fernando Wood (Democrat) moved to table the resolution; but his motion to table was defeated by 99 yeas to 128 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Acklen, Aiken, Armfield, Atkins, Beale, Bicknell, Blackburn, Blount, Bouck, Bright, Buckner, Cabell, Caldwell, Chalmers, Clardy, J. B. Clark, Clymer, Cobb, Converse, Cook, S. S. Cox, Cravens, Culberson, Davidson, J. J. Davis, Deuster, Dibrell, Einstein, Elam, Erins, Felton, Field, F. B. Finley, Forney, Goode, Gunter, J. T. Harris, Heilman, Henry, Herbert, Hooker, Hostetter, House, Hunton, Hurd, G. W. Jones, Kenna, Kimmel, King, Knott, Le Fevre, Lewis, Lounsbury, Manning, B. F. Martin, McKenzie, McLane, McMahon, McMillin, Mills, Money, Morrison, Morse, Muller, New, Nicholls, O'Connor, Parsons, Poehler, Reagan, J. S. Richardson, E. W. Robertson, Ross, J. W. Ryon, Sanford, Sawyer, Seales, J. W. Singleton, O. R. Singleton, Slemmons, H. B. Smith, W. E. Smith, Sparks, Springer, W. L. Steele, Talbott, P. B. Thompson, Tillman, O. Turner, T. Turner, Wellborn, Whiteaker, Whithorne, T. Williams, Willis, Wilson, Wise, F. Wood, C. Young—99.

NAYS—Messrs. N. W. Aldrich, W. Aldrich, Anderson, Atherton, Bailey, Barber, Bayne, Belford, Belzhoover, Bingham, Bowman, Boyd, M. S. Brewer, Briggs, Browne, J. C. Burrows, Calkins, Camp, Cannon, Carpenter, Caswell, Chittenden, Clafin, Coffroth, Conger, Covert, Cowgill, Crowley, Daggett, G. R. Davis, L. H. Davis, Dr. LA MATYR, Deering, Dick, Dickey, Dunn, Dunnell, Dwight, Erett, Farr, Ferdon, Fisher, Ford, Fort, Frye, Garfield, Geddes, GILLETTE, Godshalk, Hall, J. Hammond, Harmer, Haskell, Hatch, Hawk, Hawley, Hayes, G. O. Hazelton, Henderson, Hiscock, Horr, Houk, Hubbell, Humphrey, Joyce, Kelley, Kitchin, Ladd, Lapham, Lindsey, Lowe, Marsh, J. J. Martin, Mason, McCoid, McGowan, McKinley, Miles, Mitchell, Monroe, Morton, Muldrone, MURCH, Myers, Neal, Newberry, Norcross, O'Neill, Orth, Osmer, Overton, Phelps, Phister, Pound, Price, Reed, W. W. Rice, G. M. Robeson, G. D. Robinson, T. Ryan, Sapp, Shallenberger, Sherwin, A. H. Smith, Stevenson, J. W. Stone, R. L. Taylor, Thomas, A. Townsend, Tyler, J. T. Updegraff, T. Updegraff, Urner, Valentine, Van Aernam, Vance, Waddill, Wait, Ward, A. J. Warner, Washburn, Weaver, H. White, Wilber, C. G. Williams, Willets, Wright, Yocom—128.

Of those voting, only 3 Republicans voted to kill the resolution, while 103 voted to sustain it. On the other hand, while 18 Democrats voted to sustain it, 95 Democrats voted to kill it.

Subsequently, however, by unanimous consent, Mr. Frye modified the resolution so as to read thus:

"Resolved, That a committee of nine members be appointed by the Speaker, to whom shall be referred all memorials, bills, and resolutions touching the alcoholic traffic, and a commission on the same, whose duty it shall be to consider and report thereupon."

In which shape it was agreed to, without a division. But nothing further came of it.

PART III.

House Liquor-Commission Bill of the 47th Congress—Votes and Analysis—The Democrats Defeat it.

On February 6, 1882, in the Republican House of Representatives, Mr. Joyce moved to suspend the rules and discharge the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union from the further consideration of House bill (H. R. 1720) providing for the appointment of a commission on the subject of the alcoholic liquor traffic, the principal sections of which were in these words:

"Be it enacted, etc., That there shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a commission of five persons, not all of whom shall be advocates of prohibitory liquor laws, and neither of whom shall be the holder of any office of profit or trust in the general government or any State government. The said commissioners shall be selected solely with reference to personal fitness and capacity for an honest, impartial, and thorough investigation, and shall hold office until their duties shall be accomplished, but not to exceed two years. It shall be their duty to investigate the alcoholic, fermented, and vinous liquor traffic and manufacture with reference to revenue and taxation, and the effect of each class of such liquors in their economic, criminal, moral, and scientific aspects, in connection with pauperism, crime, social vice, the public health, and general welfare of the people; and also to inquire into the practical results of taxation and license, and of restrictive legislation for the prevention of intemperance in the several States, Territories, and District of Columbia.

"Sec. 2. That the said commissioners shall further ascertain, as near as may be, the number of gallons of wine, beer, or distilled liquors annually consumed in different countries, more especially within the United States; the number of deaths annually from alcoholism, the number and character of crimes resulting from the use of alcoholic and malt liquors, and the diseases produced by the use thereof, mental as well as physical; the number of arrests for drunkenness; the amount of pauperism produced by the use of such liquors; the amount of revenue received by the Government from the liquor traffic and liquor making; the amount of tax or revenue received from such manufacturing and traffic by State and municipal governments; the amount of food transformed into alcohol; the probable retail cost of alcoholic and malt liquors consumed; the cost of caring for the insane, idiotic, criminals, and paupers made such by the use of alcoholic and malt liquors, the capital employed in the manufacture of such liquors, and in the traffic thereof; the quantity of such liquors imported and exported; the number of persons employed in the manufacture and sale of such liquors.

"Sec. 3. That the said commissioners shall serve without salary, but are hereby authorized to employ a secretary at a reasonable compensation, not to exceed two thousand five hundred dollars per annum, which, with the necessary expenses incidental to such investigation of the secretary and commissioners, shall be paid out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, upon vouchers signed by the President and countersigned

by the secretary, and approved by the Secretary of the Treasury; and the sum of ten thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated to pay such vouchers."

The vote upon the motion—Analysis of same.

The motion of Mr. Joyce, which if carried would have brought the bill before the House for final action, required a two-thirds affirmative vote, and was defeated by 112 yeas to 98 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Bayne, Belford, *Beltzhoover*, Bowman, Briggs, Browne, Buck, J. C. Burrows, Camp, Candler, Cannon, Carpenter, Caswell, Chace, Crapo, *Culberson*, Cullen, Dawes, Deering, De Motte, Dingley, Dunnett, S. S. Farwell, Fisher, Ford, George, Godshalk, Grout, J. Hammond, L. S. *Hastert*, Haskell, Hawk, G. C. Hazelton, Hellman, Henderson, Hepburn, Hiscock, Horr, Hook, Hubbell, Hubbs, Humphrey, Jacobs, Judwin, J. K. Jones, P. Jones, Jorgensen, Joyce, Kelley, Lacey, Ladd, Lindsey, Lord, Marsh, McClure, McKinley, S. H. Miller, Moore, Neal, O'Neill, Orth, Pacheo, Page, Parker, Payson, Peelle, Pelrice, Pettibone, Pound, Ranney, Ray, Reed, W. W. Rice, Rich, D. P. Richardson, Ritchie, G. M. Robeson, J. S. Robinson, W. A. Russell, T. Ryan, Scranton, Schlesinger, Sherwin, Shultz, *Simonton*, Skinner, A. H. Smith, D. C. Smith, J. H. Smith, Spaulding, Spooner, G. W. Steele, Strait, E. B. Taylor, W. G. Thompson, Tyler, J. T. Updegraff, Urner, Valentine, Vance, Van Aernam, Van Voorhis, Wadsworth, Walt, Ward, Washburn, Watson, Webber, West, C. G. Williams, Willits, W. A. Wood—112.

NAYS—Messrs. *Allen*, *Arnafeld*, *Atherton*, *Atkins*, *Barbour*, *Belmont*, *Berry*, *Black*, *Blackburn*, *Blanchard*, *Bland*, *Blount*, *Bragg*, *Buchanan*, *Buckner*, *Caldwell*, *Carlisle*, *Cassidy*, *Chapman*, *Clardy*, *Clark*, J. C. *Clements*, *Cobb*, *Colerick*, *Converse*, *Cook*, *Cravens*, G. R. *Davis*, L. H. *Davis*, *Deuster*, *Dibble*, *Dibrell*, *Dowd*, *Ermentrout*, *Erins*, J. J. *Finley*, *Forney*, *Fulkenson*, *Geddes*, *Gibson*, *Guenther*, N. J. *Hammond*, *Hardenbergh*, *Hatch*, *Herbert*, *Herndon*, A. S. *Hewitt*, G. W. *Hewitt*, *Hobell*, *Hoge*, *Holman*, *Houze*, G. W. *Jones*, *Kenway*, *Klotz*, *Knott*, *Latham*, *Le Fevre*, *Maunlieg*, E. L. *Martin*, *Matson*, *McKenzie*, *McLane*, *McMillin*, *Mills*, *Money*, *Morrison*, *Muldrow*, *Oates*, *Phelps*, *Phister*, *Reagan*, J. S. *Richardson*, W. E. *Robinson*, *Rosecrans*, *Scales*, *Shelley*, J. W. *Singleton*, O. E. *Singleton*, *Sparks*, *Spear*, *Springer*, *Stockdager*, P. B. *Thompson*, Jr., *Tilman*, *Tucker*, H. G. *Turner*, O. *Turner*, *Upson*, R. *Warner*, *Wellborn*, *Wheeler*, *Whithorne*, T. *Williams*, *Willis*, *Wilson*, G. D. *Wise*, T. L. *Young*—98.

It thus appears that of those voting, only 5 Democrats favored the bill while 93 Democrats were opposed to it; and only 3 Republicans opposed it to 105 Republicans who favored it.

PART IV.

Senate Liquor-Commission Bill of 1882 —Text of Bill and Votes in Senate with Analysis of Same—Democrats of the House Refuse to Consider or even Refer the Bill to a Committee.

On January 17, 1882, in the Republican Senate, Mr. Conger offered a bill (S. 561) which was amended so as to read thus:

"That there shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a commission of seven persons, not more than four of whom shall be of the same political party, nor the

advocates of prohibition, who shall be selected solely with reference to personal fitness and capacity for an honest, impartial, and thorough investigation, and who shall hold office until their duties shall be accomplished, but not to exceed two years. It shall be their duty to investigate the alcoholic liquor traffic, its relation to revenue and taxation, and its general economic, criminal, moral, and scientific aspects in connection with pauperism, crime, social vice, the public health, and general welfare of the people; and also to inquire and take testimony as to the practical results of license and prohibitory legislation for the prevention of intemperance in the several States of the Union.

"Sec. 2. That the said commissioners shall serve without salary; that the necessary expenses incidental to said investigation, not exceeding ten thousand dollars, shall be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, upon vouchers to be approved by the Secretary of the Treasury, and for this purpose the sum of ten thousand dollars is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated. It shall be the further duty of said commissioners to report the result of their investigation, with such suggestions and recommendations as they may see fit to make, and the expenses attending the same, to the President within eighteen months after the passage of this act, to be transmitted by him to Congress."

Democratic attempt to strangle the bill— Vote and analysis.

On March 8, 1882, Mr. Bayard moved to refer it to the Committee on Finance—which would be equivalent to killing the bill—but his motion was disagreed to by 19 yeas to 26 nays—as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. *Bayard*, *Beck*, *Brown*, *Call*, *Cameron* of Wisconsin, *Coke*, *Fair*, *Farley*, *Hampton*, *Harris*, *Jackson*, *Jonas*, *McPherson*, *Mazey*, *Morgan*, *Pugh*, *Slater*, *Vance*, *Walker*—19.

NAYS—Messrs. *Altrich*, *Allison*, *Blair*, *Conger*, *DAVIS* of Illinois, *Dawes*, *Frye*, *George*, *Hale*, *Harrison*, *Hawley*, *Hill* of Colorado, *Hoar*, *Ingalls*, *Kellogg*, *McDill*, *McMillan*, *MAHONE*, *MILLER* of California, *MILLER* of New York, *Mitchell*, *Morrill*, *Platt*, *Saunders*, *Sewell*, *Sherman*—26.

This showed 24 Republicans in favor of the bill to one Republican against it; and one Democrat in favor of the bill to 18 Democrats against it.

Another hostile Democratic effort—Vote on Bayard's motion, and analysis.

On the 10th of March Mr. Bayard moved to add to Section 1 the following words:

"And shall also inquire and report upon the extent of the use of opium and other substitutes for alcoholic stimulants, and whether prohibition of the use of alcoholic beverages has been accompanied by an increased consumption of opium and other intoxicating drugs."

The hostile intention of Mr. Bayard's motion is obvious. It was defeated by 24 yeas to 25 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. *Bayard*, *Beck*, *Brown*, *Call*, *Cameron* of Wisconsin, *Cockrell*, *Coke*, *DAVIS* of Illinois, *Garland*, *George*, *Gorman*, *Hampton*, *Harris*, *Jonas*, *Jones* of Florida, *McPherson*, *Morgan*, *Pugh*, *Ransom*, *Slater*, *Vance*, *West*, *Voorhees*, *Walker*—24.

NAYS—Messrs. *Altrich*, *Allison*, *Blair*, *Conger*, *Dawes*, *Edmunds*, *Frye*, *Hale*, *Harrison*, *Hawley*, *Hill* of Colorado, *Hoar*, *Kellogg*, *Lapham*, *McDill*, *McMillan*, *MAHONE*, *Mitchell*, *Morrill*, *Platt*, *Rollins*, *Saunders*, *Sawyer*, *Sherman*, *Teller*—25.

Only one Republican voted for the hostile motion, to 25 Republicans who voted against

it, while 22 Democrats voted for it and not one against it.

Vote on the passage of the bill, and analysis.

The bill was then passed by 34 yeas to 14 nays, as follows:

YEAS.—Messrs. Aldrich, Allison, Blair, *Coke*, Con-
ger, *Davis* of Illinois, Dawes, Edmunds, Ferry,
Frye, *Garland*, *George*, *Groome*, Hale, Harrison,
Hawley, *Hill* of Colorado, Hoar, Lapham, McDill,
McMillan, *MAHONE*, *Mazyey*, Miller of California,
Mitchell, *Morrill*, *Platt*, *Plumb*, *Rollins*, *Sawyer*,
Sewell, *Sherman*, *Teller*, *Walker*—34.

NAYS—Messrs. *Bayard*, *Beck*, *Hampton*, *Harris*,
Jonas, *Jones* of Florida, *Morgan*, *Pendleton*, *Pugh*,
Ransom, *Slater*, *Vance*, *Van Wyck*, *Vest*—14.

Thus only 6 Democrats voted for the passage of the bill to 13 Democrats who voted against it, while only 1 Republican voted against it to 27 Republicans who voted for it.

Opposition in the House—Democrats defeat consideration of the bill.

After this Senate bill reached the House, frequent attempts were made to take it from the Speaker's table for action, or even for reference to the proper House committee, but unanimous consent was required for such a motion, and there was always some Democrat ready, whenever such motion was made, to interpose the fatal objection. Hence nothing further was done with the bill.

PART V.

Appointment in 1883 of a House Committee on the Alcoholic Liquor Traffic—The Vote, and Analysis thereof.

On the 19th December 1883, during the consideration of a resolution reported by the Committee on Rules, touching the crea-

tion of various select committees, Mr. Reed (Republican) moved to add to the number of committees "A Committee on the Alcoholic Liquor Traffic," and the motion was agreed to by 142 yeas to 86 nays, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. *G. E. Adams*, *Alexander*, *Anderson*, *Atkinson*, *Bagley*, *Barksdale*, *Boutelle*, *J. H. Brewer*, *W. W. Brown*, *Budd*, *Calkins*, *J. M. Campbell*, *Cannon*, *Cassidy*, *Chace*, *Clay*, *Crisp*, *D. B. Culberson*, *W. W. Culberson*, *Cullen*, *Curtin*, *Cutcheon*, *G. R. Davis*, *Dibrell*, *Dingley*, *Dunham*, *Elbridge*, *Elliot*, *I. N. Evans*, *Everhart*, *Ferrell*, *Finlay*, *George*, *E. Gibson*, *Glascott*, *Goff*, *Greenleaf*, *Halsell*, *Hart*, *W. H. Hatch*, *Haynes*, *D. B. Henderson*, *Henley*, *Hepburn*, *Hiscock*, *Hitt*, *Holmes*, *Hopkins*, *Horr*, *Houk*, *Howey*, *C. Hunt*, *James*, *Jeffords*, *J. K. Jones*, *Kean*, *Keifer*, *Kelley*, *Ketcham*, *Lacey*, *Lanham*, *Lawrence*, *Libbey*, *Long*, *Lore*, *LYMAN*, *Mackay*, *McCoid*, *McComas*, *McCormick*, *McKinley*, *McMillin*, *J. F. Miller*, *Millikin*, *Morey*, *Morgan*, *Morrill*, *Nelson*, *Nutting*, *O'Hara*, *C. O'Neil*, *Parker*, *Payson*, *R. A. Pierce*, *S. W. Peel*, *Perkins*, *Peters*, *Pettibone*, *W. W. Phelps*, *Price*, *Pusey*, *Randall*, *Ranney*, *G. W. Ray*, *O. Ray*, *Reed*, *T. A. Robertson*, *J. S. Robison*, *J. H. Rogers*, *W. F. Rogers*, *Rowell*, *Seney*, *Seymour*, *O. R. Singleton*, *C. R. Skinner*, *A. H. Smith*, *Snyder*, *Spriggs*, *Steele*, *Stephenson*, *Stevens*, *Stone*, *Storm*, *Strat*, *Struble*, *C. A. Sumner*, *Talbott*, *E. B. Taylor*, *J. D. Taylor*, *J. M. Taylor*, *Thomas*, *Throckmorton*, *Tully*, *Van Alstyne*, *Vance*, *Van Eaton*, *Wakefield*, *A. J. Warner*, *Weaver*, *Weller*, *Wempe*, *M. White*, *Wilkins*, *T. Williams*, *A. S. Willis*, *J. Wilson*, *W. L. Wilson*, *E. B. Winans*, *J. Winans*, *Wolford*, *Yaple*—142.

NAYS—Messrs. *Ballantine*, *Belmont*, *Bennett*, *Blanch*, *Blount*, *Breckinridge*, *Breitung*, *Buchanan*, *Buckner*, *Cobell*, *A. J. Caldwell*, *A. D. Candler*, *Carleton*, *Clements*, *Cobb*, *Connolly*, *Converse*, *Cogrove*, *W. R. Cox*, *Dargan*, *Deuster*, *Dorsheimer*, *Dowd*, *Eaton*, *J. H. Evans*, *Follett*, *Foran*, *Forney*, *Fyan*, *Geddes*, *Graves*, *Green*, *Guenther*, *Hancock*, *Hardeman*, *Herbert*, *W. D. Hill*, *Hoblitzell*, *Housman*, *Hurd*, *B. W. Jones*, *J. H. Jones*, *J. T. Jones*, *King*, *Kleiner*, *Laird*, *Lamb*, *Lovering*, *Lovery*, *McAdoo*, *Matson*, *Maybury*, *Mills*, *Morrison*, *Morse*, *Moulton*, *Muller*, *Murphy*, *Murray*, *Mutchler*, *Nichleton*, *Oates*, *Patton*, *Pryor*, *Rankin*, *Reagan*, *Reese*, *Rosecrans*, *Scales*, *T. G. Skinner*, *Springer*, *C. Stewart*, *Stockslager*, *D. H. Sumner*, *P. B. Thompson*, *Tillman*, *R. W. Townsend*, *Tucker*, *O. Turner*, *T. B. Ward*, *R. Warner*, *Wellsborn*, *G. D. Wise*, *Woodward*, *York*, *C. Young*—86.

Thus 81 Republicans voted for the motion to 3 Republicans who voted against it; while the exception of four votes, the negative vote of 86 was exclusively Democratic.

CHAPTER XX.

National Platforms—1884.

PART I.

Republican*—1884.

The Republicans of the United States, in Convention assembled, renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presidential

elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican Party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal, and beneficent—the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens. The Republican Party has gained

* Adopted unanimously at Chicago, June 5, 1884.

its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and the equality of all men; for a united nation assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the Government; and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished success in war and in peace has endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative, and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen. It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people; the largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people.

We, therefore, demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made not for "revenue only," but that, in raising the requisite revenues for the Government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economical system of the Democratic Party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest; the Democratic Party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican Party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep-husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we, therefore, respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duty upon foreign wool in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we

urge that an effort be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of the international standard, which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the general Government, and the Republican Party distinctly announces its purposes to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-state commerce. The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and to the railways, alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor, the enforcement of the eight-hour law, and a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is needed.

We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican Party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor, and in a desire that all men may be free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offence against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law—to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reformed legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved as far as possible for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to

obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil.

We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican Party stands pledged to suitable pensions to all who were disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican Party pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the Arrears act of 1889, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions shall begin with the date of disability or discharge and not with the date of application.

The Republican Party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which shall give the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in America, and the policy which seeks peace can trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce, and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

Resolved. That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the bona fide citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

Resolved. That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territory and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military if need be.

The people of the United States in their organized capacity constitute a Nation and not a mere confederacy of States. The National Government is supreme within the sphere of its national duty, but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved, and the Union kept inviolate.

The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and a correct return.

We denounce the fraud and violence practised by the Democratic Party in South-

ern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions, and we solemnly arraign the Democratic Party as being the guilty recipient of the fruit of such fraud and violence.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights.

PART II.

Democratic*—1884.

The Democratic Party of the Union, through its representatives in National Convention assembled, recognizes that, as the nation grows older, new issues are born of time and progress, and old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voice of the people, remain, and will ever remain, as the best and only security for the continuance of free government. The preservation of personal rights; the equality of all citizens before the law; the reserved rights of the States; and the supremacy of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution, will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government.

But it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to popular will. Otherwise abuses grow, and the government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed, for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers.

This is now the condition of the country. Hence a change is demanded. The Republican Party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence; in practice, it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican Party; yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence, and

have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt.

Therefore a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten, nor condoned. Again, in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers, who had bargained for unlawful profits, or for high office.

The Republican Party, during its legal, its stolen, and its bought tenures of power, has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity.

Its platform promises are now a list of its past failures.

It demands the restoration of our navy. It has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist.

It calls upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed. It imposed and has continued those burdens.

It professes the policy of reserving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers. It has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas.

It professes a preference for free institutions. It organized and tried to legalize a control of State elections by Federal troops.

It professes a desire to elevate labor. It has subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor.

It professes gratitude to all who were disabled or died in the war, leaving widows and orphans. It left to a Democratic House of Representatives the first effort to equalize both bounties and pensions.

It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of our tariff. It created and has continued them. Its own Tariff Commission confessed the need of more than twenty per cent reduction. Its Congress gave a reduction of less than four per cent.

It professes the protection of American manufacturers. It has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods, and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials.

It professes to protect all American industries. It has impoverished many to subsidize a few.

It professes the protection of American labor. It has depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people.

It professes the equality of all men before the law. Attempting to fix the status of colored citizens, the acts of its Congress was overruled by the decisions of its courts.

It "accepts anew the duty of leading in

the work of progress and reform." Its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays of actual censure in the prosecution. Honey-combed with corruption, out-breaking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its counsels or a veto upon bad nominations.

That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus of more than \$100,000,000, which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican Party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes which have paralyzed business, crippled industry, and deprived labor of employment and of just reward.

The Democracy pledges itself to purify the administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the nation to its creditors and pensioners.

Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the occupations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic Party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests.

But in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the custom-house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution of this plain dictate of justice.

All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can, and must, be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country.

Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government, economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got under our present system of taxation, from custom-house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury, and bearing lightest on articles of necessity.

We therefore denounce the abuses of the existing tariff, and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes and shall not exceed the needs of the Government economically administered.

The system of direct taxation known as "internal revenue" is a war tax, and so long as the law continues the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war and be made a fund to defray the expenses of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in the line of duty in the wars of the republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having been already provided, and any surplus should be paid into the Treasury.

We favor an American continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister republics of North, Central and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the Government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color or persuasion—religious or political.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count; and we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses, by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls, as the conclusive proof that a Democratic administration will preserve liberty with order.

The selection of Federal officers for the Territory should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty; we favor honest civil service reform; and the compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries; the separation of church and state, and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

While we favor all legislation that will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly, and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the rights of property as defined by law.

We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished.

We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor.

We believe that the public lands ought, as far as possible, be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican Party should be restored to the public domain; and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, would convert the General Government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States, or the citizens thereof.

In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that "the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned by the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith," we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor, or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits, training, religion, or kindred for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates be closed.

The Democratic Party insists that it is the duty of this Government to protect, with equal fidelity and vigilance, the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad, and to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization, issued by courts of competent jurisdiction, must be respected by the executive and legislative departments of our own Government, and by all foreign powers.

It is an imperative duty of this Government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof.

An American citizen is only responsible to his own Government for any act done in his own country, or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her own laws; and no power exists in this Government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act.

This country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy save under Democratic administration; that policy has ever been, in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do no act detrimental to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that as the re-

sult of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California, and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone; and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican Administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide-water.

Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy our merchant marine was fast overtaking and on the point of outstripping that of Great Britain.

Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy our commerce has been left to British bottoms, and almost has the American flag been swept off the high seas.

Instead of the Republican Party's British policy, we demand for the people of the United States an American policy.

Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors, flying the stars and stripes in every port, successfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry.

Under a quarter of a century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantages over all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climates and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all these United States; despite their population by the foremost races of men, and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty and adventurous of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in old-world monarchies—their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies; despite their twenty years of peace—that Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world.

Instead of the Republican Party's British policy, we demand, in behalf of the American Democracy, an American policy.

Instead of the Republican Party's discredited scheme and false pretence of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand, in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reducing taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principle of republics (acquiescence in the will of the majority) that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts, for the reason that the achievement of reform in the Administration of the Federal Government is

an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength.

Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow-countrymen is united in the wish that that wrong were righted in his person, for the Democracy of the United States we offer to him in his withdrawal from public cares not only our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also that best homage of free-men, the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of this Republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

With this statement of the hopes, principles and purposes of the Democratic Party, the great issue of reform and change in Administration is submitted to the people in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men, and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.

PART III.

"Greenback National" *—1884.

Eight years ago our young party met in this city for the first time, and proclaimed to the world its immortal principles, and placed before the American people as a Presidential candidate that great philanthropist and spotless statesman, Peter Cooper. Since that convention our party has organized all over the Union, and through discussion and agitation has been educating the people to a sense of their rights and duties to themselves and their country. These labors have accomplished wonders. We now have a great, harmonious party, and thousands who believe in our principles in the ranks of other parties.

"We point with pride to our history." We forced the remonetization of the silver dollar; prevented the refunding of the public debt into long-time bonds; secured the payment of the bonds, until the "best banking system the world ever saw" for robbing the producer now totters because of its contracting foundation; we have stopped the squandering of our public domain upon corporations; we have stopped the wholesale destruction of the greenback currency, and secured a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States establishing forever the right of the people to issue their own money.

Notwithstanding all this, never in our history have the banks, land-grant railroads, and other monopolies, been more insolent in their demands for further privileges—still

more class legislation. In this emergency the dominant parties are arrayed against the people, and are the abject tools of the corporate monopolies.

In the last Congress they repealed over \$12,000,000 of annual taxes for the banks, throwing the burden upon the people to pay or pay interest thereon.

Both old parties in the present Congress vie with each other in their efforts to further repeal taxes in order to stop the payment of the public debt, and save the banks whose charters they have renewed for twenty years. Notwithstanding the distress of business, the shrinkage of wages and panic, they persist in locking up, on various pretexts, \$400,000,000 of money, every dollar of which the people pay interest upon, and need, and most of which should be promptly applied to pay bonds now payable.

The old parties are united—as they cannot agree what taxes to repeal—in efforts to squander the income of the Government upon every pretext rather than pay the debt.

A bill has already passed the United States Senate making the banks a present of over \$50,000,000 more of the people's money in order to enable them to levy a still greater burden of interest-taxes.

A joint effort is being made by the old party leaders to overthrow the sovereign constitutional power of the people to control their own financial affairs and issue their own money, in order to forever enslave the masses to bankers and other business. The House of Representatives has passed bills reclaiming nearly 100,000,000 acres of lands granted to, and forfeited by railroad companies. These bills have gone to the Senate, a body composed largely of aristocratic millionaires who, according to their own party papers, generally purchase their elections in order to protect great monopolies which they represent. This body has thus far defied the people and the House, and refuses to act upon these bills in the interest of the people.

Therefore we, the National Party of the United States, in national convention assembled, this 29th day of May, A. D. 1884, declare:

1. That we hold the late decision of the Supreme Court on the legal-tender question to be a full vindication of the theory which our party has always advocated on the right and authority of Congress over the issue of legal-tender notes, and we hereby pledge ourselves to uphold said decision, and to defend the Constitution against alterations or amendments intended to deprive the people of any rights or privileges conferred by that instrument. We demand the issue of such money in sufficient quantities to supply the actual demand of trade and commerce, in accordance with the increase of population and the development of our industries. We demand the substitution of

greenbacks for national bank notes and the prompt payment of the public debt. We want that money which saved our country in time of war, and which has given it prosperity and happiness in peace. We condemn the retirement of the fractional currency and the small denomination of greenbacks, and demand their restoration. We demand the issue of the hoards of money now locked up in the United States Treasury, by applying them to the payment of the public debt now due.

2. We denounce as dangerous to our Republican institutions, those methods and policies of the Democratic and Republican parties which have sanctioned or permitted the establishment of land, railroad, money and other gigantic corporate monopolies; and we demand such governmental action as may be necessary to take from such monopolies the powers they have so corruptly and unjustly usurped, and restore them to the people, to whom they belong.

3. The public lands being the natural inheritance of the people, we denounce that policy which has granted to corporations vast tracts of land, and we demand that immediate and vigorous measures be taken to reclaim from such corporations, for the people's use and benefit, all such land grants as have been forfeited by reason of nonfulfilment of contract, or that may have been wrongfully acquired by corrupt legislation, and that such reclaimed lands and other public domain be henceforth held as a sacred trust, to be granted only to actual settlers in limited quantities; and we also demand that the alien ownership of land, individual or corporate, shall be prohibited.

4. We demand congressional regulation of inter-State commerce. We denounce "pooling," stock-watering and discrimination in rates and charges, and demand that Congress shall correct these abuses, even, if necessary, by the construction of national railroads. We also demand the establishment of a Government postal telegraph system.

5. All private property, all forms of money and obligations to pay money, should bear their just proportion of the public taxes. We demand a graduated income tax.

6. We demand the amelioration of the condition of labor by enforcing the sanitary laws in industrial establishments, by the abolition of the convict labor system, by a rigid inspection of mines and factories, by a reduction of the hours of labor in industrial establishments, by fostering educational institutions, and by abolishing child labor.

7. We condemn all importations of contracted labor, made with a view reducing to starvation wages the workingmen of this country, and demand laws for its prevention.

8. We insist upon a constitutional amendment reducing the terms of United States Senators.

9. We demand such rules for the government of Congress as shall place all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and take away from committees a veto power greater than that of the President.

10. The question as to the amount of duties to be levied upon various articles of import has been agitated and quarrelled over and has divided communities for nearly a hundred years. It is not now and never will be settled unless by the abolition of indirect taxation. It is a convenient issue—always raised when the people are excited over abuses in their midst. While we favor a wise revision of the tariff laws, with a view to raising a revenue from luxuries rather than necessities, we insist that as an economic question its importance is insignificant as compared with financial issues; for whereas we have suffered our worst panics under low and also under high tariff, we have never suffered from a panic nor seen our factories and workshops closed while the volume of money in circulation was adequate to the needs of commerce. Give our farmers and manufacturers money as cheap as you now give it to our bankers, and they can pay high wages to labor, and compete with all the world.

11. For the purpose of testing the sense of the people upon the subject, we are in favor of submitting to a vote of the people an amendment to the Constitution in favor of suffrage regardless of sex, and also on the subject of the liquor traffic.

12. All disabled soldiers of the late war should be equitably pensioned, and we denounce the policy of keeping a small army of office-holders whose only business is to prevent, on technical grounds, deserving soldiers from obtaining justice from the Government they helped to save.

13. As our name indicates, we are a National Party, knowing no East, no West, no North, no South. Having no sectional prejudices, we can properly place in nomination for the high offices of State as candidates, men from any section of the Union.

14. We appeal to all people who believe in our principles to aid us by voice, pen and votes.

the National and State Government are in accord with the Divine will.

Second. That the importation, manufacture, supply, and sale of alcoholic beverages, created and maintained by the laws of the National and State Governments, during the entire history of such laws, is everywhere shown to be the promoting cause of intemperance, with resulting crime and pauperism, making large demands upon public and private charity, imposing large and unjust taxation and public burdens for penal and sheltering institutions upon thrift, industry, manufactures, and commerce, endangering the public peace, desecration of the Sabbath, corrupting our politics, legislation and administration of the laws, shortening lives, impairing health, and diminishing productive industry, causing education to be neglected and despised, nullifying the teachings of the Bible, the Church and the school, the standards and guides of our fathers and their children in the founding and growth under God of our widely-extended country, and while imperilling the perpetuity of our civil and religious liberty, are baleful fruits by which we know that these laws are alike contrary to God's laws and contravene our happiness, and we call upon our fellow-citizens to aid in the repeal of these laws, and the legal suppression of this baneful liquor traffic.

The fact that during the twenty-four years in which the Republican Party has controlled the General Government and that of many of the States, no effort has been made to change this policy—territories have been created from the National domain and governments for them established, and States from them admitted into the Union, in no instance in either of which has this traffic been forbidden or the people of these Territories or States been permitted to prohibit.

That there are now over two hundred thousand distilleries, breweries, wholesale and retail dealers in these drinks, holding certificates and claiming the authority of Government for the continuation of a business which is so destructive to the moral and material welfare of the people, together with the fact that they have turned a deaf ear to remonstrance and petition for the correction of this abuse of civil government, is conclusive that the Republican Party is insensible to or impotent for the redress of those wrongs, and should no longer be intrusted with the powers and responsibilities of government; that although this party in its late National Convention was silent on the liquor question, not so its candidates, Messrs. Blaine and Logan. Within the year past Mr. Blaine has publicly recommended that the revenues derived from the liquor traffic shall be distributed among the States, and Senator Logan has by a bill proposed to devote these revenues to the support of the schools; thus both virtually recommend the perpetuation of the traffic, and that the State

PART IV.

Prohibition,* 1884.

First. The Prohibition Home Protection party, in National Convention assembled, acknowledge Almighty God as the rightful Sovereign of all men, from whom the first powers of Government are derived, to whose laws human enactments should conform, and that peace, prosperity, and happiness only can come to the people when their laws of

* Adopted at Pittsburgh, Pa., July 23, 1884.

and its citizens shall become partners in the liquor crime.

The fact that the Democratic Party has in its National deliverance of party policy arrayed itself on the side of the drink-makers and sellers by declaring against the policy of prohibition of such traffic under the false name of "Sumptuary Laws," and when in power in some of the States in refusing remedial legislation, and in Congress of refusing to permit the creation of a Board by Inquiry to investigate and report upon the effects of this traffic, proves that the Democratic Party should not be intrusted with power or place.

That there can be no greater peril to the Nation than the existing competition of the Republican and Democratic parties for the liquor vote. Experience shows that any party not openly opposed to the traffic will engage in this competition, will court the favor of the criminal classes, will barter away the public morals, the purity of the ballot, and every trust and object of good government for party success, and patriots and good citizens should find in this practice sufficient cause for immediate withdrawal from all connection with their party.

That we favor reforms in the administration of the Government, in the abolition of all sinecures, useless offices and officers, in the election of the post-office officers of the Government instead of appointment by the President; that competency, honesty and sobriety are essential qualifications for holding civil office, and we oppose the removal of such persons from mere administrative offices except so far as it may be absolutely necessary to secure effectiveness to the vital issues on which the general administration of the Government has intrusted to a party; that the collection of revenues from alcohol, liquors and tobacco should be abolished, as the vices of men are not a proper subject for taxation; that revenues for customs duties should be levied for the support of the Government economically administered, and when so levied the fostering of American labor, manufactures and industries should constantly be held in view; that the public land should be held for homes for the people and not for gifts to corporations, or to be held in large bodies for speculation upon the needs of actual settlers.

That all money, coin and paper, shall be made, issued and regulated by the General Government, and shall be a legal tender for all debts, public and private.

That grateful care and support should be given to our soldiers and sailors, their dependent widows and orphans, disabled in the service of the country.

That we repudiate as un-American, contrary to and subversive of the principles of the Declaration of Independence, from which our Government has grown to be the Government of fifty-five millions of people, and a recognized power among the nations,

that any person or people shall or may be excluded from residence or citizenship, with all others who may desire the benefits which our institutions confer upon the oppressed of all nations.

That while there are important reforms that are demanded for purity of administration and the welfare of the people, their importance sinks into insignificance when compared with the reform of the drink traffic, which annually wastes \$800,000,000 of the wealth created by toil and thrift, and drags down thousands of families from comfort to poverty; which fills jails, penitentiaries, insane asylums, hospitals, and institutions for dependency; which destroys the health, saps industry and causes loss of life and property to thousands in the land; lowers intellectual and physical vigor, dulls the cunning hand of the artisan, is the chief cause of bankruptcy, insolvency and loss in trade, and by its corrupting power endangers the perpetuity of free institutions.

That Congress should exercise its undoubted power, and prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages in the District of Columbia, the Territories of the United States, in all places over which the Government has exclusive jurisdiction; that hereafter no State shall be admitted into the Union until its Constitution shall expressly prohibit polygamy and the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages.

We earnestly call the attention of the laborer and the mechanic, the miner and manufacturer, and ask investigation of the baneful effects upon labor and industry caused by the needless liquor business, which will be found the robber who lessens wages and profits, the destroyer of the happiness and family welfare of the laboring man; and that labor and all legitimate industry demand deliverance from taxation and loss which this traffic imposes; and that no tariff or other legislation can so healthily stimulate production, or increase a demand for capital and labor, or produce so much of comfort and content, as the suppressing of this traffic would bring to the laboring man, mechanic, or employer of labor, throughout our land.

That the activity and co-operation of the women of America for the promotion of temperance has, in all the history of the past, been a strength and encouragement, which we gratefully acknowledge and record. In the later and present phase of the movement for prohibition of the licensed traffic by the abolition of the drink saloon, the purity of purpose and method, the earnestness, zeal, intelligence, and devotion, of the mothers and daughters of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, have been eminently blessed by God. Kansas and Iowa have been given her as "sheafs" of rejoicing, and the education and arousing of the public mind, and the demand for constitutional amendment now prevailing, are largely the fruit of her prayers and labors,

and we rejoice to have our Christian women unite with us in sharing the labor that shall bring the abolition of traffic to the polls. She shall join in the grand "Praise God, from whom all blessings flow," when by law our boys and friends shall be free from legal drink and temptation.

That we believe in the civil and political equality of the sexes, and that the ballot in the hand of woman is a right for her protection, and would prove a powerful ally for the abolition of the drink saloon, the execution of law, the promotion of reform in civil affairs, and the removal of corruption in public life; and thus believing, we relegate the practical out-working of this reform to the discretion of the Prohibition Party in the several States, according to the condition of public sentiment in those States. That, gratefully, we acknowledge and praise God for the presence of His Spirit, guiding our counsels and granting the success which has been vouchsafed in the progress of temperance reform; and looking to Him from whom all wisdom and help come, we ask the voters of the United States to make the principles of the above declaration a ruling principle in the Government of the Nation and of the States.

Resolved. That henceforth the Prohibition Home Protection Party shall be called by the name of the Prohibition Party.

PART V.

Anti-Monopoly*—1884.

The Anti-Monopoly Organization of the United States in convention assembled declares:

1. That labor and capital should be allies, and we demand justice for both by protecting the rights of all against privileges for the few.

2. That corporations, the creatures of law, should be controlled by law.

3. That we propose the greatest reduction practicable in public expenses.

4. That in the enactment and vigorous execution of just laws, equality of rights, equality of burdens, equality of privileges, and equality of powers in all citizens will be secured.

To this end we further declare:

5. That it is the duty of the Government to immediately exercise its constitutional prerogative to regulate commerce among the States. The great instruments by which this commerce is carried on are transportation, money, and the transmission of intelligence. They are now mercilessly controlled by giant monopolies, to the impoverishment of labor, and the crushing out of healthful competition, and the destruction of business security. We hold it,

therefore, to be the imperative and immediate duty of Congress to pass all needful laws for the control and regulation of these great agents of commerce in accordance with the oft-repeated decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

6. That these monopolies, which have exacted from enterprise such heavy tribute, have also inflicted countless wrongs upon the toiling millions of the United States, and no system of reform should commend itself to the support of the people which does not protect the man who earns his bread by the sweat of his face. Bureaus of labor statistics must be established, both State and National; arbitration take the place of brute force in the settlement of disputes between employer and employed; the National eight-hour law be honestly enforced; the importation of foreign labor *under contract* be made illegal; and whatever practical reforms may be necessary for the protection of united labor must be granted, to the end that unto the toiler shall be given that proportion of the profits of the thing or value created which his labor bears to the cost of production.

7. That we approve and favor the passage of an Inter-State Commerce bill. Navigable waters should be improved by the Government and be free.

8. We demand the payment of the bonded debt as it falls due; the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people of their respective States; a graduated income tax; and a tariff, which is a tax upon the people, that shall be so levied as to bear as lightly as possible upon necessities. We denounce the present tariff as being largely in the interest of monopoly, and demand that it be speedily and radically reformed in the interest of labor instead of capital.

9. That no further grants of public lands shall be made to corporations. All enactments granting land to corporations should be strictly construed, and all land grants should be forfeited where the terms upon which the grants were made have not been strictly complied with. The public lands must be held for homes for actual settlers, and must not be subject to purchase or control by non-resident foreigners or other speculators.

10. That we deprecate the discrimination of American legislation against the greatest of American industries—agriculture, by which it has been deprived of nearly all beneficial legislation while forced to bear the brunt of taxation. And we demand for it the fostering care of Government and the just recognition of its importance in the development and advancement of our land. And we appeal to the American farmer to co-operate with us in our endeavors to advance the National interests of the country, and the overthrow of monopoly in every shape when and wherever found.

* Adopted at Chicago, Ill., May 14, 1884.

PART VI.

"American Prohibition National" —
1884.

We hold: 1. That ours is a Christian and not a heathen Nation, and that the God of the Christian Scriptures is the author of civil government.

2. That the Bible should be associated with books of science and literature in all our educational institutions.

3. That God requires and man needs a Sabbath.

4. That we demand the prohibition of the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating drinks.

5. That the charters of all secret lodges granted by our Federal and State Legislature should be withdrawn, and their oaths prohibited by law.

6. We are opposed to putting prison labor or depreciated contract labor from foreign countries in competition with free labor to benefit manufacturers, corporations, and speculators.

7. We are in favor of a thorough revision and enforcement of the law concerning

patents and inventions for the prevention and punishment of frauds either upon inventors or the general public.

8. We hold to and will vote for woman suffrage.

9. We hold that the civil equality secured to all American citizens by Art. 13, 14, and 15 of our amended National Constitution should be preserved inviolate, and the same equality should be extended to Indians and Chinamen.

10. That international differences should be settled by arbitration.

11. That land and other monopolies should be discouraged.

12. That the General Government should furnish the people with an ample and sound currency.

13. That it should be the settled policy of the Government to reduce the tariffs and taxes as rapidly as the necessities of revenue and vested business interests will allow.

14. That polygamy should be immediately suppressed by law, and that the Republican Party is censurable for its long neglect of its duty in respect to this evil.

15. And, finally, we demand for the American people the abolition of Electoral Colleges and a direct vote for President and Vice-President of the United States.

* Adopted at Chicago, June 19, 1884.

CHAPTER XXI.

National Platform Analysis, 1856-1884.

PART I.

General Party Doctrines.

Democratic.

Republican.

1856—That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the *asylum of the oppressed* of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the present privilege of becoming citizens and the owners of soil among us ought to be resisted with the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute-books. [Plank 8.]

1860—Reaffirmed.

1856—That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the union to the States shall be preserved; that, with our Republican fathers, we hold it to be a self-evident truth that all men are endowed with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that the primary object and ulterior design of our Federal Government were to secure these rights to all persons within its exclusive jurisdiction. [Plank 1.]

1860—That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our Republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States must and shall be preserved. [Plank 2.]

1864—

1868—

1872—We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of Government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

[Plank 1.]

1870—

1880—Opposition to centralization, and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever be the form of Government, a real despotism. [Plank 2.]

1884—The preservation of personal rights; the equality of all citizens before the law; the reserved rights of the States; and the supremacy of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution, will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government.

1864—

1868—

1872—Complete liberty and exact equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights should be established and effectually maintained throughout the Union by efficient and appropriate State and Federal Legislation. Neither the law nor its administration should admit any discrimination in respect of citizens by reason of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude. [Plank 3.]

1876—*The United States of America is a Nation, not a league.* By the combined workings of the National and State Governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

1880—*The Constitution of the United States is a supreme law, and not a mere contract.* Out of confederate States it made a sovereign nation. Some powers are denied to the nation, while others are denied to the States, but the boundary between the powers delegated and those reserved is to be determined by the National, and not by the State tribunals. [Cheers.] [Plank 2.]

1884—*The people of the United States in their organized capacity constitute a Nation, and not a mere confederacy of States.* The National Government is supreme within the sphere of its national duty, but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care so that the harmony of our system of Government may be preserved, and the Union kept inviolate.

PART II.

The Rebellion.

Democratic.

1864—That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretence of a military necessity of war-power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to the ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States. [1st resolution.]

Republican.

1864—That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinions, we pledge ourselves as Union men, animated by a common sentiment, and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government, in quelling by force of arms the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

That we approve the determination of the Government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrificing patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to the country and its free institutions.

[1st and 2d resolutions.]

PART III.

Reconstruction.

Democratic.

1868—We regard the reconstruction acts (so-called) of Congress, as such, as usurpations, and unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void. . . .

Republican.

1868—We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption in the majority of the States lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is

the duty of the Government to sustain those institutions and prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy. [Plank 1.]

The guaranty by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained, while the question of suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States. [Plank 2.]

That we highly commend the spirit of magnanimity and forbearance with which men who have served in the rebellion, but who now frankly and honestly co-operate with us in restoring the peace of the country and reconstructing the Southern State governments upon the basis of impartial justice and equal rights, are received back into the communion of the loyal people; and we favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people. [Plank 3.]

PART IV.

Home Rule, a Free Ballot, and Honest Returns.

Democratic.

1856—That we recognize the right of the people in all the Territories, including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and wherever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a constitution . . . and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States.

Republican.

1856—. . . The dearest constitutional rights of the people of Kansas have been fraudulently and violently taken from them; their territory has been invaded by an armed force; spurious and pretended legislative, judicial, and executive officers have been set over them, by whose usurped authority, sustained by the military power of the Government, tyrannical and unconstitutional laws have been enacted and enforced; the right of the people to keep and bear arms has been infringed; test-oaths of an extraordinary and entangling nature have been imposed as a condition of exercising the right of suffrage and holding office; the right of an accused person to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury has been denied; the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, has been violated; they have been deprived of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; that the freedom of speech and of the press has been abridged; the right to choose their representatives has been made of no effect; murders, robberies, and arsons have been instigated and encouraged, and the offenders have been allowed to go unpunished; that all these things have been done with the knowledge, sanction, and procurement of the present Administration, and that for this high crime against the Constitution, the Union, and humanity, we arraign the Administration, the President, his advisers, agents, supporters, apologists, and accessories, either *before* or *after* the fact, before the country and before the world; and that it is our fixed purpose to bring the actual perpetrators of these atrocious outrages and their accomplices to a sure and condign punishment. [Plank 3.]

1860—That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes. [Plank 4.]

1860—That when the settlers in a Territory, having an adequate population, form a State Constitution, the right of sovereignty commences, and, being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other States; and the State thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery. [Plank 3, Breckinridge, Dem.]

1864—

1868—After the most solemn and unanimous pledge of both Houses of Congress to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintenance of the Government and the preservation of the Union under the Constitution, it [the Republican Party] has repeatedly violated that most sacred pledge under which alone was rallied that noble volunteer army which carried our flag to victory. Instead of restoring the Union, it has, so far as in its power, dissolved it and subjected ten States, in time of profound peace,

1864—

1868—We congratulate the country on the assured success of the reconstruction policy of Congress, as evinced by the adoption, in the majority of the States lately in rebellion, of constitutions securing equal civil and political rights to all; and it is the duty of the Government to sustain those institutions and prevent the people of such States from being remitted to a state of anarchy.

to military despotism and negro supremacy. It has nullified there the right of trial by jury; it has abolished the *habeas corpus*, that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the freedom of speech and the press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures and arrests, and military trials and secret star-chamber inquisitions for the constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded in time of peace the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the private rooms of individuals, and seized their private papers and letters without any specific charge or notice of affidavit, as required by the organic law; it has converted the American Capitol into a bastile; it has established a system of spies and official espionage to which no constitutional monarchy of Europe would now dare to resort; it has abolished the right of appeal on important constitutional questions to the supreme judicial tribunals, and threatens to curtail or destroy its original jurisdiction, which is irrevocably vested by the Constitution, while the learned Chief Justice has been subjected to the most atrocious calumnies, merely because he would not prostitute his high office to the support of the false and partisan charges preferred against the President. . . . Under its repeated assaults the pillars of the Government are rocking on their base, and should it succeed in November next and inaugurate its President, we will meet as a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the Constitution.

1872—Local self-government, with impartial suffrage, will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare requires the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and freedom of persons under the protection of the *habeas corpus*. We demand for the individual the largest liberty consistent with public order; for the State self-government, and for the nation a return to the methods of peace and the constitutional limitations of power.

[Plank 4.]

1880—. . . “Home Rule.”

[Plank 3.]

1884—The selection of Federal officers for the Territory should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the Government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion—religious or political.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count. . . .

1872—We hold that Congress and the President have only fulfilled an imperative duty in their measures for the suppression of violent and treasonable organizations in certain lately rebellious regions, and for the protection of the ballot-box; and, therefore, they are entitled to the thanks of the nation.

[Plank 12.]

1880—

1884—*Resolved*, That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from bona fide citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and a correct return.

We denounce the fraud and violence practised by the Democratic Party in Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions, and we solemnly arraign the Democratic Party as being the guilty recipient of the fruit of such fraud and violence.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race or color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights.

PART V.

The Veto Power—Protection of Voters.

Democratic.

1856—That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interest to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

[Resolve VII.]

Republican.

1856—

1860—Reaffirmed.	[Plank 1.	1860—
1864—		1864—
1868—		1868—
1872—		1872—
1876—		1876—
1880—The existing Administration is the representative of conspiracy only, and its claim of right to surround the ballot-boxes with troops and deputy-marshals, to intimidate and obstruct the electors, and the unprecedented use of the veto to main-		1880—. . . History will accord to his [President Hayes'] administration the honors which are due to an efficient, just, and courteous discharge of the public business, and <i>will honor his vetoes</i> interposed between the people and attempted partisan laws.

tain its corrupt and despotic power, insult the people and imperil their institutions.

1884— . . . We recall to the memory* of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses, by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls, as the conclusive proof that a Democratic administration will preserve liberty with order.

1884—[See Part IV. as to necessity for securing honest "Home Rule" in the South.]

PART VI.

Duty to Union Soldiers and Sailors.

Democratic-

1864—That the sympathy of the Democratic Party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiery of our army and sailors of our navy, who are and have been in the field and on the sea under the flag of our country, and, in the event of its attaining power, they will receive all the care, protection, and regard that the brave soldiers and sailors of the Republic so nobly earned. [Plank 6.]

Republican.

1864.—That the thanks of the American people are due to the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy, who have perilled their lives in defence of the country and in vindication of the honor of its flag; that the nation owes to them some permanent recognition of their patriotism and their valor, and ample and permanent provision for those of their survivors who have received disabling and honorable wounds in the service of the country; and that the memories of those who have fallen in its defence shall be held in grateful and everlasting remembrance. (Plank 4)

1868—Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperilled their lives in the service of their country; the bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's care.

Plank 10.

1872.—We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame for the full reward of their patriotism. [Plank 9.]

ard of the [Plank 9

1872.—We hold in undying honor the soldiers and sailors whose valor saved the Union. Their pensions are a sacred debt of the nation, and the widows and orphans of those who died for their country are entitled to the care of a generous and grateful people. We favor such additional legislation as will extend the bounty of the Government to all our soldiers and sailors who were honorably discharged, and who in the line of duty became disabled, without regard to the length of service or the cause of such discharge. [Plank 8.]

Plank 8

1876— . . . + The soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle, have a just claim upon the care, protection, and gratitude of their fellow-citizens. [Last resolution.

1880

1876—The pledges which the nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those who imperilled their lives for the country's preservation in the kindest remembrance. [Plank 14.]

Observation in the Blank 14

* A most unsavory "memory" to the people. The "noble" struggle referred to was that of the Southern Brigadiers, who, as General Garfield said, after failing to "shoot the Government to death," attempted to "starve it to death," by forcing obnoxious political "riders" upon general appropriation bills in order to enable the Democracy to keep the South "solid" by the exercise of intimidation and frauds at the ballot-box. It was this "noble struggle" that brought overwhelming defeat to the Democrats in the election of 1880; that made Gen. Garfield, who resisted it, President of the United States; and that largely contributed to make Mr. Blaine, who so gallantly met and overthrew the Brigadiers in both Houses, the popular nominee of the Republican Party for the same high office. It was a "noble" struggle to revolutionize the Government, which, through the patriotic efforts of such men as Blaine, Logan, and Garfield, utterly failed.

[†] See chapters on "Pensions and Bounties," p. 103, and "Democratic Hatred of Union Soldiers," p. 121.

1884—The system of direct taxation known as "internal revenue" is a war tax, and *so long as the law continues* the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war and be made a fund to defray the expenses of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in the line of duty in the wars of the Republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having been already provided, and any surplus should be paid into the Treasury.

1884—The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican Party stands pledged to suitable pensions to all who were disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican Party pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the Arrears Act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions shall begin with the date of disability or discharge and not with the date of the application.

PART VII.

Tariff, and Internal Revenue

Democratic.

1856—The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of . . . progressive free trade throughout the world, by solemn manifestations, to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

[Resolve I.]

That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of any other, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country. [Plank 4.]

1860—Reaffirmed.

Republican.

1856—

1850—

1864—

1868—. . . A tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation under the Internal Revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon and best promote and encourage the great industrial interests of the country. [Plank 6.]

1872—. . . Recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their Congressional districts, and to the decision of the Congress thereon, wholly free from executive interference or dictation. [Plank 6.]

1876—. . . We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue. [Plank 11.]

1880—. . . A tariff for revenue only.

[Plank 3.]

1884—The Democracy pledges itself to . . . reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the nation to its creditors and pensioners.

Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the occupations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic Party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests.

But in making reductions in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this Government taxes collected at the custom-house have been the chief source of federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon

1860—That, while providing revenue for the support of the general Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workingmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence. [Plank 12.]

1864—

1868—

1872—. . . Revenue, except so much as may be derived from a tax upon tobacco and liquors, should be raised by duties upon importations, the details of which should be so adjusted as to aid in securing remunerative wages to labor, and promote the industries, prosperity, and growth of the whole country. [Plank 7.]

1876—The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which so far as possible should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country. [Plank 8.]

1880—Reaffirmed.

1884—It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people; the largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people.

We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made not for "revenue only," but that, in raising the requisite revenues for the Government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economical system of the Democratic Party, which would degrade our labor

legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must at every step be regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject to the execution of this plain dictate of justice.

All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country.

Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government, economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got, under our present system of taxation, from custom-house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury, and bearing lightest on articles of necessity.

We therefore denounce the abuses of the existing tariff, and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that *Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes* and shall not exceed the needs of the Government economically administered.

The system of direct taxation known as "internal revenue" is a war tax, and *so long as the law continues* the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war and be made a fund to defray the expenses of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in the line of duty in the wars of the republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having been already provided, and any surplus should be paid into the treasury.

* * * * *

Instead of the Republican Party's discredited scheme and false pretence of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reducing taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest; the Democratic Party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican Party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we therefore respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duty upon foreign wool in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

PART VIII.

Capital and Labor.

Democratic.

1868—*Resolved*, That this convention sympathize cordially with the workingmen of the United States in their efforts to protect the rights and interests of the laboring classes of the country.

1872—

1880—The Democratic Party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorant and the *commune*.* [Plank 13.]

1884—We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor.

[See also Parts VII. and IX.]

Republican.

1868—

1872—Among the questions which press for attention is that which concerns the relations of capital and labor, and the Republican Party recognizes the duty of so shaping legislation as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital, and for labor, the creator of capital, the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits of these two great servants of civilization. [Plank 11.]

1880—[See Part VII. for reaffirmation of Tariff Plank of 1876 as to protection to American labor.]

1884—We favor the establishment of a National Bureau of Labor, the enforcement of the eight-hour law, and . . . protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

[See also Parts VII. and IX.]

* And manifested its friendship by cutting down to starvation rates the pay of poor Department laborers, both male and female; by perpetual tariff-tinkering; by systems of peonage in the South; and by all other possible means. See chapters on "Free-Trade Heresy," "The Tariff Question," "The Protected American Laborer," "Democratic Tariff Duplicity," "Education—Free Schools," and "The Homestead Question."

PART IX.

The Chinese.

Democratic.

1876—Reform is necessary to correct the omissions of a Republican Congress, and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy, which have stripped our fellow-citizens of foreign birth and kindred race recrossing the Atlantic, of the shield of American citizenship, and have exposed our brethren of the Pacific coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and in fact now by law denied citizenship through naturalization as being neither accustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization nor exercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German and tolerates a revival of the coolie trade in Mongolian women imported for immoral purposes, and Mongolian men held to perform servile labor contracts, and demand such modification of the treaty with the Chinese Empire, or such legislation within constitutional limitations, as shall prevent further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race.

1880—Amendment of the Burlingame Treaty. No more Chinese immigration, except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and therein carefully guarded. [Plank 11.]

Republican.

1876—It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country. [Plank 11.]

1884—In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that "the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned by the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith," we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor, or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits, training, religion, or kindred, for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores, our gates be closed.

1880—Since the authority to regulate immigration and intercourse between the United States and foreign nations rests with the Congress of the United States and the treaty-making power, the Republican Party, regarding the unrestricted immigration of Chinese as a matter of grave concernment under the exercise of both these powers, would limit and restrict that immigration by the enactment of such just, humane, and reasonable laws and treaties as will produce that result. [Plank 6.]

1884—The Republican Party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor, and in a desire that all men may be free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offence against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law-restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

PART X.

Education.

Democratic.

1876—The false issue with which they [the Republicans] would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belong exclusively to the several States, and which the Democratic Party has *cherished from their foundation*,[†] and is resolved to maintain without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and without largesses from the Treasury to any.

1880—Common schools fostered and protected. [Plank 2.]

Republican.

1876—The public-school system of the several States is the bulwark of the American Republic, and with a view to its security and permanence we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control. [Plank 4.]

1880—The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the National Government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional ability. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several States, and the destiny of the Nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one State, but by the average genius of all. [Plank 8.]

* The Republican was the first political party to recognize the Chinese question as one of national importance, by the declaration in its platform of 1876—the subsequently adopted Democratic plank on the subject being simply a demagogical bid for votes. See Chapter on "Chinese Question."

[†] "Cherished" by outraging, violently expelling, or murdering school-teachers and burning school-houses. In the South, prior to the war, common schools for the education of the people were contemptuously styled "free" schools, and their pupils regarded as an inferior caste, on an equality with *free "niggers"*! See Chapter entitled "Education—Free Schools."

‡ For Legislation and votes in Congress in this direction see Chapter on "Education—Free Schools."

1884— . . . We favor . . . the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship. We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, would convert the General Government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States, or citizens thereof.

1884— We favor . . . a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is needed.

PART XI.

Public Lands.

Democratic.

1856— . . . The proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the States, as alike inexpedient in policy and repugnant to the Constitution. [Resolve VI.*]

1860— Reaffirmed.

[Plank 1.]

Republican.

1856—

1860— That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House. [Plank 13.]

1864—

1868—

1864—

1868— That the public lands should be distributed as widely as possible among the people, and should be disposed of either under the pre-emption of homestead lands, or sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants, at the minimum price established by the Government. When grants of the public lands may be allowed, necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the proceeds of the sale of such lands, and not the lands themselves, should be so applied.

1872— We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers. [Plank 10.]

1876— Reform is necessary to put a stop to the profligate waste of public lands, and their diversion from actual settlers by the party in power, which has squandered 200,000,000 of acres upon railroads alone, and out of more than thrice that aggregate has disposed of less than a sixth directly to tillers of the soil.

1880— . . . Public lands to actual settlers. [Plank 12.]

1884— We believe that the public lands ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican Party should be restored to the public domain; and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absenteers.

1872— We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people. [Plank 6.]

1876— Reaffirmed. [Plank 9.]

1880—* Reaffirmed. [Plank 5.]

1884— The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved as far as possible for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land-grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

PART XII.

Railways—R. R. Grants and Subsidies—Transportation Charges.

Democratic.

1856— That Democratic Party recognizes the great importance, in a political and commercial point of view, of a safe and speedy communication through our own territory between the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts of the Union, and it is the duty of the Federal

Republican.

1856— That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean by the most central and practicable route is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and as an

* In 1856, and in all their history prior to 1861, the Democracy sternly opposed the homestead principle—the granting of public lands to actual settlers. In their opinion the policy was agrarian, unconstitutional, and demoralizing. See chapter on "The Homestead Question."

Government to exercise all its constitutional power to the attainment of that object, thereby binding the Union of these States in indissoluble bonds, and opening to the rich commerce of Asia an overland transit from the Pacific to the Mississippi River, and the great lakes of the North.

[Resolution attached to Platform.]

1860.—That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States; and the Democratic Party pledge such constitutional Government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific Coast at the earliest practicable period.

[Resolve III, of Douglas (Dem.) Platform.]

1860.—Whereas, one of the greatest necessities of the age, in a political, commercial, postal, and military point of view, is a speedy communication between the Pacific and Atlantic Coasts; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the National Democratic Party do hereby pledge themselves to use every means in their power to secure the passage of some bill, to the extent of the constitutional authority of Congress, for the construction of a Pacific railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, at the earliest practicable moment.

[Last plank of Breckenridge (Dem.) Platform.]

1864—

1868.—When grants of the public lands may be allowed, necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the proceeds of the sale of such lands, and not the lands themselves, should be so applied.

1872.—We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

1876.—Reform is necessary to put a stop to the profligate waste of public lands. . . .

1880—

1884.—While we favor all legislation that will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly, and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the rights of property as defined by law.

auxiliary thereto, to the immediate construction of an emigrant route on the line of the railroad.

[Plank 6.]

1860.—That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

[Plank 16.]

1860—

1864.—That we are in favor of a speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific Coast.

[Plank 9.]

1868—

1872.—. . . The Pacific railroad and other similar vast enterprises have been generously aided and successfully conducted, the public lands freely given to actual settlers. . . .

We are opposed to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be set apart for free homes for the people.

1876.—We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the national domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

1880.—. . . No further grants of the public domain should be made to any railway or other corporation . . . further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease.

1884.—The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the general Government, and the Republican Party distinctly announces its purposes to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-state commerce. The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and to the railways, alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

PART XIII.

Internal Improvements.

Democratic.

1856.—That the Constitution does not confer upon the general Government the power to commence

Republican.

1856.—That appropriations by Congress for the improvement of rivers and harbors of a national

*NOTE.—In their platform of 1876, the Democracy, with characteristic inconsistency, denounce the Republicans for aiding in the building of the Pacific Railroads by grants of the public lands. They declare the roads works of "great importance," "one of the greatest necessities of the age," and pledge the nation to their construction, and then denounce the only means by which they could be built.

[See Part xi., Public Lands.]

and carry on a general system of internal improvements.*

[Plank 2.

character, required for the accommodation and security of our existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

[Plank 7.

1860—Reaffirmed.

1860—That appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by the obligation of Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

[Plank 15.

1864—

1864—

1868—

1868—

1872—

1872—

1876—

1876—

1880—Plank 2 of 1856 reaffirmed.

1880—. . . That we deem it the duty of Congress to develop and improve our seacoast and harbors, but insist that further subsidies to private persons or corporations must cease.

1884—. . . We favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation.

1884—The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide water.

PART XIV.

Foreign Relations.

Democratic.

1856—*Resolved*, That our geographical and political position with reference to the other States of this Continent, no less than the interest of our commerce and the development of our growing power, requires that we should hold as sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine; their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction; they should be applied with unbending rigidity.

1860—

1864—

Republican.

1856—

1860—

1864—That we approve the position taken by the Government, that the people of the United States can never regard with indifference the attempt of any European power to overthrow by force, or to supplant by fraud, the institutions of any republican government on the Western Continent; and that they will view with extreme jealousy, as menacing to the peace and independence of their own country, the efforts of any such power to obtain new footholds for monarchical governments, sustained by foreign military force, in near proximity to the United States.

1868—

1868—. . . The Democratic Party . . . demand . . . the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign persons, and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty, and individual rights. . . .

*NOTE.—Yet the outrageous River and Harbor Bill of 1876 was a Democratic measure, concerning which the following message was sent by President Grant to the Democratic House:

To the House of Representatives:

"In affixing my name to the River and Harbor Bill, No. 3822, I deem it my duty to announce to the House of Representatives my objections to some features of the bill, and the reason I sign it. If it was obligatory upon the Executive to expend all the money appropriated by Congress, I should return the River and Harbor Bill with my objections, notwithstanding the great inconvenience to the public interests resulting therefrom, and the loss of expenditures from previous Congresses upon incomplete works. Without enumerating, many appropriations are made for works of purely private or local interests, in no sense national. I cannot give my sanction to these, and will take care that during my term of office no public money shall be expended upon them.

"There is very great necessity for economy of expenditures at this time, growing out of the loss of revenue likely to arise from a deficiency of appropriations to insure a thorough collection of the same. The reduction of revenue districts, diminution of special agents, and total abolition of supervisors, may result in great fallings off of the revenue. It may be a question to consider whether any expenditure can be authorized under the river and harbor appropriation further than to protect works already done and paid for. Under no circumstances will I allow expenditures upon works not clearly national.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, August 14, 1877.

U. S. GRANT."

The River and Harbor Bill of 1882, concerning which opinions vary, was passed over President Arthur's veto mainly by the Democratic vote in both Houses of Congress. The River and Harbor Bill of 1884, originating in, and passing the Democratic House, is also a Democratic measure. It may, therefore, fairly be said that the views of Democracy concerning the alleged unconstitutionality of "a general system of internal improvements" have since 1856 undergone an entire and radical change.

1872—We hold that it is the duty of the Government in its intercourse with foreign nations to cultivate the friendship of peace, by treating with all on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonorable either to demand what is not right, or to submit to what is wrong.

1876—

1884—We favor an American continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister republics of North, Central and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

This country has never had a well-defined and executive foreign policy save under Democratic administration; that policy has ever been in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do not act detrimentally to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that as the result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California,* and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone; and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

1872—. . . Menacing foreign difficulties have been peacefully and honorably composed, and the honor and power of the Nation kept in high respect throughout the world . . . This glorious record of the past is the party's best pledge of the future.

1876—

1884—. . . We favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican Party favor a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which shall give the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in America, and the policy which seeks peace can trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

PART XV.

Naturalization and Allegiance.

Democratic.

1860—That the Democracy of the United States recognize it as the imperative duty of this Government to protect the naturalized citizen in all his rights, whether at home or in foreign lands, to the same extent as its native-born citizens. [Plank 6.]

1864—

1868—Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens at home and abroad, the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers, and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty, and individual rights and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance, and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crime committed beyond their jurisdiction. [Plank 8.]

1872—

1876—

1884—

Republican.

1860—The Republican Party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the right of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both home and abroad. [Plank 14.]

1864—

1868—The doctrine of Great Britain and other European Powers, that because a man is once a subject he is always so, must be resisted at every hazard by the United States, as a relic of feudal times, not authorized by the laws of nations, and at war with our national honor and independence. Naturalized citizens are entitled to protection in all their rights of citizenship as though they were native-born; and no citizen of the United States, native or naturalized, must be liable to arrest and imprisonment by any foreign power for acts done or words spoken in this country; and, if so arrested and imprisoned, it is the duty of the Government to interfere in his behalf. [Plank 9.]

1872—The doctrine of Great Britain and other European Powers concerning allegiance—"once a subject always a subject"—having of late, through the efforts of the Republican Party, been abandoned, and the American idea of the individual's right to transfer allegiance having been accepted by European nations, it is the duty of our Government to guard with jealous care the rights of adopted citizens against the assumption of unauthorized claims by their former Governments, and we urge continued careful encouragement and protection of voluntary immigration. [Plank 9.]

1876—It is the imperative duty of the Government so to modify existing treaties with European governments, that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native-born, and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect emigrants in the absence of power in the States for that purpose. [Plank 10.]

1884—. . . Everywhere the protection accorded to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption. [Plank 5.]

* It had been hitherto supposed that California was the fruit of conquest—not of "purchase alone."

1884—The Democratic Party insists that it is the duty of this government to protect, with equal fidelity and vigilance, the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad. . . . It is an imperative duty of this government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof. An American citizen is only responsible to his own government for any act done in his own country, or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her laws; and no power exists in this government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act.

1884—We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

PART XVI.

Polygamy.

Democratic.

1856—

1860—

1864—

1868—

1872—

1876— . . . in the * total separation of Church and State, for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom . . .

1880— . . . * separation of Church and State, for the good of each . . .

1884— . . . we favor . . . * the separation of Church and State . . .

Republican.

1856—That the Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that in the exercise of this power it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery.

1860—

1864—

1868—

1872—

1876—The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate, in the Territories, that relic of barbarism—polygamy; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this end and the supremacy of American institutions in all the Territories.

1880—We reaffirm the belief avowed in 1876, that . . . slavery having perished in the States, its twin barbarity, polygamy, must die in the Territories. . . .

1884—Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territory and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities if possible, and by the military if need be.

PART XVII.

Civil Service.

Democratic.

1872—The civil service of the Government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition and an object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of republican government. We therefore regard a thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that the honesty, capacity, and fidelity constitute the only valid claim to public employment; that the offices of the Government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and public station become again a post of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for re-election.

Republican.

1872—Any system of the civil service, under which the subordinate positions of the Government are considered rewards for mere party zeal is fatally demoralizing, and we therefore favor a reform of the system by laws which shall abolish the evils of patronage and make honesty, efficiency, and fidelity the essential qualifications for public positions, without practically creating a life tenure of office. [Plank 5.]

* These are the only words in the Democratic platform that can be construed, by the utmost latitude of construction, as having the slightest bearing upon the odious system of polygamy—if any such bearing were intended. See Chapter on "Polygamy."

1876—Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience that proves efficient, economical conduct of Governmental business is not possible if the civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency, and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men, nor the instrument of their ambition.

1880—. . . A general and thorough reform of the civil service.

1884—. . . We favor honest* civil service reform; and the compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries. . . .

1876—Under the Constitution the President and heads of Departments are to make nominations for office; the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands that these distinctions be respected; that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service, and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country. [Plank 5.]

1880—The Republican Party, adhering to the principles affirmed by its last National Convention of respect for the Constitutional rules governing appointments to office, adopts the declaration of President Hayes, that the reform of the civil service should be thorough, radical, and complete. To this end it demands the co-operation of the legislative with the executive departments of the Government, and that Congress shall so legislate that fitness, ascertained by proper practical tests, shall admit to the public service.

1884—The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law—to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reformed legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

PART XVIII.

The National Debt and Interest—The Public Credit—Repudiation, etc.

Democratic.

1864—

Republican.

1864—That the national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public debt, must be kept inviolate, and that for this purpose we recommend economy and rigid responsibility in the public expenditures, and a vigorous and just system of taxation; and that it is the duty of every loyal State to sustain the credit and promote the use of the national currency. [Plank 10.]

1868—We denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime; and the national honor requires the payment of the public indebtedness in the uttermost good faith to all creditors at home and abroad, not only according to the letter, but the spirit of the laws under which it was contracted. [Plank 3.]

It is due to the labor of the nation that taxation should be equalized and reduced as rapidly as the national faith will permit. [Plank 4.]

The national debt, contracted as it has been for the preservation of the Union for all time to come, should be extended over a fair period for redemption; and it is the duty of Congress to reduce the rate of interest thereon whenever it can be honestly done. [Plank 5.]

That the best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to so improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay and must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected. [Plank 6.]

1868—Payment of the public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable; all moneys drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for the necessities of the Government, economically administered, being honestly applied to such payment, and where the obligations of the Government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide that they shall be paid in coin, they ought in right and in justice, to be paid in the *lawful money* of the United States.† [Plank 3.]

Equal taxation of every species of property according to its real value, including Government bonds and other public securities. [Plank 4.]

* "To the victors belong the spoils" is the maxim which has controlled the Democracy in all its past history in the matter of appointments. See chapter on "Democratic Hatred of Union Soldiers" to ascertain the Democratic idea of "Civil Service," and chapter on "Democratic Rascality and Republican Honesty," to ascertain the Democratic idea of "honest civil service reform."

† See chapters on "Blundering Democratic Financial Administration," and "Greenbacks, Public Credit, and Resumption," to ascertain the radical difference between Democratic principles and Democratic practice.

1872—We demand a system of Federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the industries of the people, and which shall provide the means necessary to pay the expenses of the Government, economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof.* . . .

* The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise. [Plank 7.]

1876—* Reform is necessary to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit, and maintain the national honor.

1880— . . . Honest money—the strict maintenance of the public faith—consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand; the strict maintenance of the public faith, State and national.* [Plank 3.]

1884—We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.*

1872— . . . A uniform national currency has been provided, repudiation frowned down, the national credit sustained under the most extraordinary burdens, and new bonds negotiated at lower rates. . . . [Plank 1.]

We denounce repudiation of the public debt, in any form or disguise, as a national crime. We witness with pride the reduction of the principal of the debt, and of the rates of interest upon the balance. [Plank 13.]

1876—In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant, the National Government assumed to remove any doubts of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and "solemnly pledged its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payments. [Plank 4.]

1884—It [the Republican Party] has raised the value of our paper currency from 38 per cent to the par of gold [applause]; it has restored upon a solid basis, payment in coin of all national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country [applause]; it has lifted the credit of the nation from the point of where 6 per cent bonds sold at 86, to that where 4 per cent bonds are eagerly sought at a premium. [Preamble.]

1884—We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that an effort be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of the international standard, which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

PART XIX.

Resumption.

Democratic.

1872—† A speedy return to specie payment is demanded alike by the highest considerations of commercial morality and honest government. [Plank 8.]

1876—We denounce the financial imbecility and immorality of that party, which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, no preparation for resumption, but instead has obstructed resumption, by wasting our resources and exhausting all our surplus income; and, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto. As such hindrance we denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875, and we here demand its repeal.

1880— . . . Honest money, . . . consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on demand.

Republican.

1872— . . . Our excellent national currency will be perfected by a speedy resumption of specie payment. [Plank 13.]

1876—In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant, the National Government assumed to remove any doubts of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and solemnly pledged its faith to make provision at the "earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals, and national credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

1880— . . . It [the Republican Party] has restored, upon a solid basis, payment in coin of all national obligations, and has given us a currency absolutely good and equal in every part of our extended country.

* See chapters on "Blundering Democratic Financial Administration," and "Greenbacks, Public Credit, and Resumption," to ascertain the radical difference between Democratic principles and Democratic practice.

† See chapter on "Greenbacks, Public Credit, and Resumption."

CHAPTER XXII.

Letters of Acceptance of Presidential and Vice-Presidential Nominees.

PART I.

Hon. James G. Blaine's Letter of Acceptance.

AUGUSTA, ME., July 15, 1884.

The Hon. John B. Henderson and others of the Committee, etc., etc.

GENTLEMEN: In accepting the nomination for the Presidency tendered me by the Republican National Convention, I beg to express a deep sense of the honor which is conferred, and of the duty which is imposed. I venture to accompany the acceptance with some observations upon the questions involved in the contest—questions whose settlement may affect the future of the Nation favorably or unfavorably for a long series of years.

In enumerating the issues upon which the Republican Party appeals for popular support, the Convention has been singularly explicit and felicitous. It has properly given the leading position to the Industrial interests of the country as affected by the tariff on imports. On that question the two political parties are radically in conflict. Almost the first act of the Republicans, when they came into power in 1861, was the establishment of the principle of Protection to American labor and to American capital. This principle the Republican Party has ever since steadily maintained, while on the other hand the Democratic Party in Congress has for fifty years persistently warred upon it. Twice within that period our opponents have destroyed tariffs arranged for Protection, and since the close of the civil war, whenever they have controlled the House of Representatives, hostile legislation has been attempted—never more conspicuously than in their principal measure at the late session of Congress.

The Tariff Question.

Revenue laws are in their very nature subject to frequent revision in order that they may be adapted to changes and modifications of trade. The Republican Party is not contending for the permanency of any particular statute. The issue between the two parties does not have reference to a specific law. It is far broader and far deeper. It involves a principle of wide application and beneficent influence, against a theory which we believe

to be unsound in conception and inevitably hurtful in practice. In the many tariff revisions which have been necessary for the past twenty-three years, or which may hereafter become necessary, the Republican Party has maintained and will maintain the policy of Protection to American Industry, while our opponents insist upon a revision which practically destroys that policy. The issue is thus distinct, well defined, and unavoidable. The pending election may determine the fate of Protection for a generation. The overthrow of the policy means a large and permanent reduction in the wages of the American laborer, besides involving the loss of vast amounts of American capital invested in manufacturing enterprises. The value of the present revenue system to the people of the United States is not a matter of theory, and I shall submit no argument to sustain it. I only invite attention to certain facts of official record which seem to constitute a demonstration.

In the Census of 1850 an effort was made, for the first time in our history, to obtain a valuation of all the property in the United States. The attempt was in a large degree unsuccessful. Partly from lack of time, partly from prejudice among many who thought the inquiries foreshadowed a new scheme of taxation, the returns were incomplete and unsatisfactory. Little more was done than to consolidate the local valuation used in the States for purposes of assessment, and that, as every one knows, differs widely from a complete exhibit of all the property.

In the Census of 1860, however, the work was done with great thoroughness—the distinction between "assessed" value and "true" value being carefully observed. The grand result was that the "true value" of all the property in the States and Territories (excluding slaves) amounted to fourteen thousand millions of dollars (\$14,000,000,000). This aggregate was the net result of the labor and the savings of all the people within the area of the United States from the time the first British colonist landed in 1607 down to the year 1860. It represented the fruit of the toil of two hundred and fifty years.

After 1860 the business of the country was encouraged and developed by a Protective tariff. At the end of twenty years the total property of the United States, as returned by the Census of 1880, amounted to the enor-

mous aggregate of forty-four thousand millions of dollars (\$44,000,000,000). This great result was attained, notwithstanding the fact that countless millions had in the interval been wasted in the progress of a bloody war. It thus appears that while our population between 1860 and 1880 increased 60 per cent, the aggregate property of the country increased 214 per cent—showing a vastly enhanced wealth *per capita* among the people. Thirty thousand millions of dollars (\$30,000,000,000) had been added during these twenty years to the permanent wealth of the Nation.

These results are regarded by the older Nations of the world as phenomenal. That our country should surmount the peril and the cost of a gigantic war, and for an entire period of twenty years make an average gain to its wealth of one hundred and twenty-five million dollars per month, surpasses the experience of all other nations, ancient or modern. Even the opponents of the present revenue system do not pretend that in the whole history of civilization any parallel can be found to the material progress of the United States, since the accession of the Republican Party to power.

The period between 1860 and to-day has not been one of material prosperity only. At no time in the history of the United States has there been such progress in the moral and philanthropic field. Religious and charitable institutions, schools, seminaries and colleges, have been founded and endowed far more generously than at any previous time in our history. Greater and more varied relief has been extended to human suffering, and the entire progress of the country in wealth has been accompanied and dignified by a broadening and elevation of our national character as a people.

Our opponents find fault that our revenue system produces a surplus. But they should not forget that the law has given a specific purpose to which all of the surplus is profitably and honorably applied—the reduction of the public debt and the consequent relief of the burden of taxation. No dollar has been wasted, and the only extravagance with which the party stands charged is the generous pensioning of soldiers, sailors, and their families—an extravagance which embodies the highest form of justice in the recognition and payment of a sacred debt. When reduction of taxation is to be made, the Republican Party can be trusted to accomplish it in such form as will most effectively aid the industries of the Nation.

Our Foreign Commerce.

A frequent accusation by our opponents is that the foreign commerce of the country has steadily decayed under the influence of the Protective Tariff. In this way they seek to array the importing interest against the Republican Party. It is a common and yet radical error to confound the commerce of

the country with its carrying-trade—an error often committed innocently and sometimes designedly, but an error so gross that it does not distinguish between the ship and the cargo. Foreign commerce represents the exports and imports of a country regardless of the nationality of the vessel that may carry the commodities of exchange. Our carrying-trade has from obvious causes suffered many discouragements since 1860, but our foreign commerce has in the same period steadily and prodigiously increased—increased, indeed, at a rate and to an amount which absolutely dwarf all previous developments of our trade beyond the sea. From 1860 to the present time the foreign commerce of the United States (divided with approximate equality between exports and imports) reached the astounding aggregate of twenty-four thousand millions of dollars (\$24,000,000,000). The balance in this vast commerce inclined in our favor, but it would have been much larger if our trade with the countries of America, elsewhere referred to, had been more wisely adjusted.

It is difficult even to appreciate the magnitude of our export trade since 1860, and we can gain a correct conception of it only by comparison with preceding results in the same field. The total exports from the United States from the Declaration of Independence in 1776 down to the day of Lincoln's election in 1860, added to all that had previously been exported from the American Colonies from their original settlement, amounted to less than nine thousand millions of dollars (\$9,000,000,000). On the other hand, our exports from 1860 to the close of the last fiscal year exceeded twelve thousand millions of dollars (\$12,000,000,000)—the whole of it being the product of American labor. Evidently a Protective Tariff has not injured our export trade when, under its influence, we exported in twenty-four years 40 per cent more than the total amount that had been exported in the entire previous history of American commerce. All the details, when analyzed, correspond with this gigantic result. The commercial cities of the Union never had such growth as they have enjoyed since 1860. Our chief emporium, the City of New York, with its dependences, has within that period doubled her population and increased her wealth five-fold. During the same period the imports and exports which have entered and left her harbor are more than double in bulk and value the whole amount imported and exported by her between the settlement of the first Dutch colony on the island of Manhattan and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1860.

Agriculture and the tariff.

The agricultural interest is by far the largest in the Nation, and is entitled in every adjustment of revenue laws to the first consideration. Any policy hostile to the fullest

development of agriculture in the United States must be abandoned. Realizing this fact, the opponents of the present system of revenue have labored very earnestly to persuade the farmers of the United States that they are robbed by a protective tariff, and the effort is thus made to consolidate their vast influence in favor of free trade. But happily the farmers of America are intelligent and cannot be misled by sophistry when conclusive facts are before them. They see plainly that during the past twenty-four years wealth has not been acquired in one section or by one interest at the expense of another section or another interest. They see that the agricultural States have made even more rapid progress than the manufacturing States.

The farmers see that in 1860 Massachusetts and Illinois had about the same wealth—between eight and nine hundred million dollars each—and that in 1880 Massachusetts had advanced to twenty-six hundred millions, while Illinois had advanced to thirty-two hundred millions. They see that New Jersey and Iowa were just equal in population in 1860, and that in twenty years the wealth of New Jersey was increased by the sum of eight hundred and fifty millions of dollars, while the wealth of Iowa was increased by the sum of fifteen hundred millions. They see that the nine leading agricultural States of the West have grown so rapidly in prosperity that the aggregate addition to their wealth since 1860 is almost as great as the wealth of the entire country in that year. They see that the South, which is almost exclusively agricultural, has shared in the general prosperity, and that, having recovered from the loss and devastation of war, it has gained so rapidly that its total wealth is at least the double of that which it possessed in 1860, exclusive of slaves.

In these extraordinary developments the farmers see the helpful impulse of a home market, and they see that the financial and revenue system enacted since the Republican Party came into power has established and constantly expanded the home market. They see that even in the case of wheat, which is our chief cereal-export, they have sold, in the average of the years since the close of the war, three bushels at home to one they have sold abroad, and that in the case of corn, the only other cereal which we export to any extent, one hundred bushels have been used at home to three and a half bushels exported. In some years the disparity has been so great that for every peck of corn exported one hundred bushels have been consumed in the home market. The farmers see that in the increasing competition from the grain-fields of Russia and from the distant plains of India the growth of the home market becomes daily of greater concern to them, and that its impairment would depreciate the value of every acre of tillable land in the Union.

Our Internal commerce.

Such facts as these touching the growth and consumption of cereals at home give us some slight conception of the vastness of the internal commerce of the United States. They suggest, also, that, in addition to the advantages which the American people enjoy from protection against foreign competition, they enjoy the advantages of absolute free trade over a larger area and with a greater population than any other nation. The internal commerce of our thirty-eight States and nine Territories is carried on without let or hindrance, without tax, detention, or governmental interference of any kind whatever. It spreads freely over an area of three and a half million square miles—almost equal in extent to the whole continent of Europe. Its profits are enjoyed to-day by fifty-six millions of American freemen, and from this enjoyment no monopoly is created. According to Alexander Hamilton, when he discussed the same subject in 1790, "the internal competition which takes place does away with everything like monopoly, and by degrees reduces the prices of articles to the minimum of a reasonable profit on the capital employed." It is impossible to point to a single monopoly in the United States that has been created or fostered by the industrial system which is upheld by the Republican Party.

Compared with our foreign commerce these domestic exchanges are inconceivably great in amount—requiring merely as one instrumentality as large a mileage of railway as exists to-day in all the other nations of the world combined. These internal exchanges are estimated by the Statistical Bureau of the Treasury Department to be annually twenty times as great in amount as our foreign commerce. It is into this vast field of home trade—at once the creation and the heritage of the American people—that foreign nations are striving by every device to enter. It is into this field that the opponents of our present revenue system would freely admit the countries of Europe—countries into whose internal trade we could not reciprocally enter; countries to which we should be surrendering every advantage of trade; from which we should be gaining nothing in return.

Effect upon the mechanic and the laborer.

A policy of this kind would be disastrous to the mechanics and workingmen of the United States. Wages are unjustly reduced when an industrious man is not able by his earnings to live in comfort, educate his children, and lay by a sufficient amount for the necessities of age. The reduction of wages inevitably consequent upon throwing our home market open to the world would deprive them of the power to do this. It would prove a great calamity to our coun-

try. It would produce a conflict between the poor and the rich, and in the sorrowful degradation of labor would plant the seeds of public danger.

The Republican Party has steadily aimed to maintain just relations between labor and capital—guarding with care the rights of each. A conflict between the two has always led in the past and will always lead in the future to the injury of both. Labor is indispensable to the creation and profitable use of capital, and capital increases the efficiency and value of labor. Whoever arrays the one against the other is an enemy of both. That policy is wisest and best which harmonizes the two on the basis of absolute justice. The Republican Party has protected the free labor of America so that its compensation is larger than is realized in any other country. It has guarded our people against the unfair competition of contract labor from China, and may be called upon to prohibit the growth of a similar evil from Europe. It is obviously unfair to permit capitalists to make contracts for cheap labor in foreign countries to the hurt and disparagement of the labor of American citizens. Such a policy (like that which would leave the time and other conditions of home labor exclusively in the control of the employer) is injurious to all parties—not the least so to the unhappy persons who are made the subjects of the contract. The institutions of the United States rest upon the intelligence and virtue of all the people. Suffrage is made universal as a just weapon of self-protection to every citizen. It is not the interest of the Republic that any economic system should be adopted which involves the reduction of wages to the hard standard prevailing elsewhere. The Republican Party aims to elevate and dignify labor—not to degrade it.

As a substitute for the industrial system which under Republican administrations has developed such extraordinary prosperity, our opponents offer a policy which is but a series of experiments upon our system of revenue—a policy whose end must be harm to our manufactures and greater harm to our labor. Experiment in the industrial and financial system is the country's greatest dread, as stability is its greatest boon. Even the uncertainty resulting from the recent tariff agitation in Congress has hurtafully affected the business of the entire country. Who can measure the harm to our shops and our homes, to our farms and our commerce, if the uncertainty of perpetual tariff agitation is to be inflicted upon the country? We are in the midst of an abundant harvest; we are on the eve of a revival of general prosperity. Nothing stands in our way but the dread of a change in the industrial system which has wrought such wonders in the last twenty years, and which, with the power of increased capital, will work still greater marvels of prosperity in the twenty years to come.

Our foreign policy.

Our foreign relations favor our domestic development. We are at peace with the world—at peace upon a sound basis with no unsettled questions of sufficient magnitude to embarrass or distract us. Happily removed by our geographical position from participation of interest in those questions of dynasty or boundary which so frequently disturb the peace of Europe, we are left to cultivate friendly relations with all, and are free from possible entanglements in the quarrels of any. The United States has no cause and no desire to engage in conflict with any Power on earth, and we may rest in assured confidence that no Power desires to attack the United States.

With the nations of the Western Hemisphere we should cultivate closer relations, and for our common prosperity and advancement we should invite them all to join with us in an agreement that, for the future, all international troubles in North or South America shall be adjusted by impartial arbitration and not by arms. This project was part of the fixed policy of President Garfield's Administration, and it should in my judgment be renewed. Its accomplishment on this continent would favorably affect the nations beyond the sea, and thus powerfully contribute at no distant day to the universal acceptance of the philanthropic and Christian principle of arbitration. The effect even of suggesting it for the Spanish-American States has been most happy, and has increased the confidence of those people in our friendly disposition. It fell to my lot as Secretary of State in June, 1881, to quiet apprehension in the Republic of Mexico by giving the assurance in an official dispatch that "there is not the faintest desire in the United States for territorial extension south of the Rio Grande. The boundaries of the two Republics have been established in conformity with the best jurisdictional interests of both. The line of demarcation is not merely conventional. It is more. It separates a Spanish-American people from a Saxon-American people. It divides one great nation from another with distinct and natural finality."

We seek the conquests of peace. We desire to extend our commerce and in an especial degree with our friends and neighbors on this continent. We have not improved our relations with Spanish America as wisely and persistently as we might have done. For more than a generation the sympathy of those countries has been allowed to drift away from us. We should now make every effort to gain their friendship. Our trade with them is already large. During the last year our exchanges in the Western Hemisphere amounted to three hundred and fifty millions of dollars—nearly one fourth of our entire foreign commerce. To those who may be disposed to underrate the value of our trade with the countries of

North and South America, it may be well to state that their population is nearly or quite fifty millions—and that, in proportion to aggregate numbers, we import nearly double as much from them as we do from Europe. But the result of the whole American trade is in a high degree unsatisfactory. The imports during the past year exceeded two hundred and twenty-five millions, while the exports were less than one hundred and twenty-five millions—showing a balance against us of more than one hundred millions of dollars. But the money does not go to Spanish America. We send large sums to Europe, in coin or its equivalent, to pay European manufacturers for the goods which they send to Spanish America. We are but pay-masters for this enormous amount annually to European factors—an amount which is a serious draft, in every financial depression, upon our resources of specie.

Cannot this condition of trade in great part be changed? Cannot the market for our products be greatly enlarged? We have made a beginning in our effort to improve our trade relations with Mexico, and we should not be content until similar and mutually advantageous arrangements have been successively made with every nation of North and South America. While the great Powers of Europe are steadily enlarging their colonial dominions in Asia and Africa, it is the especial province of this country to improve and expand its trade with the nations of America. No field promises so much. No field has been cultivated so little. Our foreign policy should be an American policy in its broadest and most comprehensive sense—a policy of peace, of friendship, of commercial enlargement.

Protection of American citizens.

The name of *American*, which belongs to us in our national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism. Citizenship of the republic must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it. The American citizen, rich or poor, native or naturalized, white or colored, must everywhere walk secure in his personal and civil rights. The republic should never accept a lesser duty, it can never assume a nobler one, than the protection of the humblest man who owes it loyalty—protection at home, and protection which shall follow him abroad, into whatever land he may go upon a lawful errand.

The Southern States.

I recognize, not without regret, the necessity for speaking of two sections of our common country. But the regret diminishes when I see that the elements which separated them are fast disappearing. Prejudices have yielded and are yielding, while a growing cordiality warms the Southern and the Northern heart alike. Can any one doubt that between the sections confidence and

esteem are to-day more marked than at any period in the sixty years preceding the election of President Lincoln? This is the result in part of time and in part of Republican principles applied under the favorable conditions of uniformity. It would be a great calamity to change these influences under which Southern Commonwealths are learning to vindicate civil rights, and adapting themselves to the conditions of political tranquility and industrial progress. If there be occasional and violent outbreaks in the South against this peaceful progress, the public opinion of the country regards them as exceptional, and hopefully trusts that each will prove the last.

The South needs capital and occupation, not controversy. As much as any part of the North, the South needs the full protection of the revenue laws which the Republican Party offers. Some of the Southern States have already entered upon a career of industrial development and prosperity. These, at least, should not lend their electoral votes to destroy their own future.

Any effort to unite the Southern States upon issues that grow out of the memories of the war will summon the Northern States to combine in the assertion of that nationality which was their inspiration in the civil struggles. And this great energies which should be united in a common industrial development will be wasted in hurtful strife. The Democratic Party shows itself a foe to Southern prosperity by always invoking and urging Southern political consolidation. Such a policy quenches the rising instinct of patriotism in the heart of the Southern youth; it revives and stimulates prejudice; it substitutes the spirit of barbaric vengeance for the love of peace, progress, and harmony.

The civil service.

The general character of the civil service of the United States under all administrations has been honorable. In the one supreme test—the collection and disbursement of revenue—the record of fidelity has never been surpassed in any nation. With the almost fabulous sums which were received and paid during the late war, scrupulous integrity was the prevailing rule. Indeed, throughout that trying period, it can be said, to the honor of the American name, that unfaithfulness and dishonesty among civil officers were as rare as misconduct and cowardice on the field of battle.

The growth of the country has continually and necessarily enlarged the civil service, until now it includes a vast body of officers. Rules and methods of appointment which prevailed when the number was smaller have been found insufficient and impracticable, and earnest efforts have been made to separate the great mass of ministerial officers from partisan influence and personal control. Impartiality in the mode of appointment to be based on qualification,

and security of tenure to be based on faithful discharge of duty, are the two ends to be accomplished. The public business will be aided by separating the legislative branch of the Government from all control of appointments, and the Executive Department will be relieved by subjecting appointments to fixed rules, and thus removing them from the caprice of favoritism. But there should be rigid observance of the law which gives in all cases of equal competency the preference to the soldiers who risked their lives in defence of the Union.

I entered Congress in 1863, and in a somewhat prolonged service I never found it expedient to request or recommend the removal of a civil officer except in four instances, and then for non-political reasons which were instantly conclusive with the appointing power. The officers in the district, appointed by Mr. Lincoln in 1861 upon the recommendation of my predecessor, served, as a rule, until death or resignation. I adopted at the beginning of my service the test of competitive examination for appointments to West Point and maintained it so long as I had the right by law to nominate a cadet. In the case of many officers I found that the present law, which arbitrarily limits the term of the commission, offered a constant temptation to changes, for mere political reasons. I have publicly expressed the belief that the essential modification of that law would be in many respects advantageous.

My observation in the Department of State confirmed the conclusions of my legislative experience, and impressed me with the conviction that the rule of impartial appointment might with advantage be carried beyond any existing provision of the civil service law. It should be applied to appointments in the consular service. Consuls should be commercial sentinels—encircling the globe with watchfulness for their country's interests. Their intelligence and competency become, therefore, matters of great public concern. No man should be appointed to an American consulate who is not well instructed in the history and resources of his own country, and in the requirements and language of commerce in the country to which he is sent. The same rule should be applied even more rigidly to Secretaries of Legation in our diplomatic service. The people have the right to the most efficient agents in the discharge of public business, and the appointing power should regard this as the prior and ulterior consideration.

The Mormon question.

Religious liberty is the right of every citizen of the Republic. Congress is forbidden by the Constitution to make any law "respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." For a century, under this guarantee, Protestant

and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, have worshipped God according to the dictates of conscience. But religious liberty must not be perverted to the justification of offences against the law. A religious sect, strongly entrenched in one of the Territories of the Union, and spreading rapidly into four other Territories, claims the right to destroy the great safeguard and muniment of social order, and to practise as a religious privilege that which is a crime punished with severe penalty in every State of the Union. The sacredness and unity of the family must be preserved as the foundation of all civil government, as the source of orderly administration, as the surest guarantee of moral purity.

The claim of the Mormons that they are divinely authorized to practise polygamy should no more be admitted than the claim of certain heathen tribes, if they should come among us, to continue the rite of human sacrifice. The law does not interfere with what a man believes; it takes cognizance only of what he does. As citizens, the Mormons are entitled to the same civil rights as others, and to these they must be confined. Polygamy can never receive national sanction or toleration by admitting the community that upholds it as a State in the Union. Like others, the Mormons must learn that the liberty of the individual ceases where the rights of society begin.

Our currency.

The people of the United States, though often urged and tempted, have never seriously contemplated the recognition of any other money than gold and silver—and currency directly convertible into them. They have not done so, they will not do so under any necessity less pressing than that of desperate war. The one special requisite for the completion of our monetary system is the fixing of the relative values of silver and gold. The large use of silver as the money of account among Asiatic nations, taken in connection with the increasing commerce of the world, gives the weightiest reasons for an international agreement in the premises. Our Government should not cease to urge this measure until a common standard of value shall be reached and established—a standard that shall enable the United States to use the silver from its mines as an auxiliary to gold in settling the balances of commercial exchange.

The public lands.

The strength of the Republic is increased by the multiplication of land-holders. Our laws should look to the judicious encouragement of actual settlers on the public domain, which should henceforth be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of those seeking homes. The tendency to consolidate large tracts of land in the ownership of individuals or corporations should, with proper regard to

vested rights, be discouraged. One hundred thousand acres of land in the hands of one man is far less profitable to the Nation in every way than when its ownership is divided among one thousand men. The evil of permitting large tracts of the National domain to be consolidated and controlled by the few against the many is enhanced when the persons controlling it are aliens. It is but fair that the public land should be disposed of only to actual settlers, and to those who are citizens of the Republic or willing to become so.

Our shipping interests.

Among our National interests one languishes—the foreign carrying trade. It was very seriously crippled in our civil war, and another blow was given to it in the general substitution of steam for sail in ocean traffic. With a frontage on the two great oceans, with a freightage larger than that of any other nation, we have every inducement to restore our navigation. Yet the Government has hitherto refused its help. A small share of the encouragement given by the Government to railways and to manufacturers, and a small share of the capital and the zeal given by our citizens to those enterprises, would have carried our ships to every sea and to every port. A law just enacted removes some of the burdens upon our navigation and inspires hope that this great interest may at last receive its due share of attention. All efforts in this direction should receive encouragement.

Sacredness of the ballot.

This survey of our condition as a Nation reminds us that material prosperity is but a mockery if it does not tend to preserve the liberty of the people. A free ballot is the safeguard of republican institutions, without which no national welfare is assured. A popular election, honestly conducted, embodies the very majesty of true government. Ten millions of voters desire to take part in the pending contest. The safety of the Republic rests upon the integrity of the ballot, upon the security of suffrage to the citizen. To deposit a fraudulent vote is no worse a crime against constitutional liberty than to obstruct the deposit of an honest vote. He who corrupts suffrage strikes at the very root of free government. He is the arch-enemy of the Republic. He forgets that in trampling upon the rights of others he fatally imperils his own rights. "It is a good land which the Lord our God doth give us," but we can maintain our heritage only by guarding with vigilance the source of popular power.

I am, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

PART II.

General John A. Logan's Letter of Acceptance.

WASHINGTON, July 10, 1884.

To the Hon. John B. Henderson, Chairman of the Committee, etc., etc.

DEAR SIR: Having received from you on the 24th of June the official notification of my nomination by the National Republican Convention as the Republican candidate for Vice President of the United States, and considering it to be the duty of every man devoting himself to the public service to assume any position to which he may be called by the voice of his countrymen, I accept the nomination with a grateful heart and deep sense of its responsibilities, and if elected shall endeavor to discharge the duties of the office to the best of my ability.

This honor, as is well understood, was wholly unsought by me. That it was tendered by the representatives of a party, in a manner so flattering, will serve to lighten whatever labors I may be called upon to perform.

Although the variety of subjects covered in the very excellent and vigorous declaration of principles adopted by the late convention prohibits, upon an occasion calling for brevity of expression, that full elaboration of which they are susceptible, I avail myself of party usage to signify my approval of the various resolutions of the platform, and to discuss them briefly.

Protection to American labor.

The resolution of the platform declaring for a levy of such duties "as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity," meets my hearty approval.

If there be a Nation on the face of the earth which might, if it were a desirable thing, build a wall upon its every boundary line, deny communion to all the world, and proceed to live upon its own resources and productions, that nation is the United States. There is hardly a legitimate necessity of civilized communities which cannot be produced from the extraordinary resources of our several States and Territories with their manufactures, mines, farms, timber lands, and water ways. This circumstance taken in connection with the fact that our form of government is entirely unique among the nations of the world makes it utterly absurd to institute comparisons between our own economic system and those of other governments, and especially to attempt to borrow systems from them. We stand alone in our circumstances, our forces, our possibilities, and our aspirations. In all successful gov-

ernment it is a prime requisite that capital and labor should be upon the best terms, and that both should enjoy the highest attainable prosperity. If there be a disturbance of that just balance between them, one or the other suffers and dissatisfaction follows, which is harmful to both.

The lessons furnished by the comparatively short history of our National life have been too much overlooked by our people. The fundamental article in the old Democratic creed proclaimed absolute free-trade, and this, too, no more than a quarter of a century ago. The low condition of our National credit, the financial and business uncertainties and general lack of prosperity under that system can be remembered by every man now in middle life.

Although in the great number of reforms instituted by the Republican Party sufficient credit has not been publicly awarded to that of tariff reform, its benefits have, nevertheless, been felt throughout the land. The principle underlying this measure has been in process of gradual development by the Republican Party during the comparatively brief period of its power, and to-day a portion of its antiquated Democratic opponents make unwilling concessions to the correctness of the doctrine of an equitably adjusted protective tariff by following slowly in its footsteps, though a very long way in the rear. The principle involved is one of no great obscurity, and can be readily comprehended by any intelligent person calmly reflecting upon it. The political and social systems of some of our trade-competing nations have created working classes miserable in the extreme. They receive the merest stipend for their daily toil, and in the great expense of the necessities of life are deprived of those comforts of clothing, housing, and health-producing food with which wholesome mental and social recreation can alone make existence happy and desirable. Now if the products of those countries are to be placed in our markets, alongside of American products, either the American capitalist must suffer in his legitimate profits, or he must make the American laborer suffer in the attempt to compete with the species of labor above referred to. In the case of a substantial reduction of pay there can be no compensating advantages for the American laborer, because the articles of daily consumption which he uses—with the exception of articles not produced in the United States and easy of being specially provided for, as coffee and tea—are grown in our own country, and would not be affected in price by a lowering in duties. Therefore, while he would receive less for his labor, his cost of living would not be decreased. Being practically placed upon the pay of the European laborer our own would be deprived of facilities for educating and sustaining his family respectably; he would be shorn of the proper opportunities of self-improve-

ment and his value as a citizen charged with a portion of the obligations of Government would be lessened, the moral tone of the laboring class would suffer, and in them the interests of capital and the well-being of orderly citizens in general would be menaced, while one evil would react upon another until there would be a general disturbance of the whole community. The true problem of a good and stable government is how to infuse prosperity among all classes of people—the manufacturer, the farmer, the mechanic, and the laborer alike. Such prosperity is a preventive of crime, a security of capital, and the very best guarantee of general peace and happiness.

The obvious policy of our Government is to protect both capital and labor by a proper imposition of duties. This protection should extend to every article of American production which goes to build up the general prosperity of our people.

The National Convention, in view of the special dangers menacing the wool interest of the United States, deemed it wise to adopt a separate resolution on the subject of its proper protection. This industry is a very large and important one. The necessary legislation to sustain this industry upon a prosperous basis should be extended.

None realizes more fully than myself the great delicacy and difficulty of adjusting a tariff so nicely and equitably as to protect every industry, sustain every class of American labor, promote to the highest position great agricultural interests, and at the same time to give to one and all the advantages pertaining to foreign productions not in competition with our own, thus not only building up foreign commerce, but taking measures to carry it in our own bottoms.

Difficult as this work appears, and really is, it is susceptible of accomplishment by patient and intelligent labor, and to no hands can it be committed with as great assurance of success as to those of the Republican Party.

Our monetary system.

The Republican Party is the indisputable author of a financial and monetary system which, it is safe to say, has never before been equalled by that of any other nation. Under the operation of our system of finance the country was safely carried through an extended and expensive war, with a national credit which has risen higher and higher with each succeeding year, until now the credit of the United States is surpassed by that of no other nation, while its securities, at a constantly increasing premium, are eagerly sought after by investors in all parts of the world.

Our system of currency is most admirable in construction. While all the conveniences of a bill circulation attach to it, every dollar of paper represents a dollar of the world's money standards, and as long as the just and

wise policy of the Republican Party is continued, there can be no impairment of the national credit. Therefore, under present laws relating thereto, it will be impossible for any man to lose a penny in the bonds or bills of the United States or in the bills of the national banks.

The advantage of having a bank note in the house which will be as good in the morning as it was the night before, should be appreciated by all. The convertibility of the currency should be maintained intact, and the establishment of an international standard among all commercial nations, fixing the relative values of gold and silver coinage, would be a measure of peculiar advantage.

Foreign commerce and relations.

The subjects embraced in the resolutions respectively looking to the promotion of our inter-State and foreign commerce and to the matter of our foreign relations are fraught with the greatest importance to our people.

In respect to the inter-State commerce, there is much to be desired in the way of equitable rates and facilities of transportation, that commerce may flow freely between the States themselves, diversity of industries and employments be promoted in all sections of the country, and that the great granaries and manufacturing establishments of the interior may be enabled to send their products to the seaboard for shipment to foreign countries, relieved of vexatious restrictions and discriminations in matters of which it may emphatically be said: "Time is money;" and also of unjust charges upon articles destined to meet close competition from the products of other parts of the world.

As to our foreign commerce, the enormous growth of our industries and our surprising production of cereals and other necessities of life imperatively require that immediate and effective means be taken, through peaceful, orderly, and conservative methods, to open markets, which have been and are now monopolized largely by other nations. This more particularly relates to our sister republics of Spanish America, as also to our friends the people of the Brazilian Empire.

The Republics of Spanish America are allied to us by the very closest and warmest feelings, based upon similarity of institutions and government, common aspirations and mutual hopes. "The great Republic," as they proudly term the United States, is looked upon by their people with affectionate admiration and as the model for them to build upon, and we should cultivate between them and ourselves closer commercial relations, which will bind all together by the ties of friendly intercourse and mutual advantage. Further than this, being small commonwealths, in the military and naval sense of the European powers, they look to us as at least a moral defender against a

system of territorial and other encroachment which, aggressive in the past, has not been abandoned at this day. Diplomacy and intrigue have done much more to wrest the commerce of Spanish America from the United States than has legitimate commercial competition.

Politically we should be bound to the republics of our continent by the closest ties, and communication by ships and railroads should be encouraged to the fullest possible extent consistent with a wise and conservative public policy. Above all, we should be upon such terms of friendship as to preclude the possibility of national misunderstandings between ourselves and any of the members of the American Republican family. The best method to promote uninterrupted peace between one and all would lie in the meeting of a general conference or Congress, whereby an agreement to submit all international differences to the peaceful decision of friendly arbitration might be reached.

An agreement of this kind would give to our sister republics confidence in each other and in us, closer communication would at once ensue, reciprocally advantageous commercial treaties might be made, whereby much of the commerce which now flows across the Atlantic would seek its legitimate channels and inure to the greater prosperity of all the American commonwealths. The full advantages of a policy of this nature could not be stated in a brief discussion like the present.

Foreign Political Relations.

The United States has grown to be a government representing more than 50,000,000 people, and in every sense, excepting that of mere naval power, is one of the first nations of the world. As such its citizenship should be valuable, entitling its possessor to protection in every quarter of the globe. I do not consider it necessary that our Government should construct enormous fleets of approved ironclads and maintain a commensurate body of seamen, in order to place ourselves on a war footing with the military and naval powers of Europe.

Such a course would not be compatible with the peaceful policy of our country, though it seems absurd that we have not the effective means to repel a wanton invasion of our coast and give protection to our coast towns and cities against any power. The great moral force of our country is so universally recognized as to render an appeal to arms by us, either in protection of our citizens abroad, or in recognition of any just international right, quite improbable. What we most need in this direction is a firm and vigorous assertion of every right and privilege belonging to our Government or its citizens, as well as an equally firm assertion of the rights and privileges belonging to the general family of American republics situ-

ated upon this continent, when opposed, if they ever should be, by the different systems of Government upon another continent. An appeal to the right by such a Government as ours could not be disregarded by any civilized nation. In the treaty of Washington we led the world in the means of escape from the horrors of war, and it is to be hoped that the era when all international differences shall be decided by peaceful arbitration is not far off.

Equal Rights of Citizenship.

The central idea of a republican form of government is the rule of the whole people as opposed to the other forms which rest upon a privileged class.

Our forefathers, in the attempt to erect a new Government which might represent the advanced thought of the world at that period upon the subject of Governmental reform, adopted the idea of the people's sovereignty and thus laid the basis of our present republic. While technically a Government of the people, it was in strictness only a Government of a portion of the people, excluding from all participation a certain other portion held in a condition of absolute despotic and hopeless servitude, the parallel to which, fortunately, does not now exist in any modern Christian nation.

With the culmination, however, of another cycle of advanced thought, the American Republic suddenly assumed the full character of a government of the whole people, and 4,000,000 human creatures emerged from the condition of bondsmen to the full status of freemen, theoretically invested with the same civil and political rights possessed by their former masters. The subsequent legislation, which guaranteed by every title the citizenship and full equality before the law in all respects of this previously disfranchised people, amply covers the requirements and secures to them, so far as legislation can, the privileges of American citizenship. But the disagreeable fact of the case is that, while theoretically we are in the enjoyment of a government of the whole people, practically we are almost as far from it as we were in the ante-bellum days of the republic. There are but a few leading and indisputable facts which cover the whole statement of the case. In many of the Southern States the colored population is in large excess of the white. The colored people are Republicans, as are also a considerable portion of the white people. The remaining portion of the latter are Democrats.

In the face of this incontestable truth, these States invariably return Democratic majorities. In other States of the South the colored people, although not a majority, form a very considerable body of the population, and with the white Republicans are numerically in excess of the Democrats. Yet precisely the same political result ob-

tains—the Democratic Party invariably carrying the elections. It is not even thought advisable to allow an occasional or unimportant election to be carried by the Republicans as a "blind" or as a stroke of finesse. Careful and impartial investigation has shown these results to follow the systematic exercise of physical intimidation and violence, conjoined with the most shameful devices ever practised in the name of free elections. So confirmed has this result become that we are brought face to face with the extraordinary political fact that the Democratic Party of the South relies almost entirely upon the methods stated for its success in National elections.

This unlawful perversion of the popular franchise, which I desire to state dispassionately and in a manner befitting the proper dignity of the occasion, is one of deep gravity to the American people in a double sense:

First. It is in violation, open, direct and flagrant, of the primary principle upon which our Government is supposed to rest, viz., that the control of the Government is participated in by all legally qualified citizens, in accordance with the plan of popular government, that majorities must rule in the decision of all questions.

Second. It is in violation of the rights and interests of the States wherein are particularly centred the great wealth and industries of the nation, and which pay an overwhelming portion of the National taxes. The immense aggregation of interests embraced within, and the enormously greater population of, these other States of the Union are subjected every four years to the dangers of a wholly fraudulent show of numerical strength.

Under this system minorities actually attempt to direct the course of National affairs, and, though, up to this time success has not attended their efforts to elect a president, yet success has been so perilously imminent as to encourage a repetition of the effort at each quadrennial election, and to subject the interests of an overwhelming majority of our people North and South to the hazards of illegal subversion.

The stereotyped argument in refutation of these plain truths is, that if the Republican element was really in the majority they could not be deprived of their rights and privileges by a minority; but neither statistics of population nor the unavoidable logic of the situation can be overridden or escaped. The colored people of the South have recently emerged from the bondage of their present political oppressors; they have had but few of the advantages of education which might enable them to compete with the whites.

As I have heretofore maintained, in order to achieve the ideal perfection of a popular government, it is absolutely necessary that the masses should be educated. This prop-

osition applies itself with full force to the colored people of the South. They must have better educational advantages and thus be enabled to become the intellectual peers of their white brethren, as many of them undoubtedly already are. A liberal school system should be provided for the rising generation of the South, and the colored people be made as capable of exercising the duties of electors as the white people.

In the mean time it is the duty of the National Government to go beyond resolutions and declarations on the subject, and to take such action as may lie in its power to secure the absolute freedom of national elections everywhere, to the end that our Congress may cease to contain members representing fictitious majorities of their people, thus misdirecting the popular will concerning National legislation, and especially to the end that, in Presidential contests, the great business and other interests of the country may not be placed in fear and trembling, lest an unscrupulous minority should succeed in stifling the wishes of the majority.

In accordance with the spirit of the last resolution of the Chicago platform, measures should be taken at once to remedy this great evil.

Foreign immigration.

Under our liberal institutions the subjects and citizens of every nation have been welcomed to a home in our midst and, on a compliance with our laws, to a co-operation in our Government. While it is the policy of the Republican Party to encourage the oppressed of other nations and offer them facilities for becoming useful and intelligent citizens in the legal definition of the term, the party has never contemplated the admission of a class of servile people who are not only unable to comprehend our institutions, but indisposed to become a part of our national family or to embrace any higher civilization than their own.

To admit such immigrants would be only to throw a retarding element into the very path of our progress. Our legislation should be amply protective against this danger, and, if not sufficiently so now, should be made so to the full extent allowed by our treaties with friendly powers.

The civil service.

The subject of civil-service administration is a problem that has occupied the earnest thought of statesmen for a number of years past, and the record will show that toward its solution many results of a valuable and comprehensive character have been attained by the Republican Party since its accession to power. In the partisan warfare made upon the latter, with the view of weakening it in the public confidence, a great deal has been alleged in connection with the abuse of the civil service, the party making the indiscriminate charges seeming to have en-

tirely forgotten that it was under the full sway of the Democratic organization that the motto, "To the victors belong the spoils," became a cardinal article in the Democratic creed.

With the determination to elevate our governmental administration to a standard of justice, excellence, and public morality, the Republican Party has assiduously endeavored to lay the foundation of a system which shall reach the highest perfection under the plastic hand of time and accumulating experience. The problem is one of far greater intricacy than appears upon its superficial consideration, and embraces the sub-questions of how to avoid the abuses possible to the lodgment of an immense number of appointments in the hands of the executive; of how to give encouragement to and provoke emulation in the various Government employés, in order that they may strive for proficiency and rest their hopes of advancement upon the attributes of official merit, good conduct, and exemplary honesty; and how best to avoid the evils of creating a privileged class in the Government service, who, in imitation of European prototypes, may gradually lose all proficiency and value in the belief that they possess a life-call, only to be taken away in case of some flagrant abuse.

The thinking, earnest men of the Republican Party have made no mere wordy demonstration upon this subject, but they have endeavored to quietly perform that which their opponents are constantly promising without performing.

Under Republican rule the result has been that, without engraving any of the objectionable features of the European systems upon our own, there has been a steady and even rapid elevation of the civil service in all of its departments, until it can now be stated, without fear of successful contradiction, that the service is more just, more efficient, and purer in all its features than ever before since the establishment of our Government, and if defects still exist in our system, the country can safely rely upon the Republican Party as the efficient instrument for their removal.

I am in favor of the highest standard of excellence in the administration of the civil service, and will lend my best efforts to the accomplishment of the greatest attainable perfection in this branch of our service.

Remaining twin-tiles of barbarism.

The Republican Party came into existence in a crusade against the Democratic institutions of slavery and polygamy. The first of these has been buried beneath the embers of civil war. The party should continue its efforts until the remaining iniquity shall disappear from our civilization under the force of faithfully executed laws.

There are other subjects of importance which I would gladly touch upon did space

permit. I limit myself to saying that while there should be the most rigid economy of governmental administration, there should be no self-defeating parsimony, either in our domestic or foreign service. Official dishonesty should be promptly and relentlessly punished. Our obligations to the defenders of our country should never be forgotten, and the liberal system of pensions provided by the Republican Party should not be imperilled by adverse legislation.

The law establishing a labor bureau, through which the interests of labor can be placed in an organized condition I regard as a salutary measure. The eight-hour law should be enforced as rigidly as any other.

We should increase our navy to a degree enabling us to amply protect our coast lines, our commerce, and to give us a force in foreign waters which shall be a respectable and proper representative of a country like our own.

The public lands belong to the people, and should not be alienated from them, but reserved for free homes for all desiring to possess them; and, finally, our present Indian policy should be continued and improved upon as our experience in its administration may from time to time suggest.

I have the honor to subscribe myself, sir,
Your obedient servant,

JOHN A. LOGAN.

PART III.

Hon. Grover Cleveland's Letter of Acceptance.

ALBANY, N. Y., Aug. 18, 1884.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your communication dated July 28, 1884, informing me of my nomination to the office of President of the United States, by the National Democratic Convention lately assembled at Chicago. I accept the nomination with a grateful appreciation of the supreme honor conferred, and a solemn sense of the responsibility which, in its acceptance, I assume. I have carefully considered the platform adopted by the Convention and cordially approve the same. So plain a statement of Democratic faith and the principles upon which that party appeals to the suffrages of the people needs no supplement or explanation. It should be remembered that the office of President is essentially executive in its nature. The laws enacted by the legislative branch of the Government the Chief Executive is bound faithfully to enforce. And when the wisdom of the political party which selects one of its members as a nominee for that office has outlined its policy and declared its principles, it seems to me that nothing in the character of the office or the necessities of the case requires more from the candidate accepting such

nomination than the suggestion of certain well-known truths, so absolutely vital to the safety and welfare of the Nation that they cannot be too often recalled or too seriously enforced.

Relative to Government by the people.

We proudly call ours a government by the people. It is not such when a class is tolerated which arrogates to itself the management of public affairs, seeking to control the people instead of representing them. Parties are the necessary outgrowth of our institutions; but a government is not by the people when one party fastens its control upon the country, and perpetuates its power, by cajoling and betraying the people instead of serving them. A government is not by the people when a result which should represent the intelligent will of free and thinking men is, or can be, determined by the shameless corruption of their suffrages.

When an election to office shall be the selection by the voters of one of their number to assume for a time a public trust instead of his dedication to the profession of politics; when the holders of the ballot, quickened by a sense of duty, shall avenge truth betrayed and pledges broken, and when the suffrage shall be altogether free and uncorrupted, the full realization of a government by the people will be at hand. And of the means to this end not one would, in my judgment, be more effective than an amendment to the Constitution disqualifying the President from re-election. When we consider the patronage of this great office, the allurements of power, the temptation to retain public place once gained, and, more than all, the availability a party finds in an incumbent, whom a horde of office-holders with a zeal born of benefits received, and fostered by the hope of favors yet to come, stand ready to aid with money and trained political service, we recognize in the eligibility of the President for re-election a most serious danger to that calm, deliberate, and intelligent political action which must characterize a government by the people.

The Governor and workingmen.

A true American sentiment recognizes the dignity of labor, and the fact that honor lies in honest toil. Contented labor is an element of national prosperity. Ability to work constitutes the capital and the wage of labor the income of a vast number of our population; and this interest should be jealously protected. Our workingmen are not asking unreasonable indulgence; but as intelligent and manly citizens, they seek the same consideration which those demand who have other interests at stake. They should receive their full share of the care and attention of those who make and execute the laws, to the end that the wants and needs of the employers and the employed shall alike be subserved and the prosperity of the coun-

try, the common heritage of both, be advanced. As related to this subject while we should not discourage the immigration of those who come to acknowledge allegiance to our Government and add to our citizen population, yet as a means of protection to our workingmen, a different rule should prevail concerning those who, if they come, or are brought, to our land, do not intend to become Americans, but will injuriously compete with those justly entitled to our field of labor. In a letter accepting the nomination to the office of Governor, nearly two years ago, I made the following statement, to which I have steadily adhered:

"The laboring classes constitute the main part of our population. They should be protected in their efforts peaceably to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital; and all statutes on this subject should recognize the care of the State for honest toil and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the workingman." A proper regard for the welfare of the workingman being inseparably connected with the integrity of our institutions, none of our citizens are more interested than they in guarding against any corrupting influences which seek to pervert the beneficent purposes of our government; and none should be more watchful of the artful machinations of those who allure them to self-inflicted injury.

Rights of the Individual.

In a free country, the curtailment of the absolute rights of the individual should only be such as is essential to the peace and good order of the community. The limit between the proper subjects of governmental control, and those which can be more fittingly left to the moral sense and self-imposed restraint of the citizen should be carefully kept in view. Thus laws unnecessarily interfering with the habits and customs of any of our people which are not offensive to the moral sentiments of the civilized world, and which are consistent with good citizenship and the public welfare, are unwise and vexatious.

The commerce of a nation to a great extent determines its supremacy. Cheap and easy transportation should therefore be liberally fostered. Within the limits of the Constitution, the general government should so improve and protect its natural waterways as will enable the producers of the country to reach a profitable market.

The public and its servants.

The people pay the wages of the public employees, and they are entitled to the fair and honest work which the money thus paid should command. It is the duty of those intrusted with the management of their affairs to see that such public service is forthcoming. The selection and retention of subordinates in Government employment should depend upon their ascertained fitness

and the value of their work, and they should be neither expected nor allowed to do unquestionable party service. The interests of the people will be better protected; the estimate of public labor and duty will be immensely improved; public employment will be open to all who can demonstrate their fitness to enter it; the unseemly scramble for place under the Government, with the consequent opportunity which embitters official life will cease; and the public departments will not be filled with those who conceive it to be their first duty to aid the party to which they owe their places, instead of rendering patient and honest return to the people.

An allusion to the public temper.

I believe that the public temper is such that the voters of the land are prepared to support the party which gives the best promise of administering the Government in the honest, simple, and plain manner which is consistent with its character and purposes. They have learned that mystery and concealment in the management of their affairs cover tricks and betrayal. The statesmanship they require consists in honesty and frugality, a prompt response to the needs of the people as they arise, and the vigilant protection of all their varied interests.

If I should be called to the Chief Magistracy of the nation by the suffrages of my fellow citizens, I will assume the duties of that high office with a solid determination to dedicate every effort to the country's good, and with an humble reliance upon the favor and support of the Supreme Being, who I believe will always bless honest human endeavor in the conscientious discharge of public duty.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

To Colonel William F. Vilas, Chairman, and D. P. Bestor, and others, members of the Notification Committee of the Democratic National Convention.

PART IV.

Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks' Letter of Acceptance.

INDIANAPOLIS, Aug. 20, 1884.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication notifying me of my nomination by the Democratic Convention at Chicago as candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States. May I repeat what I said on another occasion, that it is a nomination which I had neither expected nor desired, and yet I recognize and appreciate the high honor done me by the convention. The choice of such a body, pronounced with such unusual unanimity and accompanied with so generous an expression of esteem and confidence, ought to outweigh all merely personal

desires and preferences of my own. It is with this feeling, and I trust also from a deep sense of public duty, that I now accept the nomination and shall abide the judgment of my countrymen.

I have examined with care the declaration of principles adopted by the convention, a copy of which you submitted to me, and in their sum and substance I heartily indorse and approve the same.

I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,
T. A. HENDRICKS.

PART V.

Hon. Benjamin F. Butler's Letter of Acceptance.*

LOWELL, MASS., June 12, 1884.

GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: I have received at your hands the official announcement of the action of the convention at Indianapolis with deep sensibility.

In the ordinary course of political events, the choice of a convention of the representative men of any considerable portion of my fellow-citizens, according to me this, the highest honor they can confer, would call for grateful acknowledgment, even though it might be a selection to represent the thought of such a convention upon questions which commonly divide political parties.

Views upon such questions may have been inherited, or an outgrowth of measures merely of administration.

The great questions you present are higher and grander than any mere political measure. Nearly a quarter of a century ago, when the very existence of the republic and establishment of democratic representative government hung trembling upon the issue of the greatest civil war the world has ever known or may ever know, by wisdom born of imperious necessity, a financial system, springing from a patriotic impulse to save the nation's life and rescue the hope of free institutions for all men from going down forever in darkness and death, was devised by the great and good men of that day, to whose care republican government, to be administered for the people and by the people, had been confided.

That system of finance, for a free people, in its infancy saved the life of a nation perishing without it, and broke the chains that enslaved 4,000,000 of men.

It gave to this country, war raging, a prosperity it had never known before.

It enabled the people to assess upon themselves and pay taxes of an extent before unknown to any country on earth.

It made it possible for the Government to repay threefold all it received in loans from any creditor, or gave to him security more profitable and stable than was ever issued by any power in the world, and made the financial system of our Government at once the envy and admiration of all men.

This was done by the legal-tender currency while questions as to its stability were raised by the very form of the legislation by which it was enacted, and while still graver doubts prevailed in the minds of many wise and patriotic men whether a legal-tender currency—inexpensive, in fact resting not on the intrinsic value of the material on which it is coined—was within the constitutional competency and power of the legislative branch of the Government.

That question having been three times submitted to the Supreme Court of the United States, the very highest tribunal of constitutional construction, was at last decided in the affirmative with such unanimity as only to show that there might have been a possible reasonable doubt against it.

One purpose of your organization and of those who thought and acted with you, although not of it, was to support and sustain this money as the currency of the people. This, the people's currency, you well say was designated by its friends by the pet name of the "Greenback."

Two years ago I did myself the honor to say that a currency so commended by the merit of its great deeds wrought for the people's safety and prosperity, enacted by the highest legislative power, adjudicated by such a court, and the decision about to be re-affirmed, was an accomplished fact never again to be disturbed or doubted, so that its friends might well say: "See!"

The end of our labors in this regard has come; let us rejoice; let those who aided in this great work press on to deal with equally important, unsettled, and necessary measures for the welfare of the whole people.

The legal tender having become the very foundation of, as well as a measure of value, intertwined with all the business of the people, the engine of prosperity of the nation, it seems to be almost an act of cruelty again to disturb causelessly a financial question which has been so set at rest with the assent of all good men—as much so as was the question of the right of man to hold his brother man in slavery.

Therefore, I said, I am glad that that question has no longer a part in political consideration, and statesmanship may now turn from it, as the country has turned from the question of slavery and the war.

But, alas!

The power of the darkness of error!

The resurrectionists of false ideas of the dead past dug up the mouldering remains of the contention from the peaceful graves where they slept, and threaten by a rehash

* Of the Greenback-National Presidential Nomination.

of exploded resolutions, formulated into a platform by a party convention, to revivify and agitate controversies which will unsettle commercial values, hinder and delay the business energies of our people, with apparently but a single object—to extend a system of purely paper currency, issued by corporations established by the Government; indeed, but for private emolument and gain to the corporators; which currency itself is to be valuable only because it is made redeemable in the very greenback which this ghoul-like agitation seeks to repudiate, overthrow, and destroy.

Such a currency Andrew Jackson, with the prescience and wisdom of a statesman, by the iron hand of the soldier, sustained by the Democracy of more than a generation ago, had wholly crushed out, and in the hope of the wise and good had buried forever as one of the grievous errors of administration which had insidiously crept into the Government for the aggrandizement of the few to the destruction of the people.

As a Democrat, taught in the Jackson school in my early youth, with my judgment matured by many years converse in public affairs, aided by earnest and deep study, with the intensity of purpose which a topic of such magnitude affecting every interest of the people—nay, it may be the very existence of free institutions—demands, I am constrained, were it the last act of my life, in view of this attempt to undo what Jackson had so well done, coming from whatsoever quarter it may, to say to you, gentlemen, that there seems a wisdom, indeed a necessity, for the further continuance of your organization in the renewed exigency, and, therefore, upon this contestation I am with you.

And if there were but two of us, we ought to stand together against this great wrong, and call upon all true men to stand with us, either inside or outside, as the case may be, of other political organizations which may aim to perfect other measures for the good of the country.

I thank you for your suggestion that, in the other matters toward which your organization turns—the interest of labor; the preservation of the lands of the people for the benefit of the people; the control of agencies created by the Government to be used for the good of the people; to regulate and control a system of inter-state commerce which shall control and cheapen transportation of persons, freight, and intelligence, and to protect all in their just rights, and to confine all to their true duties, to the end that there may be in this country equality of rights, equality of burdens, equality of privileges, and equality of powers to all persons under the law—has been the political rule of my life.

I have the honor to be, with personal esteem, very respectfully, your friend and servant,

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER.

PART VI.

Hon. Benjamin F. Butler's (Second) Letter of Acceptance.*

To my Constituents:

In compliance with oft-repeated and anxious inquiries, I hasten to give account of my stewardship and of the political interests with which I was charged. They are four:

1. Hostility to all monopolies in commerce, industries, and lands.
2. The preservation of the national legal-tender currency of the people, constitutionally issued by Congress.
3. The needs of all men and women who labor in the production of wealth to be protected against the encroachments of those who absorb and consume without producing.
4. The necessity for reform and correction of abuses in government, so that its pressure on the people would be made as light as possible; its administration effective, to guard the rights of American citizens at home and abroad; to make public servants, individual or incorporate, subservient to the use and will of the people only, so as to restore the prosperity of the country, with equal rights, equal burdens, equal powers, and equal privileges of all people.

These latter were specially confided to me by the Democratic masses of Massachusetts, to whom alone I owe grateful duty for high consideration and support during years of effort in the reform of government, but to no Democratic organization whatever. They were to be presented to the National Democratic Convention for its acceptance and adoption as the axioms of Democratic rule as practised by our fathers.

I had intended, if these great principles of government, by the people and for the people only, had been cordially received and earnestly and honestly adopted by that convention as the political chart of the Democratic Party, to have permitted my name to be presented to the convention for the suffrages of the people as Chief Executive to administer and carry forward the necessary measures; in which case I should have been bound by its action to support both its platform and nominees.

That I should be placed in that high position I knew was the will of the 150,000 voters of that Commonwealth, who had expressed their confidence by their votes so unanimously that no man from that State could have been a delegate to that convention if he had dared to breathe aloud that he was opposed either to the principles I represented or to my personal candidature.

In thus doing the will of those who sent me I sought none of the honors of the convention, and interfered with none of its pro-

* Of the Greenback, Labor and Anti-Monopoly Nomination.

ceedings, save to serve as a member of its committee on what should have been its platform of principles, and not of expediency.

Owing to an accident without fault of any one, I reached that committee only after it had been some hours in session, and then found by solemn vote twice over that it was equally divided upon the question whether in raising the moneys necessary for an honest and economical carrying on of the Government the Democratic Party would pledge itself to tax the people in such manner only as would best promote American enterprise and American industry, and foster and cherish American labor. This division was shown by repeated votes of eighteen States to eighteen States in the choice as chairman, one who would represent the affirmative or negative of that vital proposition. The committee, failing to elect a chairman, remained under its temporary chairman during the remainder of its deliberations, with the understanding that after a tariff plank should be agreed upon, either one or the other of the two candidates, Messrs. Converse of Ohio, or Morrison of Illinois, should be elected permanent chairman and present a platform to the convention the tariff plank of which should most nearly accord with his views.

To find myself holding the controlling vote in a Committee on Resolutions of a Democratic National Convention was not a new or untried position. I had held that position twenty-four years before in the Charleston Convention of 1860; and there I was obliged by my convictions to differ from both sides. I then presented a second minority report of one, which was adopted by the convention.

At Chicago a sub-committee of eight was chosen, and directed to prepare a tariff plank, and submit it to the committee. In that sub-committee I presented a series of resolutions which may be thus summarized:

1. That no more revenue should be raised by any form of taxation than absolutely necessary for the expenses of the Government.

2. That such revenue should be raised by tariff on imports.

3. That all material used in arts and manufactures, and the necessaries of life not produced in this country, should come in free; but luxuries should be taxed to the highest possible point.

4. That the internal revenue tax upon liquors, distilled and fermented, and tobacco, being a war tax, should be sacredly devoted to relieving the people from the remaining burdens of the war, to wit, the care and comfort or relief of soldiers disabled in the wars of the Republic, and paying such pensions as Congress should from time to time allow such soldiers, and paid into a fund for that purpose, a like fund having been provided for our sailors.

5. That the laws imposing duties for rev-

enue should be so adjusted as best to promote American enterprise and American industry, to cherish and foster American labor, and not create monopolies.

On submitting these resolutions to the sub-committee, the first four articles were agreed to without a division; but the fifth, declaring the duty of the Government to so lay taxes as best to promote American enterprise and American industry, and cherish and foster American labor, failed of adoption by a vote of four to four.

From that hour any candidature of mine in that convention became to me impossible.

The defeat of any possible nominee of the party upon a free-trade platform seemed to me inevitable, even if not desirable. The influences which caused the change of three votes out of seven clearly foreshadowed the nominee.

At the next meeting of my delegation I requested that my name be not presented, and suggested to them to favor the nomination of a gentleman whose length of public service and long acquaintance with public affairs, and whose prior consideration in other Democratic conventions showed that he had some claims to be considered a Democratic statesman. All of the delegation who remained faithful to their constituents, and represented the Massachusetts Democracy, so voted, and with true consistency and propriety so stood firmly to the end.

Then ensued in the committee a struggle of many hours so to frame a tariff plank that should appear to say what mine said, and yet not say it, and appear to say to the contrary, and yet not say it; like the Western hunter who tried to shoot his rifle at something he dimly saw stirring in a bush, so as to hit it if it was a deer and miss it if it was a calf.

With this struggle of ingenuity and deception, as if for a prize, of course, I had nothing to do, but simply stood by my guns. My resolutions were never again voted upon in the committee, nor was the tariff resolution in the words in which it was presented to the convention agreed upon in the sub-committee at all, but was amended after it was presented to the general committee. It will be observed that mine was substantially the Ohio tariff plank, which, when offered by Mr. Converse in general committee, was also voted down, although it had been adopted by many State conventions.

I afterward offered a series of resolutions in favor of

Industries and laboring men and women of the country.

That as under existing laws all controversies between labor and capital can only be settled by brute force; and that as capital is strong and labor weak, therefore Govern-

ment should establish tribunals in which these great controversies may be settled.

That it should be provided by law that laboring men may combine and organize for their own protection, as capital may be incorporated and combined for its protection; and that all laws that hinder the laboring men in this right are oppressive and ought to be changed.

That all the great woes of our country have come because of imported labor. That America ought never to be a lazarus-house for the reception of the pauper labor of other countries, sent here through governmental aid, or brought here under contract by capital, for the purpose of debasing American working men and women, by competing with them through imported or convict labor.

That labor has a right to demand a just share of the profits of its own production.

That the future of the country unites with the laboring men in demanding a liberal support by the United States of common-school education in the States, so that all citizens shall be sufficiently instructed in their duties as freemen and electors.

All of which, one after another, were voted down.

To sustain the legal-tender currency.

I also presented a resolution declaring that the legal-tender currency, under the decision of the Supreme Court, was now the constitutional currency of the country, and should not be interfered with; and that business interests should not be disturbed by financial discussion.

That also was voted down in the committee, and a resolution passed that the Democracy were in favor of "honest money." This was intended to be, and is, an insult to every friend of constitutional currency, and was presented by one of the most narrow-minded of capitalists.

Opposed to monopolies.

I also offered a resolution that all monopolies, as they tend to make two classes, the very rich and the very poor, were hurtful to the people of the Republic. Voted down.

I also offered a resolution that the agents of the Government, whether State or National, incorporated to do public business, were the servants of the people, and should be regulated by the power that created them.

This resolution seemed necessary because the contrary had lately been enunciated from a high source as a proposition of constitutional law, to which I cannot agree.

That was voted down.

Another resolution that it was the duty of Congress to provide by law that railroads should not make discriminating rates so as to enhance the price of the necessities of life between the producer and consumer.

That suffered the same fate.

No swooping of the land of the people by the aristocracy.

Again, a resolution declaring the public lands to be the heritage of the people, and that they ought to be held in small quantities for that purpose only, and another resolution that public lands were held in trust by the Government for those who became citizens of the United States, and ought not to be permitted to be monopolized in large areas by corporations and the aristocracy of Europe.

Both voted down.

Foreign navies not to control the Pacific Coast in case of war.

Again, a resolution that the United States will not permit a ship canal to be built across the Isthmus of Panama without its consent, except that it will exercise the right to take possession of it whenever the necessity of the country demands.

That, too, was voted down.

Change of officials healthy.

I also offered a resolution that the various offices of the Government belong to the people thereof, and that frequent changes of Federal officials were necessary to counteract the growing aristocratic tendencies to life office, as well as for the discovery and punishment of frauds and embezzlements of public money.

This was voted down.

Citizens not to be sent away to be tried.

Again, I offered in sub-committee, resolutions defining the duty of the United States to protect every citizen everywhere, and also that no American citizen should be tried for any act done in this country except under its own laws, and on its own soil, and that there was no power in the Government to send a citizen elsewhere to be tried therefor.

These resolutions were voted down in the sub-committee, but when offered in the general committee, there being nothing in the platform deemed by that committee to be a substantial equivalent, they were adopted, although there were some namby-pamby statements reported by the sub-committee on the same subject.

This will account to those curious in such matters for two sets of resolutions upon the same subject in the platform, to which I call attention, and designate for convenience as the "American" and the "English" resolutions, as to the rights of American citizens to protection by their Government.

These declarations of principles seem to cover most of the live questions in politics in which the people are interested.

Full consideration not permitted.

Through the courtesy of the chairman of the committee, and by personal intercession, I obtained the boon of thirty minutes to pre-

sent and discuss a charter of the people's rights at an hour crowding on midnight, but before it could be printed and laid before the convention, and with the refusal of the convention to adjourn to the morning before a vote was taken upon them. So eager were the members to get at their work of predestined nomination.

And such a convention has been called a deliberative body!

It is true that it spent days upon the unit rule, which required a man's vote to be cast against his conscience and judgment, in spite of his protest, by others, and days in trying to settle the internal dissensions of the machine politics of a single State; but it could give thirty minutes only to the discussion of principles for the government of the Nation. I therefore could substantially present but one plank, the most important of all, the protection of the American laborer and producer, without which, in my judgment, there can be no prosperity to this country.

And this was voted down in the convention by a vote of $712\frac{1}{2}$ to $97\frac{1}{2}$.

I felt it but right to warn the convention, however unimportant such warning might seem, of the course of my duty if such a vote was passed against the workingmen and women of the country, for whose welfare it was well-known I had stood from my earliest manhood. The notice was in this emphatic language: "If you refuse to stand by the workingmen, God help you; I cannot." In this there was no mistake. Mr. Watterson of Kentucky, who followed me, took warning, saying the party would look to God for help, but the Scripture sayeth "the prayer of the wicked availeth not." It was due to myself not to adopt the course which certain pure-minded, and upright and highly moral politicians deem it proper to pursue, take part in the proceedings of a convention to its end, and then, without giving any notice to anybody, and without protesting, refuse to support its doings.

I have thus given a succinct, as it must be, but a faithful account of my connection with the Chicago Convention and its action on the matters which I was charged to present to it by the National Greenback Labor Party, the Anti-Monopoly Organization, and the Democracy of Massachusetts.

Platform one of expedients.

I will not omit the fact that in the platform adopted there were certain sweet phrases used toward the foreign-born citizen. There were certain honeyed words, over and over repeated, in order that their repetition might seem like earnest advocacy put in favor of labor, and upon some of the topics of our platform. But I do claim, and submit to the just judgment of the people, that comparing the two platforms and taking the action of the Convention, every claim of the Anti-Monopolist, and of the

National Greenback and Labor men, was so contemptuously rejected or so thoroughly smothered by platitudes which would permit any financial theorist or any monopolist to subscribe to the majority platform, that it is most apparent on the face of the resolutions that they were simply resolutions of expedients, to catch votes by indirection, deception, and illusion, not declarations of those high principles which should form the basis of the united action of a great party of the people.

Why an explicit platform should be demanded of the Democracy.

The country has had no experience for nearly a quarter of a century of what the Democracy would do if they had the power, so that the people are obliged to require the most explicit pledges from them of intended action, before we can put the Government in their hands. But the farmer and the laboring man do know that a Democratic House of Representatives had just appropriated more money raised by taxation than any other House of Representatives has ever appropriated in time of peace. We also know that the Democratic majority would have made a free-trade tariff, containing all the odious features of the present war tariff, so far as regards its monstrous inequalities, by a horizontal reduction of the tariff to break down very many rising and struggling industries, and destruction of the homes of our workingmen and the home markets of the American producers.

Who does not know that the very fear of the action of the Democracy in Congress has no paralyzed American enterprise and business, that mills are everywhere closing, mines shut up, furnaces blown out, and every kind of employment so curtailed that the mechanic and workingmen are not earning enough to support life in comfort; so that the farmer even, deprived of a home market, and crushed down by discriminating rates of transportation, finds his corn, wheat, and wool lower than it has been within the present generation. Can the people therefore trust the machine Democracy with power, upon a shifting, evasive, and deceptive platform?

We know the Republicans—How the mighty have fallen.

The country has had experience in Republican Party rule twenty-five years, and knows its results. We therefore have no need to look at its platform, for "by their fruits ye shall know them."

The Republican Party in its inception was emphatically the party of the people. It had in it substantially neither monopolist nor capitalist. It was as poor as was the convention of delegates who framed the Declaration of Independence. Taking out five men, the rest could hardly pay their board bills.

The Republican Party was formed upon a grand and noble idea, to do for one class of workingmen what the Democratic Party, even under Jefferson and Jackson, had failed to do. Their Democracy dealt only with the white man. The Democracy of the Republican Party dealt with the black man, and aimed to give him freedom and equal rights. For that purpose, and that alone, was that party formed. It was the radical party, and so radical a party of the people, that the aristocratic part of the Whig party, the old adversaries of the Democracy of the days of Jackson, merged themselves in the Democracy without a drop of Democratic blood, as they hoped, in their veins, or a thought for the people, except as the lower classes in their party, and such of them as a quarter of a century has spared are found with the Democracy of to-day largely guiding its councils in the manner we have seen.

How Republicans became the party of monopolists.

The necessity for money to carry on the war drew all the bankers and capitalists into the Republican Party. The immense fortunes, almost necessarily growing out of the vast expenditures of the war, fell into the hands of men who attached themselves to the party that fed them, as the iron is attracted by the magnet, and monopolized industries and enterprises.

The necessity to bind together the eastern and western shores of the Republic by methods of quick transportation, giving reason for immense subsidies, granted to three systems of railroads across the continent with all their branches and feeders, created wealth in corporations and individuals, to a degree before unheard of, in this or any other country, and brought all those interests substantially into the Republican Party. And if any stayed in the Democratic Party, they were in confederation with the same class, to so arrange politics that whichever party came in power, capital, in all its varied and powerful forms, would be sure of control, and the people ground up as "between the upper and nether mill stone." Thus it will be readily seen, and he who runs may read, that the Republican Party is the party of monopoly, of corporate interests in every form of industry, and every department of business and finance.

The Anti-Monopolists can expect nothing from the Republican Party for reasons before stated, and because it holds both houses by the rich men who are the owners of monopolies, or their paid attorneys.

Claiming to protect labor they only protect capital.

True, it has in all its tariff legislation claimed to protect and cherish American labor, but always only as an adjunct to American capital. Capital engaged in

manufactures and other industries can only be successful when the American laborer is well paid, and surrounded with the comforts of life. But how little has the greed of capital allowed or comprehended this great fact; to prove which I need only to recall to your minds how capital, chafing under even a partially fair division of its great profits with labor, has sought to relieve itself from this scant measure of justice even, by the importation of foreign labor from every country whence it could be brought from the Chinas to the western shores of the Atlantic.

Why have they done this? Because these imported laborers can, and for a time do, live on what would starve the American workingmen and so can work very much cheaper, for it has ever been the rule, and if the workingmen do not take the remedy for this fearful state of things into their own hands, ever will be the rule that the wages of labor are only so much and no more as will support him and his wife and children in the lowest degree of comfort when all of them are at work who can work.

In addition to this imported cheap labor, and the use of convict labor at a nominal price wherever it could be had, thereby debasing and lowering the high standard of American labor, the perfection of machinery, by which so great a share of production is effected, has so lessened muscular effort in labor that capitalists have been enabled to utilize the labor of women and children to a very large extent to do that work which men formerly did. Thus the workingman's wife and sisters are made the instruments of lowering his own rate of wages.

But it will be said, surely to employ the women and children profitably cannot be objectionable. Certainly not, if it is profitable to themselves, their fathers and husbands and the country.

How stands the fact? Women's labor is employed in manufactories at a very much less price than men's labor, even that poor quality of men's labor imported from abroad, while women and even children can do that class of labor equally well with the best of men. Laboring men are thereby thrown out of employ, or else compelled to work at unremunerative prices. Thus capital gets still further advantage of a tariff put on imported articles as is claimed to enable the American producer to pay more to American labor than the foreign laborer receives as wages. It will therefore be seen that capital, thus taking to itself as a rule from the poor mechanic, who invents them, all the good gifts of God given to mankind in improvement in machinery for production, uses those very improvements for the purpose of still further lowering the wages of the American workman by the employment of women and female children to tend this improved machinery. To illustrate the ex-

tent to which this has gone, there are 90,000 females in Massachusetts alone, one sixth of the wage people, working at wages out of their own homes at an average not more than 50 per cent of what is paid to males.

These wrongs taint the very life-blood of the people.

This condition of things is not one affecting economic questions alone, but it goes to the very vitality of the Nation. I do not say that a workingman employed at the bench or the machine cannot be the father of as healthy children, both in body and mind, as if not so employed. On the contrary, I think him far more capable in that direction than is the idle and effeminate consumer of other men's works without labor, who has incapacitated his manly powers, perhaps, by his vices; and therefore the infusion of fresh blood from the farm and the workshop has been found necessary to sustain the business prosperity of the cities. But I do say that no wife or mother, from whom physiologists tell us the child must receive largely its mental endowments, was intended by the Almighty to spend her young years or mature age in standing for many hours a day behind a counter, or confined in tending a machine.

If the laboring woman had the ballot she would be able, with the assistance of her husband, father, and brother, to right this great wrong, but being denied it she becomes virtually a slave.

Employ women if you will and must, but let it be at the same remunerative wages when they do the same work as men, so that they may at the earliest moment release themselves from thraldom.

The Republican Party has released the colored man from bondage and given him the ballot for his protection. Why, in the score of years since, has not that party by the same species of class legislation saved the white women of the Nation from deteriorating its children?

With an overwhelming majority, Republicans have spent months and months in devising laws for the elevation of womanhood in the Territory of Utah. Be it so! Why has not some Republican statesman given a few hours in these later years when Southern troubles have passed away, or been overlooked, to the question whether the women of the Nation, if not protected by other legislation, should not be allowed the ballot with which to protect themselves, as that party gave it for like purposes to the negro.

For these reasons, a tariff which gives to capital protection upon the ground that thereby American labor may be protected, has too often turned out by means, some of which I have mentioned, to be simply the enhancement of the profits of capital, while labor still remains substantially unrewarded, and certainly without any just share of the profits.

Herein, as experience has shown, the laboring classes have nothing to hope from the Republican Party. The first and only object of protection in laying duties should be to protect labor, and never to protect capital, which can be left to protect itself, as it is amply able to do. It should, moreover, be restrained from getting more than its fair share of the profits of production and transportation.

Nor has labor any hope from that party to aid its necessities or protect its rights.

The Republican Party has granted subsidies to railroads and steamships, erected many and expensive public buildings, spent many millions in opening the mouth of the Mississippi and leveeing its banks, and many millions in improving rivers and harbors. These grants amount to a sum equal to half the national debt. Without criticising the propriety of these grants, although some of them are open to criticism, yet these are all aids to the capitalist and land-owner.

Point me to one grant or act in aid of the workingman. I do not forget the eight-hour law for Government laborers and mechanics, but there never has been honesty and power enough in Republican administration to enforce that law.

When in Congress I introduced a bill and advocated it as well as I could that Congress grant aid to families of laboring men in cities to settle on the public lands in the West and make homes for themselves, and as communities be able to protect themselves against the Indians, and thus dispense with the cost of the army. It slept in the proper committees of a Democratic House and Republican Senate the sleep of all proposals in favor of labor that knows no waking.

This bill would have begun another much-needed reform, the reduction to a skeleton of the regular army, which is expensively useless in time of peace.

Let Congress expend half of the vast sum, \$30,000,000, now appropriated to the army for its varied expenditures, in organizing and disciplining the militia to be trained under the authority of the States, instead of the paltry \$200,000 heretofore given, and we shall have a military force as a reliance in every emergency, like the trained and organized militia of Massachusetts and the National Guard of New York—the first armed bodies at the Capital when in danger in '61.

The Republican Party has in its ranks many good, true, and conscientious men, who followed its fortunes and carried its elections because it protected the labor of the South in its rights, and claimed to protect the laborer of the North in his wages.

I call the attention of such men to the fact that that party has failed to do either. Laboring men are out of employment and starving, after a quarter of a century of Republican rule. Nay, more! It is well known

in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and how far in other parts of the North I leave the good and just-minded of those localities to speak, capital has coerced the votes of the laboring men to its own purposes by threats, intimidation, and in some cases worse means. The negro of the South, also, cannot go to the ballot-box for fear of the shotgun, and if he does the ballot-box stuffer puts in two votes to neutralize his one.

To the substantiation of these facts I call upon the laboring men of both sections to bear witness. Is it not so? You know as I know; you feel as I feel upon this matter. I submit to the producer, whether the farmer, the mechanic, or the laborer, whether he has any hope as against the inroads of capital upon the rights of labor or the grasp of monopolies which absorb all the profits of production, until we have in this country, even in its youth, almost infancy as regards the length of life of nations, richer men than in any other country in the world, and as poor men as any other country in the world, however enslaved that country may be—for a man cannot be poorer than starvation.

Republican legislation on finance responsible for the present distressed state of business.

In the matter of finance there is nothing to hope from the Republican Party any more than from the Democratic Party. The bankers and capitalists of both parties uniting together have controlled for twenty years the financial legislation of the Nation. And the result? What have we just seen? With money enough in the country for all its wants; with no substantial drain from abroad; with an accumulation of wealth such as the world never has seen; with a crop of corn and wheat almost untouched, and another one about to be garnered; with a stock of petroleum already produced sufficient for the consumption of the world for a year; with nearly a year's stock already produced of cotton goods; with more than six months' stock of woollen goods as they will average; with a production of iron that leaves its further production impossible until greater consumption becomes possible; with provisions in such abundance that the means of sustaining life are cheaper than before for fifty years; yet, because of our financial system, in every class of business, embarrassments and failures to an unheard-of extent, with banks locking up their money in millions upon millions, and allowing their customers, who by our financial system have been made dependent upon them, to be ruined; the producing laborer goes about the street unemployed; and the farmer's wheat, which with our fathers was a measure of value, is a drug in the market; and that which he raises to-day, produced by the sweat of his face, is without profit to his industry!

Greenback remedy for financial ills.

We, the despised Greenbackers, offered a remedy for all this, which no reflecting keen-sighted business man will now say would not have been effectual. Myself in Congress more than fifteen years ago proposed that instead of issuing a United States bond which would be held by capitalists only, and for the purpose of securing a bank currency only, Congress should make an interconvertible bond at a low rate of interest, to be issued by the Government, so that any man might invest in it instead of placing his money in savings banks or trust companies to be loaned out on margins on kiting stocks, and then lost when he called for it. That bond, bearing three and sixty-five one hundredths per cent interest, to be presented by the holder at any time to the treasury, and legal-tenders to be issued for it and thus the interest to that amount of the National debt accrues to the Government instead of being paid by it from the taxes of the people. And then when another bond was desired by the investor, one should be issued by the Government, and interest thereon begin.

Every financier knows that it is the odd fifty millions withdrawn or put out that makes a redundancy or scarcity of circulating medium; and is there a man who dares say now that such a bond would not have prevented the panic and desolation to business through which we are now passing?

The time has come when the greenback is sustained by the Supreme Court as a constitutional currency against the opinions of the paid attorneys of every financier of the country. The time will come if the people of this country can get the clutch of monopoly of its currency off its throat, when such a system of finance as I have sketched will give freedom to the industrial and business interests of the country from the terrible fluctuations which the people now suffer.

We want no canal but ours across the Isthmus.

It will be observed that I put in my platform a plank against the construction of a Panama ship canal without the consent of the United States.

I hold such a canal in time of peace destructive to our commerce. San Francisco has become an "entrepot" of goods, of which the products of American industries form a large part, for distribution over the western coast of North America, which commerce we now control. Make this canal and England dominates that commerce as she now does that of the western coast of Central and South America.

In time of war, with the Panama Canal open, England seizes it by her immense navy and from thence can ravage and blockade our whole Pacific coast. This she cannot do now, because she owns no coaling station nearer than the Sandwich Islands, from

which it will be quite impossible to supply a blockading fleet.

Our three systems of railroads across the continent, when run in competition and not in collusion, can carry our productions to the western coast cheaply enough, and in that case, at least, the freight will be paid to our own citizens.

So in peace or war we must control that canal.

The Republican Party has done nothing to protect the interests and dignity of the country in this behalf, and the Democracy refuse to promise even to do anything!

The people get nothing from the old parties.

Experience, the best teacher, therefore establishes the fact that commerce, the industries, the laboring man, the anti-monopolist, the greenbacker, the farmer or other small producers, all of whose interests are identical, can get or hope nothing from either or both the present organized parties.

The Republican Party is bound hand and foot to capitalized monopoly.

The Democratic Party is governed in its conventions by a combination of a solid South, from whence no laboring man, white or black, is a delegate, and where the aristocracy of capital alone is heard, and the political machine corruptious of substantially a single State of the North, which confederacy dominates its platform and nominates its candidates and holds them firmly in its grip if elected.

The people the governing class.

What then is the duty of the classes of men just enumerated in the coming National election? They, by numbers as well as intelligence—for everybody knows more than anybody—ought to be the governing classes under the theory of our Constitution. They stand in the same social, business and other relations to the class of men in the old parties who believe they are of right the governing class, and who, in fact, by the control of party and other machinery, are the governing class, as did our fathers in the time of the revolution to the clergy, the officials and offshoots of British aristocracy who claimed to be, and believed they were, the governing classes.

Declare your independence.

You have the power to make this Government your Government, as did your fathers. This can only be done by acting together! Be not deceived, stand by each other! Let the people unite for the good of the people! To prevent such union has been the policy of the leaders, monopolists of all shades of opinion, enemies of the people, who, while they join together in fact in control of the Government, claim to belong to different parties. You know that it makes no difference to you whether one set of them or the

other is in power, no burden on the people is lightened, no monopoly is crushed.

Whoever wins, the workingman gets only a curse.

Whichever party carries on the Government, laboring men and women are permitted to enjoy only the benefits of the primeval curse: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." You enjoy none of God's blessings! Why not? You earn and produce them all—all that He vouchsafes to man, save the air we breathe. They are yours in the sight of high heaven! Stand together and a just share of them is yours.

In other lands the just rights of the people are only to be got out of the hands of their enemies and rulers by the bayonet and the bullet. But in America as yet, thank God and your brave fathers, the ballot, the free-man's shield and sword, is left to you, and you can if you stand together protect yourselves against all oppressive, unjust and purchased legislation, which burdens the people and undermines the free institutions of your country.

The ballot in danger from the British Party.

How long will the precious ballot be left to every freeman?

The people must act now and assert their power, or they may lose it forever.

Already the British Party in this country, those who ape the British aristocracy, wear clothes which are imported, largely without paying duties, because they feel that an American mechanic cannot make cloth good enough for them; can only be waited on by British servants, and cut their whiskers even British fashion, so as to appear as un-American as possible; are saying to each other: why should the lower classes have the ballot, and thus the masses rule the country against us? Or as one of their magazines published in Boston expresses it, "A few old families have the traditional right to govern the politics of Massachusetts." So that in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, as a beginning, we find each legislature striving in its turn to throw every obstruction, hinderance, and impediment in the way to prevent the poor man exercising a freeman's right to cast his ballot, and to drive him from the polls by requiring money qualifications and all other devices that ingenuity may invent. By these means Rhode Island is governed by the few and not by the many; by an aristocracy of birth and wealth, and not by the people. In the late general election for members of Congress in that State, 5021 votes only were thrown by all parties in the election of a member of Congress, while at the West where a free ballot is still in the hands of every man, at the same election 63,286 votes were required in the election of a Congressman.

And this is called equal representation of the people in the Government!

Let every true American ponder upon these figures, and inquire, whither is the country drifting? If such inequalities are possible in the beginning, what will be the end? Let the people arise in their might and bring back the Government where our revolutionary fathers placed it, on the foundation of freedom, with equal rights, equal burdens, equal privileges, and equal powers to all men.

How the people lost their control of the Government.

Why have the people lost or forborne to exercise this great power? At first there were two parties contending for great principles; the Federal against the Democratic. The one represented the capitalist, the monopolist, and those believing that kingly government was best, if it was a home government, although willing to aid in the expulsion of King George's Government. Hamilton and Adams led this; Jefferson and Madison led the other.

The divisions were so great that in that day there was no third party. When the Federal Party was in power we had the alien and sedition laws, and judges appointed at midnight, and aristocratic forms of office.

Under Jefferson and Madison the people held sway and called themselves the Democracy, as in fact they were; and then, republican simplicity of manners, economy in Government, and respect for the rights of the people were the order of the day.

This state of things continued until the time of Jackson; in his administration a great banking monopoly was broken down. Then arose only minor questions between the parties, industrial and economic, about which there was really not much difference. And until the question of the abolition of slavery arose, it was exceedingly difficult to distinguish the parties by their platforms, except that in the Democratic platforms there was always a pledge to the resolutions of '98. This contention on the slavery question produced the war. How the war enabled the monopolists to get possession of both parties I have already shown. Since then actual differences between the parties in matter of principle have in fact died out, or only enough kept up to have a distinction. Witness the attempt of the convention at Chicago to make its platform appear to be as nearly as possible like the Republican platform on the tariff question, and yet not be the same.

The monopolist always wins in elections.

The cunning of the monopolists and capitalists has taught them that if they can only keep the people of the country voting according to party lines, they then can govern the country whichever party prevails. Did I need evidence of this, it would be in the declaration ascribed to the largest and ablest railroad king in the country, Mr. Gould, who is said to have testified before a com-

mittee, in substance, that when he had a Democratic legislature to manipulate he was a Democrat, and whenever a Republican legislature, he was a Republican. That is to say, to carry his measures, he helped elect, by his money, Democrats and Republicans indiscriminately; but both sets of his members were always Gould men.

No monopolist cares which party wins. He is only anxious that the nominating convention of each party should nominate a candidate whom he can control.

Thus are the people played with and kept apart by the Fetish, called "party allegiance," ever bound to the chariot wheels of their oppressors.

Labor never wins, and why?

Might we not learn something from the fate of the African negroes? In their own country, each tribe had its Fetish, and they fought each other for its supremacy, and both sides sold the prisoners captured in these battles to the white men as slaves. So the laboring man votes for his Fetish, the Democratic Party; and the farmer votes for his Fetish, the Republican Party; and the result is that both are handed over as captives to the corruptionists and monopolists whichever side wins.

Mark this: The laborers and the people never win!

Let no man say that I desire to array one class in this country against another class. Not so. I wish to set all classes against the corruptionists, the plunderers and the absorbers of other people's earnings wrongfully by bought legislation, and speaking for the whole people I desire to array them against such men only. And if to any it seems differently, let him reflect that among the common people of the country there is no political bribery, corruption, or desire to do anything except to have good government, under which men may earn for themselves and their families a wholesome subsistence and a fair competence.

Every convention of either party is prevented, if possible, from nominating any pronounced friend of the laboring man or Anti-Monopolist to high office. Witness the fate of Mr. Thurman, the most accomplished Democratic statesman of all, in the convention calling itself Democratic at Chicago.

Vote together is the only remedy.

What then is the remedy for these so monstrous evils? How can the people, the true Democracy, repossess themselves of their Government, to make laws to protect their own interests and to redress these great wrongs and cause the plunderers to disgorge their robberies from the Treasury?

Vote for a third party; you will not lose your vote.

The cry has already gone forth: "If the people put a third candidate in the field

those who vote for him will throw away their votes." Be it so. The voter will do worse than throw away his vote if he votes for either candidate of the Monopolists. Such vote thereby perpetuates the rule of his oppressors without protest, if by his vote he puts or keeps either in power.

The same argument was used in 1848 to the abolitionists, that they should not vote for Van Buren to establish free soil. And again the same cry went out in 1852 when the Whig and Democratic Parties made the same platform on the slavery question to crush out the Abolition Party forever. But the true-hearted Free Soilers stood firm, and appeared, if you please, to throw away their votes; but though the Democracy elected their candidate with only four States in opposition, yet in 1856 the Free Soilers, the despised third party, elected Fremont, who was counted out by the returning boards of that day, but the Whig Party was destroyed. And in 1860, by the third party of 1852, Lincoln was elected and the Democratic Party was worse than destroyed. As its majority gravitated to treason and armed rebellion I left it then to serve the country as now I do.

Fear not. The people will not have to wait eight years for their triumph. Every thing, including politics, travels faster now, as there are more railroads and telegraphs to distribute intelligence.

In politics, as in everything else, there is a seed time and harvest. He who expects to reap must sow, and he can't reap when he ought to be sowing, and the Presidential crop is harvested only once in four years.

Fuse.

In framing your electoral ticket, make a fusion in all the States with the supposed minority, and make it upon this theory: not that you are going to vote for the electors of any candidate opposed to your interests, not that the friends of the other candidate are going to vote for yours, but agree that you will run the same electoral ticket, provided the electors who compose it are, as they ought to be, reputable men who will be bound by their honorable undertakings, which is all there is that binds the electoral college to vote in any direction; and then have it agreed that the electoral vote of the State shall be divided in the electoral college according to the number of votes thrown for your candidate and the number of votes thrown for the other candidate on the same ticket. The number of votes which each candidate gets will be known with substantial accuracy long before the official count is made. Therefore you will have every incentive to vote for your candidate, because the larger number of votes you cast the more electoral votes will your candidate get, and the less will the other have. And

those who are voting for the same electors with you will throw as many votes as they can for their candidate in order that he shall have as large a share of the electoral vote of the State as possible, neither, in fact, voting for the candidate of the other. Thus you will show your strength and hold the balance of power.

Organize.

Organize in every State, and present at the polls an electoral ticket, and support it with your votes.

When the word "organize" is used, at once springs up to the mind the political machines which have been created, caucuses, conventions, and delegates who can be bought and sold in the market like sheep; the contrivances by which the people's enemies have conspired to take away their rights.

By that word I mean nothing of that sort. Organize in your workshop; agree to vote together for one ticket. There need to be no great and expensive meetings. You can vote together without a brass band just as well as you can with one. Torchlight processions are an invention of your enemies to deceive you into following their banner and marching to their music, and into not voting for your own interests, and the interests of your wives and your children.

Therefore let the people stand together and vote together, and sow the seeds of a great and victorious party, if not at this election, at the next. If you do not sow now, you will not reap then; nor is it at all certain that the seed has not been already sown, and will fructify by your votes into a substantial if not complete victory at this election.

The people's party will triumph.

The producers, the workingmen, the green-back men, and anti-monopolists are already organized, and if men will but vote their convictions, irrespective of deluding party cries, the people can achieve a victory now; and there is no power on earth that can prevent it. Let us then organize a "People's Party," representing every shade of political belief that a true Democrat or a true Republican, loving his country, loyal to her free institutions, wishing for her prosperity and glory, which alone can be had when the people are prosperous, when the laborer is fully paid, and when there is a fair division of the production of enterprise and labor, can or ought to hold.

It seems to me certain that at worst, even in the infancy of our organization, we can hold the balance of power between the two old parties; so that if we cannot wholly prevent bad and unjust legislation, we can force them to band together to enact it, and thus show themselves in form, as they are in fact, confederated against the people.

Elect Congressmen.

In many States, if we exert our strength, we already hold the balance of power. In quite one hundred Congressional districts less than one thousand votes will determine whether a friend of labor and the people or the tool of monopoly shall have a seat in Congress. Let us organize therefore in every district to see to it that no man goes to Congress from any district who is not with us and of us; strong enough in moral rectitude to stand for the rights of the people "unawed by power and unbought by gain."

Elect State Legislatures.

Again in balanced States make an alliance with whichever of the other parties will choose so to do. Minorities naturally gravitate toward each other. Give them some State officers and take others to yourselves upon an agreement that both parties shall vote the same ticket. Be particular to see to it that your own friends are sent to the State Legislatures. There are many States where laws are needed for the protection of the workingmen, the farmer, and the merchant against oppressors and monopolies, and if these will stand together, they can get that protection in spite of the monopolist. For example, in the State of New York as elsewhere, the producers, and traders, and consumers need cheap transportation and competition between water-borne freight and the railroads. The laboring men and toiling women want a five-cent-fare law for the Elevated Railroad. The mechanics need a good lien law. All need a law to limit the hours of labor, whether a woman toiling in a mill or standing behind a counter, or a conductor or driver standing on a car.

If anybody tells you that this is class legislation, reply to him, "Yes, we know it; we are legislating for our class a little while, for it is the first time we have had an opportunity. The other class has had legislation enough to last them for a hundred years."

To the Greenback-Labor Party and the Anti-Monopolist Organization and to the laboring men:

I had accepted the selection of your conventions as candidate for President. Anxious for the success of the principles which you represent, in which, as you know, I so heartily concurred, I presented, as you have learned, as your representative, your platform to the Democratic Convention, in the hope, if it were possible, that they might be adopted and made the rule of that party which should be composed of your friends and allies.

For reasons that I have made apparent, your principles were rejected and your alliances spurned. Personally I have no grievance with the convention. I was treated with every courtesy and consideration by its officers and members, for which I take pleasure

here and now to express obligations. But for you I have a grievance. The Democracy has left you to fight the battle against the oppressors of the people alone. We will fight the battle of the people together in the best manner we can; and I pledge to you all that I have of remaining strength in declining years to do all that in me lies in behalf of the principles that you and I hold dear, and without the early prevalence and adoption of which this Government cannot stand.

You will have one advantage in your candidate; you will have to spend no time in defending him. His doings have been known to the country for more than a quarter of a century. Every act of his life has been under a microscope lighted by the lurid fires of hate and slander. He is yet unharmed, and has no opinion to take back, no policy to recant, and no just charge to explain for what he has done either in peace or war.

Of personal advantage to myself nothing can accrue. I am too old to make selfish plans for the future; yet I hope as my last political act, if it so be, to do some service to the people and mankind in calling back the Government to the purpose for which it was framed by our fathers—a Government of the people, a Government by the many, and not by the few, nor for the interests of the few.

To the Democratic Party of Massachusetts:

As your representative I carried the principles which you have twice enunciated as your platform in your State conventions, and asked that they be adopted by the National Convention. That they were acceptable to the people I know, for they sustained you to victory once in form, and again to victory in fact, by a larger vote than Massachusetts ever gave any defeated candidate for chief magistrate,—38,000 more than our choice for President, General Hancock, got two years before. I had hoped to see the party of the people, which should be the true interpretation of the word Democracy, adopt that platform, and go on to victory under it, and carry out its beneficent professions in behalf of the weak and lowly who need protection at the hands of a true Democratic Government.

To withdraw as much as possible all personal considerations from interfering with my duties as your representative in upholding your cause and carrying forward your principles, I did not permit my name to come before the convention in candidature, although I am instructed that the fact is, and I glory in it, that I was the unanimous choice of the Democratic people of our State.

The convention for reasons, and under circumstances that I have hereinbefore stated, rejected your principles, spurned your platform, and instead of taking any

statesman of the Democracy, nominated as your candidate a gentleman whom two years ago there were not forty voters in your ranks knew lived on earth. I cannot be bound by the action of such a convention, so regardless of the interests of the people and of Democratic usages, and I so told that body.

Party allegiance carried to such extent is neither Democratic nor useful. I shall, therefore, unite myself with the laboring men and the true Democracy of the country, to do my endeavor with them to bring back the Government into control of the people, and I invite every good citizen, of whatever political faith, to join the "People's Party," to purify and reform the administration and redress the wrongs done by oppressive legislation.

There are some who call themselves Democrats that I would a little rather would not come with us; they are not of us. To the honest and fair-minded Democrats who have acted with me, but now believe their duty lies in an opposite direction, I bid a kindly political farewell until their conscientious patriotism shall bring them back in the near future to labor with me again in the people's cause, admitting that if I saw not too wisely, I saw better than they did the necessity for a change from party to country.

BENJ. F. BUTLER.

LOWELL, MASS., August 12, 1884.

[NOTE.—I have issued this address at an earlier day than I had intended, at the desire of many trusted and valued friends, but somewhat against my own judgment, because I think that the People's campaign should be a short, sharp, and decisive one, and should not be begun in fact, except perhaps a skirmish or two, until some thirty days later; and I had hoped to have had the advantage of a distinct statement of principles by the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and ascertained from his own declarations whether recanting some of his public opinions he might not show himself better than the official action of his party has shown itself by its platform.]

PART VII.

General A. M. West's Letter of Acceptance.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., July 3.

Col. J. R. Winston, of North Carolina, Chairman of the committee to notify Gen. A. M. West, of Holly Springs, Mississippi, of his nomination for Vice-President by the Greenback-Labor Party, received a letter from Gen. West formally acknowledging the receipt of the notification of his nomination. General West appealed to that class of people who are not blinded with party infatuation, to join in the great work of pacification, and rally to the defence of the principles of the Government. He arraigned the Republicans and Democrats for maladministration. His letter said: "They have diverted and abandoned more or less of the great principles they were organized to maintain, and now pose as mere belligerents, using the powers and opportunities of the State and National Governments to carry on their warfare, heedless of the consequences to the peace and happiness of the people; and unless restrained in their mad and ambitious career, they will again involve the country in acts and scenes of blood and carnage." General West says he believes the nomination of General Butler and himself was intended as a rebuke to sectionalism, and to practically recognize the coequality of all citizens, but he is constrained to decline. He gives as his reason the fact that the State and Federal authorities refused to recognize his party in the appointment of Election Commissioners, whereby the party in Mississippi had been demoralized and its efficiency impaired. On the receipt of General West's letter the Chairman of the Notifying Committee conferred with the National Committee, refused to accept General West's declination, and directed the tender of the nomination regardless of Mississippi politics, whereupon General West authorized the committee to announce his acceptance of the nomination.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Statistical Tables.

No. I.—Popular Vote for President

From 1864 to 1880, inclusive.

STATES.	1864.		1868.		1872.		1876.		1880.	
	Lincoln (Rep.)	McClellan (Dem.)	Grant (Rep.)	Seymour (Dem.)	Grant (Rep.)	Greeley (Lib.)	Hayes (Rep.)	Tilden (Dem.)	Garfield (Rep.)	Hancock (Dem.)
Alabama	76,366	72,068	90,282	79,444	68,230	102,002	56,221	91,185		
Arkansas	22,112	19,078	41,373	37,927	38,569	58,071	42,436	60,775		
California	62,134	43,841	54,583	51,077	54,030	40,718	78,614	75,845	80,348	80,426
Colorado										24,647
Connecticut	44,691	42,285	50,995	47,932	50,638	45,880	59,034	61,934	67,071	64,415
Delaware	8,155	8,707	7,623	10,980	11,115	10,200	10,732	13,381	14,123	15,275
Florida										27,964
Georgia										102,470
Illinois	180,490	158,730	250,303	199,143	241,944	184,928	278,232	258,601	318,037	277,321
Indiana	150,422	130,233	176,548	166,980	186,147	163,632	206,011	213,526	232,164	225,822
Iowa	89,075	49,596	120,390	74,040	131,566	71,196	171,327	112,099	183,927	105,845
Kansas	16,441	8,691	31,048	13,960	67,048	32,970	78,322	37,902	121,549	59,801
Kentucky	27,780	64,301	39,566	115,890	88,766	59,365	97,156	159,690	106,306	149,068
Louisiana										
Maine	61,803	44,211	70,493	42,460	61,422	29,087	66,300	49,823	74,000	65,171
Maryland	40,153	32,739	30,438	62,357	60,760	67,687	71,961	91,780	78,515	93,706
Massachusetts	126,742	48,745	136,477	59,408	133,472	50,260	150,063	108,777	163,205	111,960
Michigan	91,521	74,604	128,550	97,069	138,435	78,355	166,531	141,095	185,341	181,507
Minnesota	25,000	17,375	43,545	28,075	55,117	34,423	72,962	48,799	93,908	53,315
Mississippi										
Missouri	72,750	31,078	86,860	65,628	82,175	47,288	52,605	112,173	34,854	75,750
Nebraska										
Nevada	9,826	6,594	9,729	5,439	18,329	7,812	31,016	17,554	54,279	28,523
N. Hampshire	36,400	32,871	38,191	31,224	8,413	6,239	10,383	9,308	8,732	9,613
N. Jersey	60,723	68,024	50,131	83,201	91,636	70,450	103,517	115,962	120,355	122,565
New York	308,735	301,980	419,883	429,883	440,736	387,281	489,207	521,949	535,544	534,511
N. Carolina										
Ohio	96,769	84,601	94,769	70,094	108,417	125,427	115,874	124,208		
Oregon	9,888	8,457	10,061	11,105	11,819	7,730	15,206	14,140	20,619	19,948
Pennsylv'a	296,391	276,310	342,280	313,382	349,589	212,041	384,122	366,157	444,704	407,428
Rhode Isl.	13,692	8,470	12,933	6,548	13,665	5,329	15,787	10,712	18,195	20,779
S. Carolina										
Tennessee	63,301	45,237	72,290	72,503	91,370	50,906	89,566	133,166	107,677	128,191
Texas										
Vermont	42,419	13,321	44,167	12,045	41,481	10,927	44,092	20,254	45,267	18,316
Virginia										
W. Virginia	23,152	10,438	29,175	20,306	33,408	91,634	95,558	139,670	84,020	128,586
Wisconsin	83,458	65,884	108,857	84,707	104,907	86,477	130,668	123,927	144,400	114,649
Total	2,216,067	1,808,727	3,015,071	2,709,613	3,567,070	2,834,079	4,003,236	4,284,265	4,454,416	4,144,932
Majority	407,342	.....	305,458	.....	703,991	.....	Over all.	157,394	9,164	11ur'lity

In 1872 the Straight Democratic ticket (O'Connor) received 29,489 votes, and the Prohibition ticket (Black) 5,608.

In 1876 Cooper (Greenback) received 81,737 votes, and Smith (Prohibition) 9,522 votes. The "Anti-Secret Society ticket" received 339 in all. There were 1,778 votes returned as "scattering" in various States. In Michigan there were 12,987 returned as "imperfect and scattering."

In 1880 Weaver (Greenback) received 308,578 votes; Dow (Prohibition), 10,305; "American" ticket, 707, and 980 "imperfect and scattering." In Louisiana the "regular" Garfield ticket polled 28,297 votes; the "Beattie" Garfield ticket, 10,340. In Virginia the "regular" Hancock ticket polled 96,912 votes; the "Readjuster" Hancock ticket, 31,674.

Year.	Total vote.	Year.	Total vote.	Year.	Total vote.	Year.	Total vote.	Year.	Total vote.
1834.	339,069	1836.	1,498,205	1848.	2,872,806	1860.	4,076,853	1872.	6,431,149
1828.	1,150,328	1840.	2,410,772	1852.	3,142,577	1864.	4,024,792	1876.	8,434,073
1832.	1,217,691	1844.	2,098,608	1856.	4,053,907	1868.	5,724,624	1880.	9,299,947

No. II.—Electoral Vote for President and Vice-President

From 1864 to 1880, inclusive.

STATES. (38.)	1864.				1868.				1872.				1876.				1880.					
	PRES.		V. P.		PRES.		V. P.		PRESIDENT.		V. P.		PRES.		V. P.		PRES.		V. P.			
	Lincoln.	McClellan.	Johnson.	Pendleton.	Grant.	Seymour.	Colfax.	Blair.	Grant.	Hendricks.	Brown.	Jenkins (Ga.).	Davis (Ill.).	Wilson.	Hayes.	Tilden.	Wheeler.	Hendricks.	Garfield.	Hancock.	Arthur.	English.
Alabama.	*	*	*	*	8	5	5	5	10	†	†	†	†	†	10	6	10	10	10	10	10	10
Arkansas.	*	*	*	*	5	5	5	5	6	†	†	†	†	†	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
California.	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	†	†	†	†	†	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Colorado.	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	†	†	†	†	†	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Connecticut.	*	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	†	†	†	†	†	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Delaware.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	4	†	†	†	†	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Florida.	*	*	*	*	3	3	3	3	6	2	2	2	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Georgia.	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	8	4	4	4	4	8	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	11
Illinois.	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	21	†	†	†	†	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	21
Indiana.	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	15	†	†	†	†	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Iowa.	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	11	†	†	†	†	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
Kansas.	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	5	†	†	†	†	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Kentucky.	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	8	4	4	4	4	8	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
Louisiana.	*	*	*	*	7	7	7	7	†	†	†	†	†	†	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Maine.	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	8	†	†	†	†	8	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Maryland.	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	8	†	†	†	†	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Massachusetts.	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	13	†	†	†	†	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13	13
Michigan.	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	11	†	†	†	†	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
Minnesota.	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	5	†	†	†	†	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Mississippi.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Missouri.	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	6	8	1	1	1	6	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15
Nebraska.	—	—	—	—	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Nevada.	—	—	—	—	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
New Hampshire.	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
New Jersey.	—	—	—	—	7	7	7	7	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
New York.	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
North Carolina.	*	*	*	*	9	9	9	9	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Ohio.	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	21	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
Oregon.	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Pennsylvania.	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29	29
Rhode Island.	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
South Carolina.	*	*	*	*	6	6	6	6	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Tennessee.	*	*	*	*	10	10	10	10	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
Texas.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Vermont.	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Virginia.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
West Virginia.	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Wisconsin.	6	6	6	6	8	8	8	8	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Total.	212	21	212	21	214	71	214	71	286	42	18	2	1	286	47	185	184	185	184	214	155	214

No. III.—The Next Electoral College Compared with the Last.

STATES.	Old.	New.	STATES.	Old.	New.	STATES.	Old.	New.
Alabama.	10	10	Maine.	7	6	Oregon.	3	3
Arkansas.	6	7	Maryland.	8	8	Pennsylvania.	29	30
California.	6	8	Massachusetts.	13	14	Rhode Island.	4	4
Colorado.	3	3	Michigan.	11	13	South Carolina.	7	9
Connecticut.	6	6	Minnesota.	5	7	Tennessee.	12	12
Delaware.	3	3	Mississippi.	8	9	Texas.	8	13
Florida.	4	4	Missouri.	15	16	Vermont.	5	4
Georgia.	11	12	Nebraska.	3	3	Virginia.	11	12
Illinois.	21	22	Nevada.	3	3	West Virginia.	5	6
Indiana.	15	15	New Hampshire.	5	4	Wisconsin.	10	11
Iowa.	11	13	New Jersey.	9	9			
Kansas.	5	9	New York.	35	36	Totals.	369	401
Kentucky.	12	13	North Carolina.	10	11	Majority.	185	201
Louisiana.	8	8	Ohio.	23	23			
Northern Electoral Votes.							231	248
Southern Electoral Votes.							138	153
* No Vote.	† Rejected.	‡ Cast on second Wednesday of December.					¶ 19 scattering.	

No. IV.—Our Population in 1880.

BY STATES AND TERRITORIES.

Native and foreign-born, sex, color, and race.

[From Census of 1880.]

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Native.	Foreign-born.	White.	Colored.	Chinese.	Japanese.	Indians.
Alabama	1,263,505	622,629	6,398,701	1,252,771	9,734	602,185	600,103	4	..	213
Arkansas	802,525	416,279	396,246	792,175	10,350	591,581	210,666	123	..	196
California	864,691	518,170	346,518	571,820	292,874	707,181	6,018	75,132	86	16,277
Colorado	194,327	129,131	65,196	154,537	39,790	101,120	2,435	612	..	154
Connecticut	622,700	305,782	316,918	492,708	129,992	610,769	11,547	123	6	235
Delaware	146,608	74,108	72,500	137,140	9,468	120,160	26,442	1	..	5
Florida	269,493	136,444	133,049	259,584	9,909	142,605	126,690	18	..	190
Georgia	1,542,190	702,981	779,199	1,531,615	10,564	816,906	725,183	17	..	124
Illinois	3,077,871	1,536,523	1,491,348	2,494,295	583,576	3,031,151	46,308	200	3	140
Indiana	1,975,301	1,010,361	967,940	1,834,123	144,178	1,938,798	39,228	29	..	246
Iowa	1,624,015	848,136	776,470	1,302,965	261,650	1,614,600	9,516	33	..	466
Kansas	996,006	536,607	459,429	886,010	110,086	932,155	43,107	19	..	815
Kentucky	1,648,690	832,590	816,100	1,589,173	59,517	1,377,179	271,451	10	..	50
Louisiana	939,946	498,754	471,192	885,800	54,146	454,954	483,655	459	..	848
Maine	648,936	324,058	324,878	590,058	58,883	616,852	1,451	8	..	625
Maryland	931,943	462,187	472,756	852,137	82,806	724,693	210,230	5	..	15
Massachusetts	1,783,085	858,440	924,045	1,339,594	443,491	1,763,782	18,697	220	6	369
Michigan	1,636,937	802,355	774,582	1,248,429	358,508	1,614,590	15,100	27	1	7,240
Minnesota	780,773	419,149	361,624	513,007	267,076	776,884	1,564	24	1	2,300
Mississippi	1,131,597	567,177	564,420	1,192,388	9,209	479,308	650,291	51	..	1,857
Missouri	2,168,380	1,127,187	1,041,193	1,256,802	211,578	2,022,826	145,350	91	..	113
Nebraska	452,402	249,241	205,161	354,985	97,414	410,764	2,385	18	..	235
Nevada	62,266	42,019	20,247	36,013	25,653	53,556	488	5,410	3	2,803
N. Hampshire	316,991	170,526	176,405	300,697	46,294	316,229	685	14	..	63
New Jersey	1,131,116	559,902	571,194	909,416	221,700	1,002,017	38,853	170	2	74
New York	5,082,871	2,505,322	2,577,549	3,871,492	1,211,370	5,016,022	65,104	909	17	819
N. Carolina	1,399,750	687,908	711,842	1,330,008	8,742	867,942	531,277	..	1	1,250
Ohio	3,198,002	1,613,036	1,584,126	2,003,119	364,943	311,790	79,900	109	3	150
Oregon	174,768	103,381	71,387	144,293	30,503	163,075	487	9,310	12	1,094
Pennsylvania	4,282,801	2,136,635	2,140,236	3,695,002	587,829	4,197,016	85,535	148	8	184
Rhode Island	276,531	133,000	143,501	202,338	73,933	269,939	6,488	27	..	..
S. Carolina	995,577	490,408	505,169	987,891	7,686	391,105	604,332	9	..	131
Tennessee	1,542,359	769,277	773,082	1,525,657	16,702	1,188,881	403,151	23	..	332
Texas	1,591,749	837,840	753,909	1,477,133	114,016	1,197,237	393,384	136	..	992
Vermont	332,286	166,887	165,399	291,327	40,939	331,218	1,057	..	..	11
Virginia	1,512,505	745,580	766,976	1,497,869	14,696	880,858	631,510	6	..	83
W. Virginia	618,457	314,495	308,962	600,192	18,205	502,587	25,886	5	..	29
Wisconsin	1,315,497	680,009	635,428	910,072	405,423	1,309,618	2,702	16	..	3,161

Total in the States: 49,371,340; comprising 25,075,619 males and 24,295,721 females—of whom 42,871,566 are natives and 6,499,784 of foreign birth—42,714,479 being whites, 6,518,372 colored, 98,782 Chinese, 141 Japanese, and 44,566 Indians.

Arizona	40,440	28,204	12,238	24,391	16,049	35,160	155	1,630	2	8,403
Dakota	135,177	82,206	52,881	83,382	51,795	133,147	401	238	..	1,301
District of Col.	177,034	83,578	94,046	160,502	17,123	118,006	59,506	19	4	5
Idaho	32,610	21,818	10,792	22,636	9,974	29,013	53	3,373	..	103
Montana	39,130	28,177	10,982	27,638	11,521	33,385	340	1,763	..	1,083
New Mexico	119,563	64,496	55,069	111,514	18,081	108,721	1,015	57	..	9,772
Utah	143,063	74,509	69,454	90,969	43,994	112,423	232	501	..	807
Washington	75,116	45,973	29,143	59,313	15,803	67,190	325	3,186	1	4,400
Wyoming	20,789	14,152	6,637	14,939	5,850	19,457	298	914	..	149

Total in the Territories: 781,443; comprising 443,201 males and 341,242 females—of whom 604,284 are native and 180,159 foreign-born—688,491 being whites, 62,421 colored, 11,633 Chinese, 7 Japanese, and 21,841 Indians.

Total in States and Territories: 50,155,783; comprising 23,518,820 males and 24,636,963 females—of whom 43,475,840 are native and 6,679,943 foreign-born—43,402,970 being whites, 6,580,793 colored, 105,463 Chinese, 148 Japanese, and 66,407 Indians.

No. V.—Population—1810–1880,
By States and Territories at each Census.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	1880.	1870.	1860.	1850.	1840.	1830.	1820.	1810.
Total.....	50,155,783	38,558,371	31,443,321	23,191,876	*17,069,453	†12,866,020	9,633,822	7,230,881
Alabama.....	17,1,262,505	16,996,992	13,964,201	12,771,023	12,590,756	15,309,527	19,127,901	.....
Arizona.....	44,40,440	46,9,658	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Arkansas.....	25,802,525	26,484,471	25,435,450	26,200,897	25,97,574	28,30,388	26,14,255	.....
California.....	24,864,694	24,560,247	26,379,994	29,92,597	.....	.....	.....	.....
Colorado.....	35,194,327	31,39,864	38,34,277	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut.....	28,622,700	25,537,454	24,460,147	21,370,792	20,309,978	16,297,675	14,275,148	9,261,942
Dakota.....	40,185,177	45,14,181	42,4,837	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Delaware.....	38,146,605	35,125,015	32,112,261	30,91,532	26,78,085	24,76,748	22,72,749	19,72,674
D. of Col.	36,177,624	34,181,700	35,75,080	33,51,687	28,43,712	25,39,834	25,33,039	22,24,023
Florida.....	34,269,493	33,187,748	31,140,424	31,87,445	27,54,477	26,34,730	.....	.....
Georgia.....	13,1,542,180	12,1,184,109	11,1,057,286	9,906,185	9,691,392	10,516,823	11,340,985	11,252,433
Idaho.....	46,32,610	44,14,999	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	4,3,077,871	4,2,539,891	4,1,711,951	11,851,470	14,476,183	20,157,445	24,55,162	24,12,282
Indiana.....	6,1,978,301	6,1,680,637	6,1,350,428	7,988,416	10,685,866	13,343,031	18,147,178	21,24,520
Iowa.....	10,1,624,615	11,1,194,020	20,674,913	27,192,214	29,43,112	.....	.....	.....
Kansas.....	20,906,096	29,364,399	33,107,206	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky.....	8,1,648,690	8,1,321,011	9,1,155,684	8,982,405	6,779,828	6,687,917	6,564,135	7,406,511
Louisiana.....	23,93,946	21,17,736,915	17,708,002	18,517,762	19,352,411	19,215,739	17,152,923	18,76,556
Maine.....	27,648,936	23,626,915	22,628,279	16,583,169	13,501,793	12,399,455	12,298,289	14,228,705
Maryland.....	23,93,942	20,780,894	19,687,049	17,583,034	15,470,019	11,447,040	10,407,350	8,350,546
Massachusetts.....	7,1,783,085	7,1,457,351	7,1,231,066	6,994,514	8,737,699	8,610,408	7,523,159	5,472,040
Michigan.....	9,1,636,937	13,1,184,059	16,749,113	20,397,654	23,212,267	27,31,639	27,8,765	55,4,762
Minnesota.....	26,750,773	38,439,706	30,172,023	36,6,077	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mississippi.....	18,1,311,597	18,827,922	14,791,305	15,606,526	17,375,651	22,136,621	21,75,448	20,40,352
Missouri.....	5,2,168,380	5,1,721,295	8,1,182,012	13,682,044	16,383,702	21,140,455	23,66,557	23,20,845
Montana.....	45,39,159	43,20,595	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	30,452,403	36,122,993	39,28,841	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada.....	43,62,366	40,42,491	41,6,857	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
N. Hampshire.....	31,346,991	31,318,300	27,326,073	22,317,976	22,284,574	18,269,328	15,241,029	16,214,460
New Jersey.....	19,1,131,116	17,906,096	21,672,035	19,489,555	18,373,300	14,320,823	13,188,213	16,245,562
New Mexico.....	41,119,565	37,91,874	34,93,516	32,61,547	.....	.....	.....	.....
New York.....	1,5,082,871	1,4,382,759	1,1,480,735	1,3,097,394	1,2,428,921	1,1,918,605	1,1,372,111	2,959,049
N. Carolina.....	13,1,399,750	14,1,071,361	12,992,622	10,869,039	7,753,419	5,737,987	4,688,829	4,555,500
Ohio.....	8,3,198,063	3,2,665,260	3,2,399,511	3,1,980,329	3,1,519,467	4,937,903	5,581,295	13,230,760
Oregon.....	37,174,765	38,90,933	36,52,465	34,13,299	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pennsylvania.....	2,4,282,891	2,3,521,951	2,2,906,215	2,2,811,786	2,1,724,083	2,1,348,233	3,1,047,507	3,810,091
Rhode Island.....	33,276,531	32,217,353	29,174,620	28,147,545	24,108,830	23,97,199	20,83,015	17,76,931
S. Carolina.....	21,995,577	22,705,606	18,703,708	14,668,507	11,594,398	9,581,185	8,502,741	6,415,115
Tennessee.....	12,1,542,963	9,1,258,520	10,1,109,801	5,1,002,717	5,829,210	7,681,904	9,422,771	10,261,727
Texas.....	11,1,591,749	19,188,579	23,601,215	25,212,592	27,11,380	.....	.....	.....
Utah.....	39,143,963	37,86,756	37,40,273	35,35,235	37,11,380	.....	.....	.....
Vermont.....	33,332,286	30,330,551	28,315,098	23,314,120	21,291,948	17,290,652	16,235,966	15,217,895
Virginia.....	14,1,512,565	10,1,225,163	5,1,596,318	4,1,421,661	4,1,289,797	3,1,311,405	2,1,065,116	1,974,600
Washington.....	42,75,116	42,23,955	40,11,594	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
W. Virginia.....	29,618,457	37,442,014	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	16,1,315,497	15,1,054,070	15,775,881	24,305,391	30,30,945	.....	.....	.....
Wyoming.....	47,20,789	47,9,118	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

NOTE.—The small columns give population-rank of each State and Territory.

No. VI.—Representative Apportionment.

The last apportionment was based upon a population within the States of 33,113,253; the new one upon a like population of 49,371,340. The representation in the House by States under the old apportionment and the new stands thus:

STATES.	Old.	New.	STATES.	Old.	New.	STATES.	Old.	New.	STATES.	Old.	New.
Alabama.....	8	8	Iowa.....	9	11	Missouri.....	13	14	Rhode Island.....	2	2
Arkansas.....	4	5	Kansas.....	3	7	Nebraska.....	1	3	South Carolina.....	5	7
California.....	4	6	Kentucky.....	10	11	Nevada.....	1	1	Tennessee.....	10	10
Colorado.....	1	1	Louisiana.....	6	6	N. Hampshire.....	3	2	Texas.....	6	11
Connecticut.....	4	4	Maine.....	5	4	New Jersey.....	7	7	Vermont.....	3	2
Delaware.....	1	1	Maryland.....	6	6	New York.....	33	34	Virginia.....	9	10
Florida.....	2	2	Massachusetts.....	11	12	North Carolina.....	8	9	West Virginia.....	3	4
Georgia.....	9	10	Michigan.....	9	11	Ohio.....	20	21	Wisconsin.....	8	9
Illinois.....	19	20	Minnesota.....	3	5	Oregon.....	1	1	Totals.....	293	325
Indiana.....	13	13	Mississippi.....	6	7	Pennsylvania.....	27	28			

* Includes 6100 persons in United States Navy.

† 5318 persons in United States Navy.

No. VII.—Annual Appropriations.

For each fiscal year, from 1873 to 1884 inclusive.

Together with their coin value computed upon the average price of gold for each year.

[Official.]

	2d session 42d Congress. Fiscal year 1873.	3d session 43d Congress. Fiscal year 1874.	1st session 43d Congress. Fiscal year 1875.	2d session 45d Congress. Fiscal year 1876.	1st session 46th Congress. Fiscal year 1877.	3d session 46th Congress. Fiscal year 1878.
To supply deficiencies for the service of the various branches of the Government....	\$6,506,677 39	\$11,143,239 96	\$4,053,812 39	\$2,387,372 38	\$34,695 66	\$2,547,180 31
For legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Gov't....	18,624,072 74	18,170,441 18	30,758,235 50	16,038,669 49	16,037,030 82	15,736,774 05
For sundry civil expenses of the Gov't....	20,134,660 33	32,173,257 90	26,924,746 88	29,459,853 02	15,895,065 58	17,079,256 19
For support of Army....	28,683,615 32	31,790,008 81	27,789,500 00	27,933,830 00	27,621,867 90	27,621,867 90
For the Naval Service....	18,231,085 95	22,275,707 65	20,813,916 70	17,001,306 90	12,741,750 90	13,539,982 00
For the Indian Service....	6,196,362 01	5,505,218 90	5,538,274 87	5,425,237 00	4,567,107 63	4,827,665 69
For Rivers & Harbors....	5,588,000 00	7,352,900 00	5,228,000 00	6,648,517 50	5,015,000 00	.....
For Forts & Fortificat's....	2,037,000 00	1,899,000 00	901,000 00	850,000 00	315,000 00	275,000 00
For support Mil. Acad....	326,101 32	344,317 56	339,835 00	364,740 00	250,065 0	286,604 00
For service of Post-Office Department....	6,425,970 00	6,496,602 00	7,173,542 00	8,376,205 00	5,927,498 00	2,939,725 00
For Invalid and other Pensions, including deficiencies....	30,490,000 00	30,480,000 00	29,980,000 00	30,000,000 00	29,533,500 00	28,533,000 00
For Consular and Diplomatic Service....	1,268,819 00	1,811,359 00	3,404,804 00	1,374,985 00	1,188,797 50	1,146,747 50
For service of Agricultural Department....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
For expenses of the District of Columbia....	9,623,477 36	3,842,647 86	2,108,040 86	1,852,804 52	4,134,691 93	1,425,091 49
Totals.....	154,216,751 32	172,200,700 82	155,017,758 20	147,714,940 81	124,122,010 92	88,356,968 13
Coin value of one dollar paper currency....	87.3	89.3	88.8	87.8	92.7	97.6
Coin value of amount appropriated.....	154,631,223 90	153,853,505 83	157,655,700 28	159,693,718 03	115,061,104 12	86,236,415 53

	1st and 2d sessions 35th Congress. Fiscal year 1880.	3d session 45th Congress, and 1st session 46th Congress. Fiscal year 1881.	2d session 46th Congress. Fiscal year 1882.	3d session 46th Congress, Fiscal year 1883.	1st session 47th Congress. Fiscal year 1884.	3d session 47th Congress, Fiscal year 1884.
To supply deficiencies for the service of the various branches of the Government....	\$15,213,250 21	\$1,633,824 55	\$6,118,083 10	\$5,110,862 39	\$9,553,869 30	\$2,532,680 04
For legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Gov't....	15,808,004 50	16,136,230 31	16,532,008 93	17,797,397 61	20,322,907 65	20,761,842 55
For sundry civil expenses of the Gov't....	24,968,589 68	19,724,868 56	22,503,508 23	22,011,222 87	25,425,479 45	23,713,404 22
For support of Army....	51,279,679 39	26,797,300 00	26,425,800 00	26,687,800 00	27,032,059 18	24,681,250 00
For the Naval Service....	14,153,431 70	14,028,408 95	14,405,707 70	14,566,037 53	14,903,558 89	15,964,247 23
For the Indian Service....	4,734,875 72	4,713,478 58	4,657,262 72	4,587,866 80	5,219,603 91	5,388,655 91
For Rivers and Harbors....	8,322,700 00	9,577,491 61	8,970,500 00	11,451,300 00	18,988,873 00	.....
For Forts & Fortificat's....	273,000 00	275,000 00	550,000 00	575,000 00	375,000 00	670,000 00
For support Mil. Acad....	292,805 00	319,547 33	316,234 28	321,437 37	335,557 04	315,657 50
For service of Post-Office Department....	4,222,274 72	5,872,370 10	3,883,420 00	2,152,228 00	1,902,177 90	Indefinite.
For Invalid and other Pensions, including deficiencies....	20,371,574 00	56,233,200 00	41,644,000 00	68,282,306 68	116,000,000 00	80,575,000 00
For Consular and Diplomatic Service....	1,067,535 00	1,097,735 00	1,180,335 00	1,191,435 00	1,256,625 00	1,296,255 00
For service of Agricultural Department....	.....	.....	253,300 00	335,500 00	427,280 00	405,640 00
For expenses of the District of Columbia....	.....	.....	3,425,257 35	3,379,571 44	3,406,060 47	3,505,494 97
For miscellaneous....	2,220,300 29	2,900,193 77	4,909,332 01	1,128,006 13	5,888,993 69	1,806,438 73
Totals.....	172,016,800 21	162,404,647 76	153,830,841 32	179,578,999 86	231,428,117 57	187,911,566 17
Coin value of one dollar paper currency....	99.8	100	100	100	100	100
Coin value of amount appropriated.....	171,672,775 50	162,404,647 76	153,830,841 32	179,578,999 86	231,428,117 57	187,911,566 17

No. VIII.—Receipts and Expenditures.

[Official.]

From 1855 to 1883, inclusive.
(Cents omitted except in adding totals.)

Net Revenue by Fiscal Years.

YEAR.	Customs.	Internal revenue.	Direct Tax.	Sales of public lands.	MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES.		Net revenue.	Surplus revenue.
					Premium on loans and sales of gold coin.	Other miscellaneous items.		
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
1855..	64,022,863 50	.....	.....	8,917,644 93	.....	1,116,190 81	74,056,699 24	4,485,673 45
1857..	63,875,905 05	.....	.....	3,829,486 64	.....	1,259,920 88	68,965,312 57	1,169,604 91
1858..	41,789,626 96	.....	.....	3,513,713 87	.....	1,352,029 13	46,055,365 97	*27,529,904 43
1859..	49,565,824 38	.....	.....	1,756,687 96	709,337 72	1,454,596 24	53,486,464 64	*15,584,511 10
1860..	53,187,511 87	.....	.....	1,778,557 71	10,008 00	1,088,530 25	55,064,607 83	*7,065,990 56
1861..	39,582,125 64	.....	.....	870,655 54	33,630 90	1,023,515 31	41,509,930 39	*25,036,714 50
1862..	49,056,397 62	37,640,737 95	1,795,331 73	152,203 77	68,400 00	915,122 31	51,987,455 43	*422,774,363 45
1863..	69,059,642 40	37,640,737 95	1,485,103 61	167,617 17	602,335 44	3,741,794 38	112,697,290 95	*602,043,434 27
1864..	102,316,154 99	109,741,134 10	475,648 96	588,333 29	21,174,101 01	30,331,401 25	264,626,771 60	*600,695,870 37
1865..	84,928,260 60	60,205,464,215 25	1,200,573 03	996,553 31	61,683,446 99	25,441,556 00	333,714,605 08	*663,840,619 33
1866..	179,046,651 58	58,303,226,812 43	1,974,754 12	665,031 03	38,083,055 68	29,086,314 23	558,032,626 06	*37,223,203 07
1867..	176,417,810 88	266,027,537 43	4,200,233 70	1,163,575 76	72,787,330 35	15,037,522 55	450,634,010 27	133,091,335 11
1868..	164,464,599 56	191,087,589 41	1,788,145 85	1,348,715 41	29,203,629 50	17,745,403 59	405,638,083 32	*28,297,793 46
1869..	180,048,426 63	158,356,466 80	675,655 61	4,020,344 34	13,755,491 12	13,997,338 65	370,943,747 21	48,078,460 41
1870..	194,538,373 44	184,599,756 49	229,102,88 33	3,350,481 76	15,295,643 76	12,942,118 30	31,411,257 63	101,601,918 88
1871..	206,270,408 05	143,098,153 63	580,335 37	2,388,646 68	8,892,839 95	22,093,541 21	333,323,944 89	91,146,756 56
1872..	216,370,286 77	130,642,177 72	2,575,714 19	9,412,637 65	15,106,051 23	374,106,867 56	96,588,904 89	.....
1873..	188,089,522 70	113,729,314 34	315,254 51	2,882,312 38	11,560,530 89	17,161,270 05	333,738,204 67	43,392,954 53
1874..	163,103,833 60	102,409,784 90	.....	1,852,428 93	5,037,665 22	17,075,042 73	289,478,755 47	2,344,882 30
1875..	157,167,722 35	110,007,493 58	1,413,640 17	3,979,279 69	15,431,915 31	288,000,051 10	13,376,658 26	.....
1876..	148,071,984 61	116,700,702 03	93,798 80	1,129,466 95	4,029,280 58	17,456,776 19	27,492,032 16	23,022,341 83
1877..	130,956,493 07	118,630,407 83	976,252 68	405,776 58	18,031,655 46	269,000,586 63	30,340,577 69	.....
1878..	130,170,680 20	110,581,624 74	.....	1,079,743 37	317,102 30	15,614,728 09	257,763,878 70	20,799,551 90
1879..	137,250,047 70	113,561,610 58	.....	924,781 06	1,505,047 63	20,585,697 49	273,827,184 46	6,879,300 93
1880..	186,523,064 60	124,009,373 92	30 85	1,016,506 60	110 00	21,978,525 01	332,526,610 98	65,883,653 20
1881..	189,159,676 02	125,264,355 51	1,516 89	2,201,863 17	.....	25,154,850 98	360,782,292 57	100,069,404 98
1882..	220,410,730 25	146,497,595 45	160,141 69	4,753,140 37	.....	31,703,642 52	403,525,250 28	145,543,810 71
1883..	214,706,496 93	144,720,368 33	108,156 60	7,955,864 42	.....	30,796,695 02	398,287,581 95	132,879,444 11

Net Expenditures by Fiscal Years.

YEAR.	CIVIL AND MISCELLANEOUS.		War Department.	Navy Department.	Indians.	Pensions.	Interest on public debt.	Net ordinary expenditures.
	Premium on loans and purchase of bonds, etc.	Other civil and miscellaneous items.						
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
1855..	385,372 90	32,124,214 07	16,498,196 89	14,091,781 06	2,769,429 55	1,298,208 95	1,953,822 37	69,571,025 79
1857..	363,572 39	38,164,539 97	19,361,774 16	12,747,976 88	4,267,543 07	1,312,043 01	1,673,265 23	67,795,707 66
1858..	574,443 08	26,429,609 57	25,485,388 60	19,984,551 09	4,936,738 91	1,217,488 47	1,567,055 67	74,185,270 39
1859..	23,700,205 14	23,243,822 38	14,642,989 73	73,625,027 34	1,320,378 29	2,635,463 96	69,070,976 74	.....
1860..	27,976,434 22	16,409,767 10	11,514,964 96	2,949,191 34	1,102,926 15	3,177,314 62	63,130,598 39	.....
1861..	23,267,010 46	22,981,150 44	12,420,887 89	8,281,358 28	1,036,064 06	4,000,173 76	66,546,644 89	.....
1862..	21,408,491 16	394,368,407 36	42,668,277 09	9,273,223 45	853,095 40	13,190,327 45	474,761,818 91	.....
1863..	23,256,955 39	599,298,600 83	63,221,963 64	3,154,357 11	1,078,991 59	24,729,846 61	714,740,723 17	.....
1864..	27,505,599 46	690,791,842 97	85,725,994 67	2,629,858 77	4,983,924 41	53,685,424 69	865,322,641 47	.....
1865..	1,717,900 11	43,047,658 01	1,031,323,363 79	122,612,945 95	5,116,837 08	16,338,811 13	77,397,712 00	1,297,555,224 41
1866..	58,476 51	41,056,961 54	284,449,701 82	33,324,118 52	3,247,046 56	15,605,352 35	133,007,741 69	520,809,416 95
1867..	10,813,349 35	51,110,223 72	95,224,415 63	31,034,014 04	4,642,551 77	20,936,551 71	143,781,591 91	357,542,674 16
1868..	7,001,151 04	53,009,867 67	123,346,645 23	25,775,502 72	4,100,682 32	23,782,336 78	140,424,045 71	377,340,284 86
1869..	1,674,680 05	56,474,061 53	78,501,994 61	20,000,737 97	7,042,923 06	28,476,621 78	130,694,242 80	322,865,277 80
1870..	15,996,555 60	53,237,461 56	57,655,675 40	21,780,229 88	3,407,935 15	28,340,202 17	129,235,498 00	309,653,560 75
1871..	9,016,794 74	64,481,916 23	23,799,991 82	19,431,027 21	7,426,977 44	34,443,894 88	25,576,563 93	292,177,188 52
1872..	6,958,266 76	60,984,757 42	35,372,157 20	21,249,809 99	7,061,728 28	28,533,402 76	117,357,839 72	27,517,962 67
1873..	5,105,919 99	73,328,110 06	46,321,138 31	23,526,256 79	7,951,704 88	29,359,426 86	104,750,688 44	290,345,245 23
1874..	3,395,073 55	69,641,593 09	42,333,937 22	30,932,587 42	6,692,463 09	29,088,414 66	107,119,815 21	287,123,873 17
1875..	.....	71,070,702 98	41,120,645 98	21,497,626 27	8,384,656 92	24,496,216 22	103,093,544 57	274,623,392 64
1876..	.....	66,958,373 56	38,070,888 64	16,938,309 82	5,966,558 17	25,257,395 69	28,255,797 37	285,459,797 33
1877..	.....	56,252,066 60	37,082,735 90	14,959,935 36	5,277,007 22	27,963,752 27	97,134,511 58	238,660,008 93
1878..	.....	53,177,703 57	32,154,147 85	17,365,301 37	4,629,280 28	27,137,019 08	102,500,874 65	236,964,336 80
1879..	.....	65,741,555 49	40,425,660 73	15,125,126 84	5,206,109 08	35,121,482 39	105,327,949 00	266,947,883 53
1880..	2,795,320 42	54,713,529 76	38,110,916 23	13,536,984 74	5,945,457 09	36,777,174 44	95,757,575 11	267,642,957 78
1881..	1,061,248 73	64,416,324 71	40,466,460 55	15,656,671 66	6,514,161 09	50,069,279 62	50,586,741 18	260,712,887 57
1882..	.....	57,219,750 98	43,570,494 19	15,032,046 26	9,736,747 40	61,345,193 95	71,077,206 79	257,981,439 57
1883..	.....	68,678,002 21	48,911,382 93	15,283,437 17	7,362,590 34	66,012,573 64	59,160,131 23	265,408,137 54

* Expenditures in excess of revenue.

NOTE.—The expenditures for interest on the public debt include amounts paid for interest on bonds issued to the Pacific Railroads, as follows: In 1866, \$49,227,04; in 1867, \$54,736,47; in 1868, \$48,028,35; in 1869, \$1,794,857,65; in 1870, \$84,484,369,25; in 1871, \$3,874,115,58; in 1872, \$3,877,337,02; in 1873, \$3,874,710,72; in 1874, \$3,862,350,72; in 1875, \$3,883,550,72; in 1876, \$3,881,250,72; in 1877, \$3,880,258,53; in 1878, \$3,878,430,72; in 1879, \$3,878,380,72; in 1880, \$3,878,250,72; in 1881, \$3,878,411,24; in 1882, \$3,878,490,72; in 1883, \$3,877,887,27.

No. IX.—Receipts and Expenditures for fiscal year 1884.

(Actual and estimated—Official.)

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1884, the revenue, actual and estimated, is given by the Secretary of the Treasury in his report of December 3, 1883, as follows:

SOURCE.	For the quarter ended Septem- ber 30, 1883.	For the remain- ing three quar- ters of the year.
	Actual.	Estimated.
From customs.....	\$57,402,975 67	\$127,597,084 33
From internal revenue.....	29,662,078 60	90,337,921 40
From sales of public lands.....	2,932,635 17	5,007,364 83
From tax on circulation and deposits of National Banks.....	1,557,500 88	1,842,159 12
From repayment of interest and sinking-fund, Pacific Ily. companies.....	521,059 51	1,478,940 49
From customs fees, fines, penalties, etc.....	288,690 78	201,306 22
From fees—consular, letters-patent, and lands.....	863,200 60	2,436,720 82
From proceeds of sales of Government property.....	112,568 23	167,437 77
From profits on coinage, etc.....	950,229 46	3,149,770 54
From deposits for surveying public lands.....	172,461 31	327,538 62
From revenues of the District of Columbia.....	256,017 99	1,643,959 01
From miscellaneous sources.....	1,237,180 63	2,382,810 37
Total receipts.....	\$95,066,917 03	\$947,083,086 97

The expenditures for the same period, actual and estimated, are:

OBJECT.	For the quarter ended Septem- ber 30, 1883.	For the remain- ing three quar- ters of the year.
	Actual.	Estimated.
For civil and miscellaneous expenses, including public buildings, light-houses, and collecting the revenue.....	\$15,883,709 42	\$51,114,200 88
For Indians.....	2,623,390 54	4,136,609 46
For pensions*.....	16,285,261 98	58,714,735 02
For military establishment, including fortifications, river and harbor improvements, and arsenals.....	13,512,904 33	26,457,705 67
For naval establishment, including vessels and machinery, and improvements at navy-yards.....	4,199,299 69	12,300,700 81
For expenditures on account of the District of Columbia.....	1,158,836 41	2,611,163 89
For interest on the public debt.....	14,797,297 96	39,702,702 04
Total ordinary expenditures.....	\$67,942,000 33	\$100,057,900 67
Total receipts, actual and estimated.....		\$343,000,000 00
Total expenditures, actual and estimated.....		255,000,000 00
Estimated amount due the sinking-fund.....		\$88,000,000 00
Leaving a balance of.....		45,816,741 07

No. X.—Internal Revenue Receipts, 1882 and 1883.

(Official.)

OBJECTS OF TAXATION.	Fiscal year ended June 30—	
	1882.	1883.
Distilled spirits.....	\$60,873,408 18	\$74,385,775 90
Tobacco.....	47,351,988 91	42,104,840 79
Fermented liquors.....	16,152,980 42	16,931,615 51
Banks and Bankers.....	5,233,458 47	2,748,984 60
Adhesive stamps:		
Bank-checks.....	2,318,453 14	1,946,272 30
Friction-matches.....	3,272,258 00	2,920,545 20
Patent medicines, etc.....	1,078,393 56	2,156,280 16
Penalties.....	193,830 04	306,520 57
Collections not otherwise provided for.....	81,539 00	71,582 43
Total.....	\$146,382,275 72	\$144,058,344 86

* This estimate is based on information from the Pension Bureau of the Department of the Interior. It should also be stated that there is an unexpended balance of \$80,000,000 of the appropriation for pensions for the fiscal year 1883, which was reappropriated by Congress at its last session; that Congress at the same time appropriated \$96,000,000 for the fiscal year 1884; and that the Commissioner of Pensions sets the needs of his Bureau at \$40,000,000 for the year 1885; thus making \$165,000,000 required by him during the years 1884 and 1885.

No. XI.—Notes and Fractional Silver Outstanding at the close of each fiscal year, from 1860 to 1883 inclusive.

[Prepared at the Treasury Department, Warrant Division, November 1, 1883.]

Year ended June 30—	State Bank Circulation. (A.)	National Bank Circulation.	Demand Notes.	Legal Tender Notes.	One and Two Year Notes of 1863. (B.)	Compound Interest Notes. (B.)
1860.	\$207,102,477 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1861.	202,005,767 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1862.	183,792,079 00	.....	\$53,040,000 00	\$96,620,000 00	.....	.....
1863.	238,677,218 00	.....	3,351,019 75	297,767,114 00	\$89,879,475 00	.....
1864.	179,157,717 00	\$31,235,270 00	780,999 25	431,178,670 84	153,471,450 00	\$15,000,000 00
1865.	142,919,038 00	146,137,860 00	472,608 00	432,687,966 00	42,338,710 00	193,756,080 00
1866.	19,996,163 00	281,479,908 00	273,162 00	400,619,206 00	3,454,230 00	159,012,140 00
1867.	4,484,112 00	298,625,379 00	208,432 00	371,783,597 00	1,123,630 00	122,394,480 00
1868.	3,163,771 00	299,762,855 00	141,723 00	356,000,000 00	555,492 00	28,161,810 00
1869.	2,558,874 00	299,929,624 00	123,732 00	356,000,000 00	347,772 00	2,871,410 00
1870.	2,222,793 00	299,766,984 00	106,256 00	356,000,000 00	248,272 00	2,152,910 00
1871.	1,968,058 00	318,261,241 00	96,505 50	356,000,000 00	198,572 00	768,500 00
1872.	1,700,935 00	337,664,795 00	88,296 25	357,500,000 00	167,522 00	593,520 00
1873.	1,294,470 00	347,267,061 00	79,967 50	356,000,000 00	142,105 00	479,400 00
1874.	1,009,021 00	351,981,032 00	76,732 50	382,000,000 00	127,625 00	415,210 00
1875.	786,844 00	354,408,008 00	70,107 50	375,771,580 00	113,375 00	367,390 00
1876.	658,938 00	332,998,336 00	66,917 50	369,772,284 00	104,705 00	328,760 00
1877.	521,611 00	317,048,872 00	63,962 50	359,764,332 00	95,725 00	296,630 00
1878.	426,504 00	324,514,284 00	62,297 50	346,681,016 00	90,485 00	274,920 00
1879.	352,452 00	329,691,697 00	61,470 00	346,681,016 00	86,185 00	259,090 00
1880.	209,790 00	344,505,427 00	60,975 00	346,681,016 00	82,485 00	242,590 00
1881.	242,967 00	355,042,675 00	60,535 00	346,681,016 00	79,985 00	230,250 00
1882.	235,173 00	358,742,034 00	59,695 00	346,681,016 00	74,965 00	220,960 00
1883.	189,253 00	356,073,281 00	58,985 00	346,681,016 00	71,765 00	213,620 00

Year ended June 30—	Silver Certificates.	Fractional Currency, Paper.	Fractional Currency, Silver. (C.)	Total Amount in Currency.	Value of Paper Dollar as compared with Coin July 1 of each Year.	Value of Currency in Gold.	
1860.	.....	.....	.....	\$207,102,477 00	.....	.....
1861.	.....	.....	.....	202,005,767 00	.....	.....
1862.	.....	.....	.....	333,452,079 00	\$0 86.6	\$288,769,500 41
1863.	\$20,192,456 00	.....	.....	649,867,282 75	0 76.6	497,788,338 59
1864.	22,894,877 25	.....	.....	833,718,984 34	0 83.7	323,649,246 94
1865.	25,005,828 76	.....	.....	982,318,688 76	0 70.4	692,256,354 77
1866.	27,070,876 96	.....	.....	891,904,685 96	0 66.0	588,657,092 73
1867.	28,307,522 52	.....	.....	826,927,153 52	0 71.7	592,906,769 07
1868.	32,626,951 75	.....	.....	720,412,602 75	0 70.1	505,009,234 52
1869.	32,114,637 36	.....	.....	693,946,056 61	0 73.5	510,050,351 61
1870.	39,878,684 48	.....	.....	700,375,895 48	0 85.6	599,521,769 05
1871.	40,582,874 56	.....	.....	717,575,751 06	0 89.0	638,909,418 44
1872.	40,855,835 27	.....	.....	738,570,903 52	0 87.5	646,249,540 58
1873.	44,799,365 44	.....	.....	750,062,368 94	0 86.4	648,053,886 76
1874.	45,881,295 07	.....	.....	781,490,916 17	0 91.0	711,156,733 77
1875.	42,129,424 19	.....	.....	773,646,728 69	0 87.2	674,619,474 42
1876.	34,446,595 39	\$10,926,938 00	749,303,473 89	80 89.5	671,773,937 62	.....
1877.	20,403,137 34	33,185,273 00	731,379,542 84	0 94.7	694,875,246 54	.....
1878.	\$1,462,600 00	16,547,768 77	39,155,633 00	729,215,508 27	0 99.4	725,083,924 62
1879.	2,466,956 00	15,842,605 78	39,380,529 00	734,501,994 78	1 00.0	734,801,994 78
1880.	12,374,270 00	*7,214,954 37	24,061,449 00	735,522,956 37	1 00.0	735,522,956 37
1881.	51,166,530 00	*7,105,953 32	19,974,897 41	780,584,808 73	1 00.0	780,584,808 73
1882.	66,096,710 00	*7,047,247 77	19,130,639 36	793,288,440 13	1 00.0	798,288,440 13
1883.	88,616,831 00	*7,000,690 81	18,720,942 95	817,626,384 76	1 00.0	817,626,384 76

(A.)—The amount of State and national-bank circulation is compiled from the reports of the Comptroller of the Currency at the nearest dates obtainable to the end of each fiscal year; the other amounts are taken from the official printed reports of the Secretary of the Treasury.

* Exclusive of \$8,375,934, amount estimated as lost or destroyed, act June 21, 1879.

(B.)—The one and two year notes of 1863, and the compound-interest notes, though having a legal tender quality for their face-values, were in fact interest-bearing securities, payable at certain times, as stated on the notes. They entered into circulation for but a few days, if at all, and, since maturity, those presented have been converted into other interest-bearing bonds, or paid for in cash, interest included.

(C.)—The amount of fractional silver in circulation in 1860, 1861, and 1862 cannot be stated. The amounts stated for 1876, and subsequent years, are the amounts coined and issued since January, 1876. To these amounts should be added the amount of silver previously coined which has come into circulation.

No. XII.—Public Debt Analysis, from July 1, 1856, to July 1, 1883.
 [Official Treasury Statement.]

YEAR.	8 per cents.	8½ per cents.*	4 per cents.†	4½ per cents.	5 per cents.	6 per cents.	7-10 per cents.	Total interest-bearing debt.
1856, July 1.								\$31,762,761
1857.					3,489,000	24,571,958		29,460,958
1858.					23,558,400	21,162,838		44,700,338
1859.					37,127,800	21,162,538		58,290,338
1860.					43,476,300	21,164,538		64,610,338
1861.					33,024,300	37,358,073		50,580,373
1862.					30,483,000	134,313,235	\$122,582,485	365,704,825
1863.					105,629,385	31,444,513	139,974,425	707,551,634
1864.					77,547,600	300,213,480	842,882,632	1,359,030,563
1865.					90,496,920	245,709,420	1,213,495,169	671,610,397
1865, Aug. 31					618,127	269,175,727	1,281,796,439	893,000,000
1866, July 1.					121,341,879	391,082,665	1,195,546,041	813,490,621
1867.					17,737,025	158,533,433	1,543,452,080	488,344,846
1868.					801,361	221,586,185	1,878,303,984	37,397,196
1869.						221,588,300	1,874,347,222	2,162,060,562
1870.						221,588,300	1,763,317,422	2,046,455,722
1871.					678,000	274,236,450	1,613,897,300	1,934,696,750
1872.					678,000	414,597,300	1,374,883,800	1,814,194,100
1873.					678,000	414,567,300	1,251,229,650	1,710,482,650
1874.					678,000	510,628,050	1,215,684,700	1,738,930,750
1875.					678,000	507,132,750	1,100,865,550	1,722,676,500
1876.					678,000	711,685,800	984,999,650	1,710,685,450
1877.						\$140,000,000	701,266,650	851,621,850
1878.					98,850,000	703,269,650	738,615,000	1,704,735,650
1879.					5741,522,000	250,000,000	508,440,320	1,707,645,700
1880.					739,347,800	250,000,000	484,864,900	1,723,933,100
1881.					739,347,800	250,000,000	439,841,326	1,659,267,750
1882.					14,000,000	1460,461,050	739,349,350	1,463,810,400
1883.					318,204,350	32,082,600	737,942,200	1,338,239,150

YEAR.	Annual interest-charge.†	Monthly interest-charge.	Debt on which int. has ceased.	Debt bearing no interest.	Outstanding principal.	Cash in Treasury July 1.	Total debt, less cash, in Treasury	Pop. of the U. S.‡	Debt per capa.¶	Int'lst per capa.¶
1856, July 1.	\$1,869,445	\$155,787	\$209,776			\$31,972,537	\$21,000,584	\$10,965,983	28,083,000	\$0 36 \$0 07
1857.	1,672,767	139,397	238,872			28,690,831	18,701,210	9,998,621	28,916,000	35 06
1858.	2,440,070	203,889	211,042			44,911,881	7,011,689	37,900,191	29,733,000	38 07
1859.	3,120,166	260,513	206,009			58,496,837	5,091,603	53,405,234	30,500,000	75 10
1860.	3,443,687	296,073	201,449			64,842,267	4,877,885	59,964,402	31,443,321	1 91 11
1861.	5,092,630	424,385	199,699			95,580,873	2,862,212	87,718,660	32,064,000	2 74 16
1862.	22,048,500	1,837,373	290,100	\$158,591,300	521,176,427	18,863,659	505,312,752	32,704,000	15 45 67	
1863.	41,854,148	3,487,845	473,048	411,767,456	1,119,772,133	4,421,401	111,350,737	33,365,000	31 35	
1864.	78,851,487	6,571,123	416,335	452,437,371	1,815,784,370	106,332,003	1,709,452,277	34,046,000	50 21 22	
1865.	137,742,617	11,478,551	1,245,771	439,090,188	2,080,617,859	5,832,012	2,671,815,856	34,748,000	70 98 3 97	
1866.	150,977,697	12,581,474	1,503,020	461,616,311	2,844,641,026	88,218,053	2,756,431,571	35,228,000	78 73 4 99	
1867, July 1.	146,008,196	12,172,310	935,002	439,069,874	2,773,236,173	137,200,000	2,636,636,163	35,469,000	74 32 4 12	
1867.	188,892,451	11,574,370	1,846,615	428,218,101	2,678,126,103	169,674,892	2,508,151,211	36,211,000	69 26 3 84	
1868.	128,459,598	10,704,966	1,197,340	408,401,782	2,611,687,851	19,834,437	2,480,833,413	36,973,000	67 10 3 48	
1869.	125,523,968	10,400,333	5,260,181	421,131,510	2,588,452,218	155,680,340	2,432,771,873	37,756,000	64 45 3 32	
1870.	118,784,900	9,898,746	3,708,641	458,508,064	2,480,672,427	149,502,471	2,331,169,925	38,358,371	64 36 3 08	
1871.	111,949,830	9,329,110	1,948,902	416,565,680	2,353,211,332	106,217,563	2,245,994,068	39,355,000	56 81 2 83	
1872.	108,988,463	8,665,703	7,926,737	430,530,481	2,253,251,281	103,470,798	2,149,780,530	40,305,000	52 92 2 24	
1873.	98,049,804	8,170,817	51,929,710	472,069,322	2,234,482,908	129,020,932	2,105,462,060	1,676,000	50 52 2 35	
1874.	98,796,004	8,233,000	8,216,500	509,543,128	2,251,600,468	147,341,314	2,104,149,153	42,795,000	49 17 2 31	
1875.	96,855,090	8,071,307	11,425,820	488,182,411	2,232,284,531	142,243,511	2,000,041,170	43,949,000	47 56 2 20	
1876.	96,104,269	7,925,355	3,902,420	465,807,196	2,180,396,067	119,469,726	2,060,925,340	45,135,000	45 66 2 11	
1877.	160,160,643	7,763,386	16,648,860	470,754,031	2,205,301,302	186,025,960	2,019,275,431	46,321,000	43 56 2 01	
1878.	94,654,472	7,887,872	5,594,560	435,750,828	2,205,892	2,026,822,612	1,922,582,280	47,556,000	42 01 1 99	
1879.	\$83,773,778	6,081,148	37,015,630	410,835,741	2,045,495,026	249,080,167	1,996,514,945	45,863,000	40 86 1 71	
1880.	79,633,961	6,036,165	7,621,455	388,800,815	2,120,841,370	201,088,622	1,919,236,747	40,153,000	38 27 1 59	
1881.	75,018,695	6,251,557	6,723,895	422,721,924	2,069,015,569	249,363,413	1,819,630,154	51,492,000	35 36 1 46	
1882.	57,360,110	4,780,000	16,260,805	438,241,788	1,918,312,994	243,289,519	1,675,023,472	52,729,000	31 22 1 09	
1883.	51,436,709	4,286,392	7,831,415	528,111,162	1,884,171,728	345,389,902	1,588,731,823	54,163,000	28 41 95	

* Five and six per cent bonds issued under acts of July 17 and August 5, 1861, March 3, 1863, July 14, 1870, and January 20, 1871, continued at three and a half per cent.

† The annual interest-charge is computed upon the amount of outstanding principal at the close of the fiscal years and is exclusive of interest-charge on Pacific Railway bonds.

‡ The statement of population for 1860, 1870, and 1880 is by enumeration, and for other years from estimates prepared by Professor E. B. Elliott, Government Actuary.

§ The figures for July 1, 1879, were made up, assuming pending funding operations to have been completed.

¶ The Temporary Loan, per act of July 11, 1862, is included in the 4 per cents from 1862 to 1868, inclusive, with the exception of the amount outstanding for August 31, 1865, this being the date at which the public debt reached its highest point. This loan bore interest from 4 per cent to 6 per cent, and was redeemable on ten days' notice after thirty days; but being constantly changing, it has been considered more equitable to include the whole amount outstanding as bearing 4 per cent interest on an average for the year.

No. XIII.—Public Debt Statement for August, 1884.

[At close of business, August 30, 1884.—Official.]

Interest-bearing debt.

TITLE OF LOAN.	Rate.	AMOUNT OUTSTANDING.			Interest Due and Unpaid.	Accrued Interest.
		Registered.	Coupon.	Total.		
Loan of July 12, 1882....	3 p. c.	\$214,571,350 00		\$214,571,350 00	\$51,772 47	\$536,428 37
Funded Loan of 1891....	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ p. c.	197,217,950 00	\$52,782,050 00	250,000,000 00	275,523 98	2,812,500 00
Funded Loan of 1907....	4 p. c.	592,435,700 00	145,247,450 00	737,683,150 00	1,092,179 33	4,917,887 67
Refunding Certificates....	4 p. c.			271,900 00	57,099 00	1,812 66
Navy-Pension Fund....	3 p. c.			14,000,000 00	210,000 00	70,000 00
Aggregate of Interest-bearing Debt.....		\$1,004,225,000 00	\$198,029,500 00	\$1,216,526,400 00	\$1,636,574 78	\$8,338,628 00
Aggregate of debt of which interest has ceased since maturity.....						\$14,188,535

Recapitulation.

		Principal.	Interest.	Totals.
INTEREST-BEARING DEBT—				
Bonds at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.....	\$250,000,000 00			
Bonds at 4 per cent.....	737,683,150 00			
Bonds at 3 per cent.....	214,571,350 00			
Refunding Certificates....	271,900 00			
Navy-Pension Fund.....	14,000,000 00			
		\$1,216,526,400 00	\$10,025,203 48	
DEBT ON WHICH INTEREST HAS CEASED SINCE MATURITY.....		14,188,585 26	322,410 67	
DEBT BEARING NO INTEREST—				
Old Demand and Legal-Tender notes.....	846,739,376 00			
Certificates of Deposit.....	14,420,000 00			
Gold and Silver Certificates.....	242,851,841 00			
Fractional Currency.....	6,978,001 31			
		610,989,218 31		
Unclaimed Pacific Railroad Interest.....			4,229 96	
Total Debt.....		\$1,841,704,203 57	\$10,351,844 11	\$1,852,056,047 68
Total Cash in the Treasury.....				414,541,952 97
Debt, less Cash in the Treasury, September 1, 1884.....				\$1,437,514,094 71
Debt, less Cash in the Treasury, August 1, 1884.....				1,446,056,946 97
Decrease of Debt during the month.....				\$8,542,852 26
Decrease of Debt since June 30, 1884.....				\$12,536,141 09

Bonds Issued to the Pacific Railway Companies, Payable in 30 Years.

Interest 6 per cent.

NAME OF RAILWAY.	Principal Outstanding.	Interest Accrued and not yet Paid.	Interest Paid by the United States.	INTEREST REPAYED BY COMPANIES.		Balance of Interest Paid by the United States.
				By Transportation Service.	By Cash Payments: 5 p. c. Net Earnings	
Central Pacific.....	\$25,885,120 00	\$258,851 20	\$25,005,662 47	\$4,784,617 43	\$648,271 96	\$19,572,773 08
Kansas Pacific.....	6,303,000 00	63,030 00	6,507,513 09	3,055,291 60		3,452,221 49
Union Pacific.....	27,236,512 00	273,365 12	26,592,041 13	10,006,107 79		16,585,933 34
Central Br'ch U. P..	1,600,000 00	16,000 00	1,645,808 26	162,401 27	6,926 91	1,476,480 08
Western Pacific....	1,970,560 00	19,705 60	1,786,482 54	9,367 00		1,777,115 54
Sioux City and Pac.	1,628,320 00	16,283 20	1,561,996 69	131,138 32		1,430,858 37
Totals	\$64,623,512 00	\$646,235 12	\$63,099,504 18	\$18,148,923 41	\$655,198 87	\$44,295,381 90

No. XIV.—Public Debt and Interest per Capita.

[For each year from 1850 to 1884.]

YEAR.	Total Debt less Cash in Treasury.	Population of the United States: ¹	Debt per Capita.	Interest per Capita.	YEAR.	Total Debt less Cash in Treasury.	Population of the United States: ¹	Debt per Capita.	Interest per Capita.
1850 ²	\$10,965,953 01	28,083,000	\$0 26	\$0 07	1870	\$2,331,169,926 21	38,558,871	\$60 46	\$3 05
1851	9,908,621 76	28,916,000	35	06	1871	2,346,994,068 67	39,555,000	56 81	2 83
1852	37,900,191 72	29,758,000	28	07	1872	2,149,780,530 35	40,365,000	52 96	2 95
1853	53,405,231 19	30,596,000	1 75	10	1873	2,105,162,060 73	41,676,000	50 32	2 35
1854	59,964,402 01	31,443,321	1 91	11	1874	2,104,195,153 69	42,795,000	49 17	2 31
1855	87,718,600 80	32,064,000	2 74	16	1875	2,090,041,170 13	43,949,000	47 26	2 20
1856	505,312,752 17	32,704,000	15 45	67	1876	2,060,925,340 45	45,125,000	45 66	2 11
1857	1,111,350,737 41	33,365,000	33 31	1 25	1877	2,019,275,431 37	46,351,000	43 56	2 01
1858	1,709,452,277 04	34,016,000	50 21	2 32	1878	1,999,892,280 45	47,595,000	42 01	1 59
1859	2,674,815,856 76	34,748,000	76 98	3 07	1879	1,990,414,905 03	48,863,000	40 86	1 71
1860 ³	2,756,431,571 43	35,228,000	78 25	4 20	1880	1,919,326,747 73	50,158,000	38 27	1 59
1861	2,636,036,163 84	35,469,000	74 32	4 12	1881	1,819,650,154 23	51,162,000	35 36	1 46
1862	2,508,151,211 69	36,211,000	69 26	3 84	1882	1,675,023,475 25	52,799,000	31 72	1 06
1863	2,480,853,413 23	36,973,000	67 10	3 48	1883	1,538,781,825 15	54,163,000	28 41	0 95
1864	2,432,771,873 09	37,756,000	64 43	3 32	1884	1,438,542,995 39	55,554,000	25 89	0 86

No. XV.—Cost of the Democratic Rebellion!

From July 1, 1861, to June 30, 1879, inclusive.

[Official.]

ITEMS APPROPRIATED FOR—	Gross expenditure.	Expenditure other than for the war.	Expenditure growing out of the war.
Expenses of national loans and currency.	\$51,592,730 77		\$51,592,730 77
Premiums.	59,738,168 73		59,738,167 73
Interest on public debt.	1,809,301,485 19	\$45,045,286 74	1,764,256,199 45
Expenses of collecting revenue from customs.	99,600,808 31	57,151,550 44	42,539,257 57
Judgments of Court of Claims.	5,516,260 73	551,026 07	4,964,634 63
Payments of judgments, Court of Alabama Claims.	9,315,738 19		9,315,738 19
Salaries and expenses of Southern Claims Commission.	371,321 82		371,321 82
Salaries and expenses of Amer'n and British Claims Com.	295,878 54		295,878 54
Award to British claimants.	1,269,819 00		1,269,819 00
Tribunal of Arbitration at Geneva.	244,813 40		244,813 40
Salaries and expenses of Alabama Claims Commission.	253,231 12		253,231 12
Salaries and contingent expenses of Pension Office.	7,005,068 05	1,870,180 00	5,235,788 05
Salaries and contingent expenses of War Department.	15,331,956 58	2,712,063 79	12,619,203 79
Sal. and cont. ex. of Ex. Dept. (ex. of Pen. O. and W. D.)	33,944,017 67	10,110,745 70	23,833,271 97
Expenses of assessing and collecting internal revenue.	112,803,841 31		112,803,841 31
Miscellaneous accounts.	2,664,199 82	456,714 21	2,207,485 61
Subsistence of the Army.	420,041,037 73	38,623,489 17	381,417,548 58
Quartermaster's Department.	357,519,066 61	58,057,045 56	299,451,917 68
Incidental expenses of Quartermaster's Department.	101,528,573 57	16,185,839 74	85,349,733 68
Transportation of the Army.	407,463,324 81	70,669,439 25	336,798,880 56
Transportation of officers and their baggage.	4,626,219 66	1,601,000 00	3,025,219 66
Clothing of the Army.	356,051,466 31	11,107,586 11	345,543,880 20
Purchase of horses for cavalry and artillery.	130,900,762 15	4,318,339 51	126,072,423 24
Barracks, quarters, etc.	49,872,069 40	18,801,822 89	31,070,846 20
Heating and cooking stoves.	487,581 45	39,150 00	448,731 43
Pay, mileage, general expenses, etc., of the Army.	184,173,721 56	106,388,991 79	78,084,749 47
Pay of two and three years' volunteers.	1,041,102,702 58		1,041,102,702 58
Pay of three months' volunteers.	886,305 41		886,305 41
Pay, etc., of one hundred days' volunteers.	14,386,778 29		14,386,778 29
Pay of militia and volunteers.	6,126,932 67		6,126,932 67
Pay, etc., to officers and men in Dept. of the Missouri.	844,150 55		844,150 55
Pay and supplies of one hundred days' volunteers.	4,824,877 68		4,824,877 68
Bounty to volunteers and regulars on enlistment.	38,622,046 20		38,622,046 20
Bounty to volunteers and their widows and legal heirs.	31,760,345 95		31,760,345 95
Additional bounty act of July 28, 1866.	69,988,786 61		69,988,786 61
Collection and paym't of bounty, etc., to col'd soldiers, etc.	268,158 11		268,158 11
Reimb'g States moneys expended paym't mill. ser. U.S.	9,635,512 85		9,635,512 85
Refunding to States expenses incurred on acct. of vols.	397,178 30		397,178 30
To Baltimore for aid in const'n of defensive works in 1863.	31,297,249 60		31,297,249 60
Payment to members of certain mil. organizations in Kan.	96,159 00		96,159 00
Expenses of recruiting.	296,397 28		296,397 28
Draft and substitute fund.	2,568,639 91	1,270,673 36	1,297,966 35
Medical and Hospital Department.	9,713,878 13		9,713,878 13
Medical and Surgical History and Statistics.	46,054,146 84	1,843,376 47	45,168,770 36
	196,048 32		196,048 32

* July 1.

† August 31.

The statement of population for 1860, 1870, and 1880 is by enumeration, and for other years from estimates prepared by Professor E. B. Elliott, Government Actuary.

Only the appropriations from which war expenditures were made are included in the above.

Cost of the Democratic Rebellion—Continued.

ITEMS APPROPRIATED FOR—	Gross Expenditure.	Expenditure other than for the war.	Expenditure growing out of the war.
Medical Museum and Library.....	55,000 00	.....	55,000 00
Providing for comfort of sick, wounded, and disch'd sol'rs.	2,232,785 12	.....	2,232,785 12
Freedmen's Hospital and Asylum.....	123,487 49	.....	123,487 49
Artificial limbs and appliances.....	509,283 21	.....	509,283 21
Ordnance service.....	6,114,533 38	1,561,001 67	4,553,531 71
Ordnance, ordnance stores, and supplies.....	50,793,079 70	3,864,146 87	55,933,932 83
Armament of fortifications.....	12,336,710 88	2,118,238 79	10,218,472 09
National armories, arsenals, etc.....	29,730,717 53	6,127,228 21	23,603,459 32
Purchase of arms for volunteers and regulars.....	76,378,935 13	.....	76,378,935 13
Travelling expenses 1st Mich. Calv. and Cal. and Nev. Vols	84,181 50	.....	84,181 50
Payment of expenses under reconstruction acts.....	3,128,905 94	.....	3,128,905 94
Secret service.....	681,587 42	.....	681,587 42
Books of tactics.....	172,568 15	.....	172,568 15
Medals of honor.....	29,890 00	.....	29,890 00
Support of National Home for disabled volunteer soldiers.....	8,546,184 76	.....	8,546,184 76
Publication of official records of war of the rebellion.....	170,998 98	.....	170,998 98
Contingencies Army and Adjutant-General's Dept.....	3,291,835 14	565,136 39	2,726,698 75
Payment under special acts of relief.....	1,088,406 83	.....	1,088,406 83
Copying official reports.....	5,000 00	.....	5,000 00
Expenses of court of inquiry in 1858 and 1869.....	5,000 00	.....	5,000 00
United States police for Baltimore.....	100,000 00	.....	100,000 00
Preparing register for volunteers.....	1,015 45	.....	1,015 45
Army pensions.....	437,744,192 80	30,315,000 00	407,429,192 80
Telegraph for military purposes.....	2,500,085 80	.....	2,500,085 80
Maintenance of gunboat-fleet proper.....	5,244,684 32	.....	5,244,684 32
Keeping, transporting, and supplying prisoners of war.....	7,659,411 60	.....	7,659,411 60
Permanent forts and fortifications, surveys, etc.....	20,837,756 96	7,483,765 87	13,403,991 09
Construction and maintenance of steam rams.....	1,370,730 42	.....	1,370,730 42
Signal Service.....	222,269 79	78,472 23	143,779 56
Gunboats on the Western rivers.....	3,239,314 18	.....	3,239,314 18
Supplying, transporting, and delivering arms, etc.....	1,649,596 57	.....	1,649,596 57
Collecting, organizing, and drilling volunteers.....	29,091,666 57	.....	27,091,666 57
Bridge-trains and equipage.....	1,413,701 75	.....	1,413,701 75
Tool and siege trains.....	702,250 00	.....	702,250 00
Completing the defences of Washington.....	912,283 01	.....	912,283 01
Commutation of rations to prisoners in rebel States.....	320,636 62	.....	320,636 62
National cemeteries.....	4,162,848 39	.....	4,162,848 39
Purchase of Ford's Theatre.....	88,000 00	.....	88,000 00
Temporary relief to destitute people in District of Col.....	57,000 00	.....	57,000 00
Headstones, erection of headstones, pay, etc.....	1,080,185 54	.....	1,080,185 54
Tennessee, keeping and maintaining prisoners.....	22,749 49	.....	22,749 49
Capture of Jeff Davis.....	97,031 62	.....	97,031 62
Removing wreck gunboat Oregon, Chefunct River, La.....	5,500 00	.....	5,500 00
Support of Bureau of Refugees and Freedmen.....	11,454,237 80	.....	11,454,237 80
Claims for quartermaster's stores and commissary, etc.....	850,220 91	.....	850,220 91
Miscellaneous claims audited by Third Auditor.....	94,223 11	47,112 11	47,112 11
Claims of citizens, supplies furnished during rebellion.....	4,170,304 54	.....	4,170,304 54
Payment for use of Corcoran Art Gallery.....	125,000 00	.....	125,000 00
Expenses of sales of stores and material.....	5,842 43	.....	5,842 43
Transportation of insane volunteer soldiers.....	1,000 00	.....	1,000 00
Horses and other property lost in military service.....	4,281,724 91	.....	4,281,724 91
Purchase of cemetery grounds near Columbus, Ohio.....	500 00	.....	500 00
Fortifications on the Northern frontier.....	683,748 12	.....	683,748 12
Pay of the Navy.....	144,549,073 96	70,086,769 62	74,462,304 34
Provisions of the Navy.....	32,771,931 16	16,403,307 34	16,368,623 82
Clothing of the Navy.....	2,709,491 98	1,114,701 00	1,591,790 98
Construction and repair.....	170,007,781 25	85,829,684 80	134,178,096 45
Equipment of vessels.....	25,174,614 53	.....	25,174,614 53
Ordnance.....	38,063,457 67	6,641,263 30	31,422,094 37
Surgeon's necessaries.....	2,178,769 74	241,025 68	1,937,774 00
Yards and docks.....	33,638,156 59	8,367,854 52	30,300,302 07
Fuel for the Navy.....	19,952,754 36	8,612,521 68	11,340,232 68
Hemp for the Navy.....	2,836,916 69	1,938,664 42	898,252 27
Steam machinery.....	49,297,318 57	.....	49,297,318 57
Navigation.....	2,526,247 00	.....	2,526,247 00
Naval hospitals.....	875,452 34	375,789 40	499,062 94
Magazines.....	753,582 13	349,290 48	404,531 65
Marine Corps, pay, clothing, etc.....	16,726,906 00	8,969,290 82	7,757,615 18
Naval Academy.....	2,640,440 87	778,308 86	1,862,132 01
Naval Asylum, Philadelphia.....	652,049 89	63,304 00	586,655 89
Temporary increase of the Navy.....	8,123,766 21	.....	8,123,766 21
Miscellaneous appropriations.....	2,614,044 77	.....	2,614,044 77
Naval pensions.....	7,540,043 00	950,000 00	6,590,043 00
Bounties to seamen.....	2,821,530 10	.....	2,821,530 10
Bounty for destruction of enemy's vessels.....	271,309 28	.....	271,309 28
Indemnity for lost clothing.....	389,025 93	.....	389,025 93
Total.....	6,844,571,431 03	654,641,522 45	6,189,929,908 58

NOTE.—The above is carried down to June 30, 1879. By adding the total annual expenditures from that time, merely for pensions and interest on the public debt, the total expenditures growing out of the war will be found at the ending of the fiscal year, June 30, 1884, to have reached *seven thousand millions of dollars!*—COMPILER.

No. XVI.—Statement of Imports and Exports of Merchandise, into and from the United States, for the Year ended June 30, 1884, compared with the Year ended June 30, 1883.

[From Bureau of Statistics.]

	IMPORTS OF MERCHANDISE.		EXPORTS OF MERCHANDISE.		
	1884.	1883.	1884.	1883.	
Total value of dutiable merchandise.....	\$ 457,812,526	\$ 515,670,196	Total value of exports of domestic merchandise.....	\$ 724,964,870	\$ 801,223,632
Total value of merchandise free of duty.....	309,885,037	207,504,718	Carried in cars and other land vehicles.....	22,522,521	21,002,634
Total.....	607,697,563	723,180,914	Carried in American steam vessels.....	41,477,807	41,730,740
Entered for consumption.....	400,882,737	520,530,031	Carried in American sail vessels.....	54,470,046	60,213,620
" " warehouse.....	148,012,934	176,167,854	Carried in foreign steam vessels.....	468,074,058	499,932,984
" " immediate transportation to interior ports without appraisement.....	27,901,892	26,473,129	Carried in foreign sail vessels.....	135,409,990	151,253,694
Brought in cars and other land vehicles.....	20,140,294	23,003,048			
Brought in American steam vessels.....	60,995,453	53,154,086			
Brought in American sail vessels.....	74,050,497	82,847,304			
Brought in foreign steam vessels.....	435,479,194	469,574,133			
Brought in foreign sail vessels	77,032,125	94,601,443			

No. XVII.—Proportions of Agricultural Exports to Total Domestic Exports for Half a Century.

The following interesting comparative table is from the April, 1884, number of the Reports of the Department of Agriculture:

YEARS.	Cotton, unmanufactured.	Per cent.	Breadstuffs.	Per cent.	Animals and their products.	Per cent.	Total exports of agriculture.	Per cent.	Total domestic exports.
1830*....	\$29,674,883	61.7	\$7,071,767	14.7	\$2,533,318	5.3	\$48,066,184	82.18	\$58,324,878
1840*....	63,870,307	69.0	13,535,926	14.6	3,065,719	3.3	92,548,007	82.93	111,660,561
1850....	71,984,616	66.3	13,066,509	12.0	10,067,438	9.8	108,605,713	80.51	134,900,233
1860....	19,800,553	74.8	24,422,310	9.5	20,402,512	8.0	236,560,972	81.14	316,242,423
1870....	227,027,624	62.9	72,250,903	20.0	33,049,268	9.2	361,188,483	79.34	453,308,341
1871....	218,327,109	59.3	79,381,187	21.3	42,172,961	11.4	368,466,011	77.07	478,115,292
1872....	180,684,595	49.0	84,580,273	22.9	68,678,144	18.6	368,796,625	77.41	470,451,478
1873....	227,243,069	50.8	98,743,151	22.1	89,605,570	20.1	416,900,004	77.69	575,227,017
1874....	211,223,580	42.1	161,198,864	32.2	90,560,332	18.1	501,371,501	79.16	603,339,368
1875....	190,638,625	44.3	111,478,295	25.9	91,535,115	21.3	490,906,570	76.95	559,237,678
1876....	192,659,202	42.2	131,181,555	28.8	98,434,230	21.6	456,113,515	76.67	594,917,715
1877....	171,118,508	37.2	117,806,476	25.6	125,379,800	27.3	459,734,148	72.63	622,985,854
1878....	180,031,484	31.6	181,777,841	33.9	134,080,874	25.0	536,192,873	77.07	695,749,980
1879....	162,304,250	29.7	210,355,528	38.5	134,779,947	24.7	546,470,701	78.12	699,338,742
1880....	211,535,905	30.8	288,036,835	42.0	150,333,442	21.9	685,961,091	83.25	828,946,353
1881....	247,693,746	33.9	270,332,519	37.0	175,584,760	24.0	730,394,948	82.68	883,925,947
1882....	199,812,644	30.2	182,670,528	33.1	134,823,940	24.3	552,219,819	75.31	733,239,782
1883....	247,328,721	39.9	208,040,850	33.0	122,513,633	19.8	619,399,449	77.00	804,223,632

No. XVIII.—Government Bonds held by the People.

The following official statement of September 8, 1884, shows the amount of registered bonds outstanding at the time of payment of the last quarterly dividend of interest, by whom the bonds were held, the amount of interest paid quarterly, and the number of interest checks drawn for the payment of such interest each quarter. From this it will be seen that out of \$1,001,458,400 registered bonds outstanding at the date named, only \$12,151,050 are held by foreign investors:

BY WHOM HELD.	Funded Loan of 1801, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ %. \$	Funded Loan of 1907, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ %. \$	Loan of July 12, 1882, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ %. \$	Totals. \$
Foreign holders.....	\$3,953,350 00	\$8,174,200 00	\$26,500 00	\$12,154,050 00
National banks.....	49,956,950 00	116,956,750 00	163,365,850 00	330,225,550 00
Domestic holders.....	142,936,150 00	464,929,650 00	51,179,000 00	659,044,800 00
Total	\$196,846,450 00	\$590,040,600 00	\$214,571,350 00	\$1,001,458,400 00
Amount of interest paid quarterly.....	\$2,214,522 56	\$5,200,400 00	\$1,649,283 12	\$9,794,213 68
Number of checks drawn quarterly.....	12,003 00	45,770 00	3,537 00	61,360 00

* Year ended September 30.

XIX.—The Great Army of City Workers in Fifty American Cities.

[Census of 1880.]

CITIES.	Popula- tion.	Total in all occupa- tions.	Per cent in occupa- tions.	Agriculture.		Professional and personal.		Trade and transportat'n.		Manufactur'g and mining.	
				No.	P. ct.	No.	P. ct.	No.	P. ct.	No.	P. ct.
New York.....	1,206,299	513,377	43	2,229	.....	160,109	31	138,036	27	213,003	42
Philadelphia.....	847,170	348,900	41	4,810	1	97,036	28	75,528	22	171,526	49
Brooklyn.....	566,663	209,065	37	981	.....	55,546	27	59,869	29	92,669	44
Chicago.....	503,185	191,760	38	1,190	.....	58,645	31	55,013	29	76,912	40
Boston.....	362,839	149,194	41	1,042	1	53,465	36	40,787	27	53,900	36
St. Louis.....	350,518	139,985	40	2,089	2	48,229	34	36,802	26	52,865	38
Baltimore.....	332,313	130,364	39	867	1	46,879	36	32,669	25	49,949	38
Cincinnati.....	255,139	100,454	39	1,196	1	29,068	29	22,904	23	47,286	47
San Francisco.....	233,059	104,650	45	1,965	2	35,060	33	30,150	29	37,475	36
New Orleans.....	216,090	75,336	36	2,032	3	36,686	47	20,510	26	19,108	34
Cleveland.....	160,146	56,019	36	694	1	17,021	30	12,974	23	26,230	46
Pittsburgh.....	156,339	52,173	33	466	1	20,792	40	9,711	18	21,204	41
Buffalo.....	155,134	54,647	35	1,091	2	17,880	33	12,387	23	23,260	42
Washington.....	147,293	57,262	39	463	1	34,931	61	8,596	15	13,272	23
Newark.....	136,508	49,066	36	556	1	9,118	19	9,409	19	20,983	61
Louisville.....	123,758	45,244	37	459	1	17,339	38	10,847	24	16,599	37
Jersey City.....	120,722	42,356	35	504	1	12,327	29	12,113	29	17,412	41
Detroit.....	116,340	39,245	34	394	1	12,518	32	9,588	24	16,745	43
Milwaukee.....	115,587	40,900	35	334	1	12,979	32	9,322	23	18,205	44
Providence.....	104,857	43,878	42	490	1	11,105	25	8,509	20	23,774	54
Albany.....	90,758	32,153	35	345	1	10,432	33	7,818	24	13,558	42
Rochester.....	89,366	34,276	38	518	2	8,624	25	7,294	21	17,910	52
Allegheny.....	78,682	25,958	33	253	1	8,655	33	5,487	21	11,563	45
Indianapolis.....	75,056	27,966	37	315	1	10,217	36	7,166	26	10,268	37
Richmond.....	63,600	21,550	39	132	1	10,745	44	5,225	21	8,448	34
New Haven.....	62,882	21,155	38	338	1	6,871	29	5,317	22	11,629	48
Lowell.....	59,475	29,781	50	296	1	4,855	16	2,811	10	21,819	73
Worcester.....	58,291	22,535	39	734	3	5,204	23	3,292	15	13,315	59
Troy.....	56,747	23,745	42	128	1	7,310	31	4,352	18	11,955	50
Kansas City.....	55,785	25,081	45	252	1	9,811	39	7,625	30	7,393	30
Cambridge, Mass.....	52,669	20,021	38	249	1	6,180	31	4,519	23	9,073	45
Syracuse.....	51,792	20,409	39	250	1	6,112	30	4,617	23	9,430	46
Columbus.....	51,647	18,737	36	192	1	6,691	36	4,613	24	7,241	39
Paterson.....	51,031	22,570	44	113	1	3,996	18	2,542	11	15,919	71
Toledo.....	50,137	17,691	35	334	2	6,065	34	5,081	29	6,211	35
Charleston, S. C.....	49,934	20,325	41	492	2	10,060	50	4,639	23	5,184	25
Fall River.....	48,961	22,655	46	274	1	3,364	15	2,294	10	16,758	74
Minneapolis.....	46,887	21,302	45	432	2	7,345	34	4,604	22	8,921	42
Scranton.....	45,850	16,829	37	107	1	6,224	37	2,321	14	8,177	48
Nashville.....	43,350	16,738	39	172	1	7,701	46	4,248	25	4,617	28
Reading.....	43,278	15,623	36	148	1	5,169	33	2,456	16	7,850	50
Wilmington.....	42,478	19,281	45	1,207	6	7,287	38	2,221	12	8,566	44
Hartford.....	42,015	17,212	41	408	2	5,384	31	3,912	23	7,508	44
Camden.....	41,659	15,085	36	191	1	4,128	27	3,766	25	7,000	47
St. Paul.....	41,473	17,809	43	222	1	6,709	38	5,100	29	5,788	32
Lawrence, Mass.....	39,151	19,153	49	142	1	2,425	13	1,746	9	14,840	77
Dayton.....	38,678	14,184	37	157	1	4,109	29	2,964	21	6,954	49
Lynn.....	38,274	16,728	44	143	1	2,547	15	2,344	14	11,694	70
Atlanta.....	37,409	17,078	46	314	2	8,614	50	3,952	23	4,198	25
Denver.....	35,629	15,737	44	424	3	5,127	32	3,764	24	6,422	41
Total.....	7,793,903	3,083,172	.....	33,134	.....	984,694	.....	743,734	.....	1,321,610	.....
Average per cent.....	.....	.....	40	.....	1	.....	32	.....	24	.....	43

No. XX.—Value of Annual Production of this Army of Workers.

CITIES.	Value of products.	CITIES.	Value of products.	CITIES.	Value of products.
New York.....	\$472,926,437	Detroit.....	\$30,181,416	Toledo.....	\$10,600,074
Philadelphia.....	32,342,935	Milwaukee.....	43,473,813	Charleston, S. C.....	2,732,590
Brooklyn.....	177,223,142	Providence.....	42,597,512	Fall River.....	18,913,584
Chicago.....	249,022,948	Albany.....	21,751,009	Minneapolis.....	29,973,476
Boston.....	130,511,993	Rochester.....	26,478,266	Scranton.....	8,551,850
St. Louis.....	114,332,375	Allegheny.....	13,731,792	Nashville.....	8,597,278
Baltimore.....	78,417,304	Indianapolis.....	27,453,089	Reading.....	13,251,095
Cincinnati.....	105,259,165	Richmond.....	20,790,106	Wilmington.....	13,205,370
San Francisco.....	77,824,339	New Haven.....	24,040,225	Hartford.....	11,437,300
New Orleans.....	18,808,036	Lowell.....	33,935,777	Camden.....	7,644,705
Cleveland.....	48,604,050	Worcester.....	27,292,793	St. Paul.....	10,286,363
Pittsburgh.....	75,915,033	Troy.....	26,497,163	Lawrence, Mass.....	25,058,246
Buffalo.....	42,977,701	Kansas City.....	6,382,681	Dayton.....	11,983,483
Washington.....	11,882,316	Cambridge, Mass.....	26,605,688	Lynn.....	26,828,023
Newark.....	69,252,705	Syracuse.....	14,695,674	Atlanta.....	4,861,727
Louisville.....	35,423,303	Columbus.....	9,646,677	Denver.....	9,367,749
Jersey City.....	60,473,905	Paterson.....	26,503,350	Total.....	\$2,728,540,452

This manufacture, which supports about 5,000,000 people, is nearly half of the total product of manufactures in the United States, which, together with mining industries, represents one third of the entire population of the country.

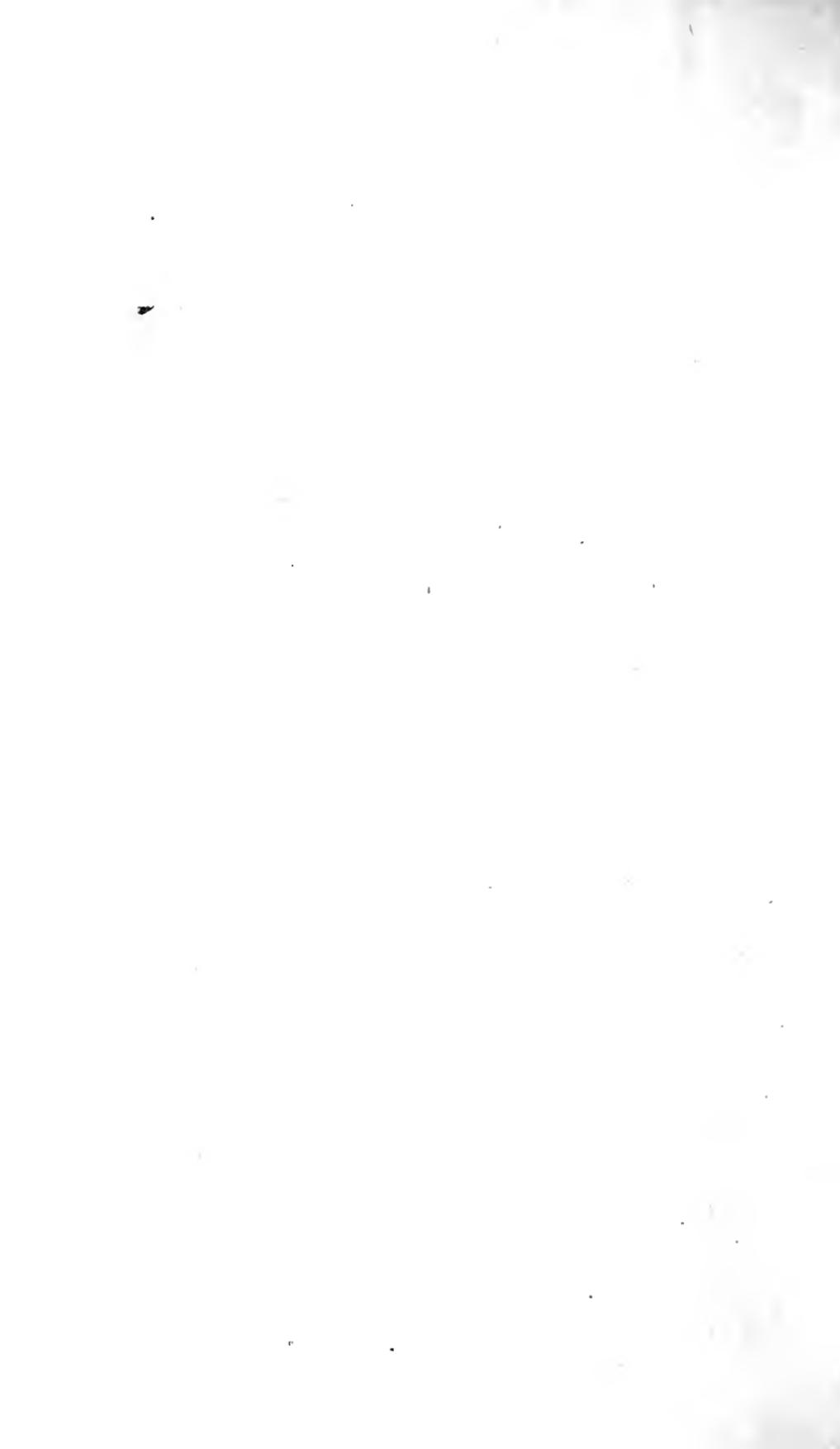
No. XXI.—Growth of the Nation under Protection since 1860 in Population, Wealth, Industries, and Commerce.

In the following table from official sources we have an exhibit, during the period from 1860 to 1880, of the growth of the Nation in population, wealth, industries, and commerce:

SUBJECTS.	1860.	1880.	Increase per cent.
Population of the United States.....	31,443,321	50,155,783	60
Value of farms.....	\$3,271,575,426	\$10,197,161,905	212
Wheat produced..... bushels.....	173,104,934	498,510,568	194
Wheat exported..... bushels.....	4,155,153	153,869,905	3,603
Corn produced..... bushels.....	828,792,742	1,717,434,513	105
Corn exported..... bushels.....	5,314,395	38,169,877	2,863
Wool produced..... pounds.....	60,264,913	222,500,000	286
Cotton produced..... bales.....	3,826,086	6,245,269	65
Oats produced..... bushels.....	172,643,185	407,888,569	136
Barley produced..... bushels.....	15,825,868	44,113,105	179
Butter exported..... pounds.....	7,651,234	39,296,658	413
Cheese exported..... pounds.....	15,524,830	127,533,907	722
Petroleum produced..... barrels.....	251,000	22,382,500	8,517
Pig-iron produced..... net tons.....	919,770	4,295,414	367
Rails produced..... net tons.....	205,038	1,461,837	613
Hogs packed.....	2,250,821	6,950,151	196
Merchandise imported.....	\$353,616,119	\$667,954,746	89
Merchandise exported.....	\$333,576,067	\$832,628,638	150
Gold and silver produced.....	\$46,150,000	\$75,000,000	63
Gold and silver exported.....	\$66,546,230	\$17,142,919	268
Gold and silver imported.....	\$8,550,135	\$93,034,310	988
Railroads, miles	30,625	88,237	158











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